

**Political Communications**  
**in the Icelandic General**  
**Election Campaign of 1987**

**GUÐMUNDUR RÚNAR ÁRNASON**

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Finally, I thank my family for bearing with me and supporting me always, especially when most needed.

I dedicate the thesis to my parents.

# ABSTRACT

The thesis is a study of political communications in a general election campaign in Iceland in 1987. The theoretical background is the so-called agenda-setting approach to communication.

A multimethodological approach was used: first, a content analysis was applied to printed pamphlets published by the political parties, election broadcasts on TV, daily newspapers, television news and current affairs programmes over a period of eight weeks; second, a three wave panel survey of a sample of 1500 voters, twice before the election and once immediately after it; third, a survey of news-reporters' attitudes towards media and their job, organized and run by students at the University of Iceland; and fourth, a qualitative study of practices and atmosphere inside the State's TV newsroom some days before the election.

The thesis is divided into four main parts, which are further divided into sub-sections. The first part deals with theoretical considerations, offers an outline of Icelandic history and social reality and discusses the methodologies employed.

Part two is based on the panel survey, a survey of news-reporters and a qualitative study inside the state's TV newsroom. Part two considers the uses of media in the campaign and attitudes towards them. It reports on news values and practices as found in the survey of news-reporters and the qualitative survey inside the TV newsroom.

Part three is based on content analysis and the survey. It discusses the "three agendas": the party agenda, the media agenda and the voter agenda.

Part four is an assessment of the research. An effort is made to relate the three agendas, in order to measure statistically their impact on one another. A final chapter discusses the conclusions that can be drawn from the various parts of the thesis about the agenda setting process.

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# ABBREVIATIONS, ACRONYMS AND TRANSLATIONS

ASÍ	Icelandic Federation of Labour (Alþýðusamband Íslands)
BHM	Association of University Graduates (Bandalag Háskólamanna)
BP	Citizens' Party (Borgaraflokkurinn)
BSRB	Federation of state and municipal workers (Bandalag starfsmanna ríkis og bæja)
CP	Communist Party (Kommúnistaflokkur Íslands)
EC	European Community (Evrópubandalagið)
EEC	European Economic Community (Efnahagsbandalag Evrópu)
EES	European Economic Space (Evrópskt efnahagssvæði)
EFTA	European Free Trade Association (Fríverslunarsamtök Evrópu)
GDP	Gross National Product
FP	Farmers' Party (Bændaflokkurinn)
HP	Humanist Party (Flokkur mannsins)
IP	Independence Party (Sjálfstæðisflokkurinn)
LP	Liberal Party (Frjálslyndi flokkurinn)
MCE	Movement for Co-operation and Equality (Samtök um jafnrétti og félagshyggju)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization (Atlantshafsbandalagið)
NC	Nordic Council (Norðurlandaráð)
NP	National Party (Þjóðarflokkurinn)
NPP	National Preservation Party (Þjóðvarnarflokkurinn)
PA	People's Alliance (Alþýðubandalagið)
PP	Progressive Party (Framsóknarflokkurinn)

RÚV	State Radio (Ríkisútvarpið)
RÚVTV	State Television (Ríkisútvarpið - sjónvarp)
SAL	Swiss Aluminium Limited (Íslenska álfélagið)
SDA	Social Democratic Alliance (Bandalag jafnaðarmanna)
SDP	People's Party (Alpýðuflokkurinn)
ULL	Union of Liberals and Leftists (Samtök frjálslyndra og vinstri manna)
UN	United Nations (Sameinuðu Þjóðirnar)
USP	United Socialist Party (Sameiningarflokkur alpýðu - sósíalístaflokkurinn)
VSÍ	Confederation of Icelandic Employers (Vinnuveitendasamband Íslands)
WL	Women's List (Kvennalistinn)
Wave	(Bylgjan)
Morning Paper	(Morgunblaðið)
Daily Newspaper	(Dagblaðið - Vísir)
National Will	(Þjóðviljinn)
People's Paper	(Alpýðublaðið)
Time	(Tíminn)
Today	(Dagur)
Social Science Institute	(Félagsvísindastofnun)
University of Iceland	(Háskóli Íslands)
National Registry	(Þjóðskrá)

# I. INTRODUCTION

In this thesis we are concerned with the role of the mass media - daily newspapers and television - in the Icelandic general election campaign leading to the poll on 25 April 1987.

The theoretical approach to the subject is primarily the so-called 'agenda-setting' approach, prominent among political communication scholars for the last 15 years.

The case study was chosen for several reasons. First, this is the home country of the author, and therefore of most interest for him. Second, there has hardly been done any systematic research into the role of mass communications in Icelandic politics. Third, Iceland is a 'micro state' or perhaps in this sense rather, a 'compact state'. It is small, its population so small that it is highly manageable to conduct research of this type there. However, the political scene is lively enough to justify research. There is a higher number of significant political parties than in most countries; newspapers and broadcasting media flourish; adult literacy is near enough 100%; participation in politics, at least in elections, is at a very high level, with a normal turnout around 90%. The National Registry, and therefore the registration of voters, is highly sophisticated, excluding almost no-one from voting, given he has reached the age of 18. The fourth main reason why Iceland was chosen is that mass-media thrive as never before. There are five national daily newspapers. The state monopoly on broadcasting had recently been lifted at the time of the election, and the number of both radio and television channels was twice as high as in the general election of 1983.

The thesis is divided into four main parts, each of which is split into several chapters and sections. Part One is an introduction to the study, outlining its theoretical bases, the problem, methodology and the

setting. Of four main chapters, the first sets out the theoretical approach. This is done in two sub-sections: a short general survey of the literature on the political effects of mass-communications; and the 'agenda-setting' approach to political communication.

The second chapter is a general outline of the methodological approaches. This chapter is divided into sub-sections on content analysis, survey method, a survey of the attitudes of Icelandic news-reporters towards their profession, a qualitative study in the newsroom of state television, and finally, how these approaches can be integrated.

The third chapter sketches Iceland and its political system. The first section is about Iceland generally. The second summarizes the Icelandic economy, emphasizing its smallness and vulnerability. The third section is about the labour market, the fourth about culture and education. The fifth section is about Icelandic foreign affairs and the sixth is about the party system. The seventh section is about the electoral system and the outcome of elections since Independence in 1944, the eighth about the system of government and a short history of governments in this century. The ninth sub-section gives an overview of the 1987 election, the tenth discusses the increasing volatility of the electorate and the final sub-section raises the question of in which directions did the flow of support move? These two sub-sections are primarily based on a panel survey.

The fourth, and last chapter of Part One is about the mass media in Iceland, providing a short legal history and an outline of the national daily newspapers, television and radio.

Part Two is divided into four chapters. The first is concerned with the uses of mass media in the election campaign. A section is devoted to newspapers, television and radio.

The second chapter reports the claimed knowledge of party policies, interest in the media coverage and claimed help from the coverage of the sample of electors. One section is devoted to each of

these three factors, and one in addition to the question 'which media gave most information about the campaign?'

The third chapter discusses attitudes towards each of the media in the campaign.

The fourth chapter in Part Two is about news reporters. First we deal with theories about news-values and practices, and research into these aspects of mass-communication. Second, we discuss research findings about reporters' values in relation to their work. Thirdly, the author's qualitative study of the news-room of the Icelandic state television during the election campaign is discussed. Part Two thus brings together findings from three different sources. First a survey of voters, second a survey of news-reporters and third a qualitative news-room study.

Part Three deals with the three 'agendas' in the campaign, and is based both on content analysis and the panel survey. The 'Party agenda' is dealt with in the first chapter. There we cover both printed pamphlets and election broadcasts of various nature. The second chapter analyses the 'Media agenda' in newspapers and on television. The third and final chapter in Part Three reports the 'Voter agenda', divided into three sub-sections, dealing with each wave of the panel interviews.

The fourth and final Part of the thesis deals with several issues: the relationship between the three agendas and how far its presence or absence can be explained. Whatever the case, explanations will be sought in what was said in Part Two, and to some extent to what is covered in Part One, i.e. Icelandic reality.

# PART ONE

## II. THEORETICAL APPROACH

1. Survey of Effects Literature
2. The Agenda-Setting Approach

## III. STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY - METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

1. Content Analysis
2. Panel Survey
3. Reporters' Survey
4. Newsroom Study
5. The Integration of Different Methods

## IV. ICELAND

1. Country and Nation
2. The Economy
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6. Political Parties
7. Constitution and General Elections 1946-1983
8. Governments
9. The General Election of 1987
10. The Volatility of Icelandic Voters
11. Fluidity - Which Directions?

## V. THE MEDIA LANDSCAPE

1. Development of Media Legislation
2. Daily National Newspapers
3. Television
4. Radio

# II.1. SURVEY OF EFFECTS

## LITERATURE

If one asks a member of the public about the effects of mass communications on individuals, one can almost be sure he will say that they are considerable. The same applies when one asks politicians, businessmen, religious leaders, teachers and advertisers. At least, most of these people act as if they have great belief in the persuasive power of the media.<sup>1</sup>

If, on the other hand, one asks social scientists engaged in media research, their answers will not be as definite. One will hear all kinds of reservations and doubts. As Berelson (1954:356) put it:

"...some kinds of communication on some kinds of issues, brought to the attention of some kinds of people under some kinds of conditions, have some kinds of effects."

There appears to be an Orwellian double-think about media effects. Some think they are impotent in persuading or affecting people, while others think they are omnipotent, or nearly so (Asp 1986:11). However, researchers must think there are some effects, otherwise they would not let studying the media and their audiences take up as much of their time as they do. Denis McQuail (1983:175) has put it thus:

"The entire study of mass communication is based on the premise, that there are effects from the media, yet it seems to be the issue on which there is least certainty and least agreement."

---

<sup>1</sup> See for instance the advertising campaigns about AIDS (Blumler and Gurevitch 1982:236, and De Fleur and Ball-Rokeach 1982:217).

In this chapter an outline of the development of media research, and the theorizing on media effects will be drawn.

Models of media effects have gone through two phases, and are at present in a third.

The first phase is the one of 'omnipotent media'. The theory was based on the notion that the media were conceived of as a needle which 'injected' information or opinions into the mind of the receiver. Therefore, it has often been called the 'hypodermic needle model' or 'magic bullet theory' (Kraus and Davis 1976:115 and McQuail 1983:183). In the words of De Fleur and Ball-Rokeach (1982:160):

"It assumed that cleverly designed stimuli would reach every individual member of the mass society via the media, that each person would perceive it in the same general manner, and that this would provoke a more or less uniform response from all."

Thus it was thought, that the content was the effect. It was along these lines that researchers began to show interest in analyzing the content of the media. There, they could see what had gone into the minds of the audience (De Fleur and Ball-Rokeach 1982:164 and McQuail 1983:252).

There were at least five factors that contributed to this vision of mass communication effects.

- a) Society had changed. Industrialization and urbanization had completely altered the nature of society.
- b) Related to the point above were theories of mass society. Because of urbanization 'masses' of people had been brought together, although personal relations had not increased. On the contrary. Individuals were seen as alienated and frustrated, and therefore highly vulnerable.
- c) New technology, i.e. radio and printing techniques made it much easier to reach large sections of society with the same messages.
- d) Psychological theories at the time. These theories stressed that repetition was the main principle of learning.

e) There was 'proof' of the effects. During the First World War, the media were used, highly successfully it seemed, to mobilize whole nations. Orson Welles' 'War of the Worlds' and propaganda in the rising fascist regimes were seen as proof (Clarke and Evans 1983:7, Kraus and Davis 1976:115-117, Curran, Gurevitch and Woollacott 1982:11 and Blumler and Gurevitch 1982:242).

This phase in the development of mass communication theories lasted from the turn of the century, and culminated in the Office of War Information studies during the Second World War. The two classic works from the period are Harold Lasswell's 'Propaganda Technique in the World War (1927) and Walter Lippmann's 'Public Opinion' (1922) (Kraus and Davis 1976:116 and Asp 1986:30-34).

The development of survey methods probably had most to do with putting the lid on the omnipotent view. Studies of presidential campaigns, conducted at Columbia University, and led by Paul Lazarsfeld could not find the effects that had earlier been assumed. These studies looked at how people said they intended to vote and how they reported they had voted, in terms of how they used the media. Where changes in intentions were found, the researchers found difficulty in relating them to media use. Two main points emerged from this research. One, if information is in conflict with group norms, it is rejected and second, audiences tend to select for exposure what is in accordance with previously held views. The People's Choice (1944) was a blow to omnipotence theory. The media were now thought to be agents of reinforcement instead of change (Blumler 1979:72, Clarke and Evans 1983:8, Kraus and Davis 1976:116-117).

As Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet say in The People's Choice (1944:88-89):

"To a large extent, stability of political opinion is a function of exposure to reinforcing communication."

They found, that communication with other individuals seemed to be much more effective than direct media exposure. From this was developed the 'two-step-flow' model of media effects. This entailed, that some sections of the audience are more 'active' than others, and are called 'opinion leaders' (Klapper 1960:32, Asp 1986:36-39). This is best described in the words of Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet (1944:151), themselves:

"(This suggests that) ideas often flow from radio and print to the opinion leaders and from them to the less active sections of the population."

It has not been easy to provide evidence for this hypothesis. In Britain, Trenaman and McQuail (1961) failed to find support for it. The same can be said about research conducted in Sweden. Of course it would be extremely difficult to demonstrate a two-step-flow. One would have to have to ensure that both the opinion 'leader' and the 'follower' were in the same sample. Difficulties in finding evidence led authors to talk about a multi-step-flow. Such models, of course, lessened further the impact the media were thought to have (Asp 1986:39-42, Kraus and Davis, 1976:119-122).

Joseph Klapper's 'The Effects of Mass Communication' (1960), is one of the milestones in the literature about mass media. In this book he reviewed around 1000 studies conducted in the forties and fifties. He wrote (p.254):

"...the classic studies of how voters make up their minds... provide an incomplete picture of the total effects of mass communication..."

In another passage (p. 18) he said:

"Two decades of research, some focused directly upon the problem and some peripherally pertinent, indicate that the tendency of persuasive mass communication to reinforce existing opinion is anything but hypodermic."

Klapper mentions five factors he says can be called mediating factors:

- a) Selective exposure. People tend to attend to what is in accord with their attitudes and interests.
- b) Group norms affect how the media are used.
- c) Inter-personal effects. It supplements reinforcement when friends tell friends what they have just seen.
- d) Opinion leaders. Reinforcement may be intensified by a two-step process.
- e) Media environment. Competitive media must try to please everyone, and thus must broadcast or print material to please everyone (Klapper 1960:19-38).

In light of the literature on media effects, Klapper (p. 49-59) drew the conclusion, that the media were not very powerful in persuading people:

"Communication research strongly indicates that persuasive mass communication is in general more likely to reinforce the existing opinions of its audience than it is to change such opinions."

Later, the selective and active person was given increased weight in the uses and gratifications approach. There, the question is what the individual does with the content, not the opposite.

Early in the seventies, authors became increasingly reluctant to accept the limited effects model. A few factors contributed to this shift, "the return to the powerful mass media" as Noelle Neumann (1974) calls it. First, television was relatively new, and hardly considered in the limited effects studies. Second, new-left thinking doubted that the correct questions had been asked, and argued that effects were long-term instead of short-term, and on society as a whole, as much as on individuals. Absence of conversion did not necessarily mean absence of effects, as had been concluded. Third, there had been a change from thinking about effects in terms of attitudes, towards looking at

cognition and knowledge. Fourth, Western democracies experienced increased volatility of voters (Curran, Gurevitch and Woollacott 1982:13-14, McQuail 1983:254, and Curran and Seaton 1985:261-267).

Let us conclude the discussion about the second phase in media theorizing with the following words:

"...whilst many of the orthodoxies of earlier stages in the history of mass communications research have been well and truly buried (well, nearly), no clearly articulated new orthodoxy has taken their place." (Gurevitch, Bennett, Curran and Woollacott (1982:7)

Therefore, there is a variety of competing models now being formulated and tested. Below, we will take a brief look at some of the most recent perspectives.

## **Knowledge-gap hypothesis**

This hypothesis takes as a starting point the fact that the supply of information has increased extraordinarily in recent decades. This has offered those with little education and little access to knowledge an opportunity to modify differences in knowledge between different sections of society. Some were even so optimistic as to the production of certain children's programmes on TV (Sesame Street) in order to teach children, assuming that these programmes would narrow the information gap. In fact the gap increased (Moore 1987:187).

Research has not been able to confirm this hypothesis. What seems to be the problem is that those already better off also gain knowledge from the media, often even quicker than those worse off. Related is the problem that printed media are more often the media of the educated classes than television, and it is common knowledge that there usually is more information to be gained from printed media than television. So if the media 'modify' the knowledge gap, they probably widen it, if anything (McQuail 1987:276-8).

Moore (1987:186) studied the phenomenon in a political campaign, and found the gap sometimes to increase, or sometimes to be stable, but never to decrease.

## **Cultivation hypothesis**

The cultivation hypothesis is primarily the product of the work of George Gerbner, and his colleagues at the Annenberg School of Communication in Pennsylvania. The hypothesis is closely related to mass society theories in seeing individuals as alienated and frustrated. From television they get their vision of the world. Using content analyses of television material, Gerbner et al have found, that portrayals of violence and crime are more frequent on television than violence is in everyday life, according to official statistics. Using surveys, and giving respondents two figures, one drawn from official statistics (the lower figure) and the other from TV content analysis data, they have found, that heavy viewers usually pick the higher figure and think it is correct. From this they conclude, that watching much TV leads to a distorted view of the world, in which violence is prevalent and white males dominate the world, by using violence. Television therefore structures a distorted reality for its viewers, and when this goes on for some time, this distorted vision of reality affects society, not only the vision of reality, in the direction that society becomes closer to the reality portrayed on television.

There are some problems involved. First, of course, is the classic chicken and egg problem. It can be difficult making statements about causal links between content analyses, television use data and survey data. Another problem is about generalising from American information to other countries. Researchers elsewhere have not been able to find support for the hypothesis. Because of the tendency of Gerbner et al to talk about general effects (and as a function of their mass society leanings) they have not been able to discuss and give explanations for

population differences (McQuail, 1987:283-284, Blumler and Gurevitch, 1982:257-60, Beniger 1987:S51).

## **Unwitting bias**

It is often thought, that the effects of the media are unintended by the producers. In their work, journalists put reality together (Schlesinger 1987), however not in any intended or conspiratorial way. What affects them most are organizational constraints, and the practices of the profession.

It is probably one of the finest arts in politics to use these constraints and journalistic professionalism to 'sell' issues, images and personalities, to leak information at the right moment in the right ear and so on. Margaret Thatcher knew what she was doing when she kissed the calf. It was not very relevant politically (the poor calf was not even allowed to vote), but it was a brilliantly planned media event. It showed that Mrs. Thatcher cares about agriculture as well as animals. A visit to a hospital shows she cares about people, too.<sup>1</sup>

## **Uses and Gratifications**

The uses and gratifications approach has been around for some time now. Its earlier versions were closely related to functionalist theories in sociology, in the stress on needs that individuals sought to fulfill.

The main focus of those working within the paradigm is on the audiences. The central question they try to answer is why? Why do people watch some media content? What do they get out of it? A basic assumption is that the audience consists of active individuals, who expose themselves to media content selectively. They also interpret the

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<sup>1</sup> The implications of professionalism, organizational restraints and the unwitting bias will be discussed in further detail in Chapter IX.1.

content in an active manner. This is done for some purposes, which may be different in each case. Some may be seeking information, others entertainment and so on. Therefore, it can be said, that the individual decides, at least partly, the effects the media have on him or her. Researchers have found media behaviour to be different according to demographic disparities such as age, gender and education. Men, therefore, are looking for different things in television than women.

The uses and gratifications approach has been criticised for being atheoretical. In fact it is probably more correct to look at it as a method than as a theoretical approach. As a method, it has contributed greatly to communication research in recent decades, and will continue to do so when prejudice against the paradigm decreases (De Fleur and Ball-Rokeach 1982:188, McQuail 1987:72-74,233-237, Curran and Seaton 1985:266-267).

## **Marxist approaches**

There is more than one Marxist approach to communication effects. Here, they will be treated simultaneously. First, however, it is right to emphasize the author's opinion, that though some authors present themselves as starting from Marxist standpoints, it does not mean that all other approaches are necessarily anti-Marxist. Some may even provide important and supportive evidence for Marxist scholars.

Most of the approaches presenting themselves as Marxist, begin with the notion from the German Ideology, that 'the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas'.

Earlier work in the Marxist tradition was deterministic in nature. Ideological content in the media was taken for granted. It was simply a reflection of the base. Later elaborations have looked at ideology in a more complex manner, and see the media's role as

maintaining and reproducing the dominant ideology. Much work in this area has been done in the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, at the University of Birmingham, and in collaboration with the staff at the Open University. Putting more stress on culture and ideology than simple economic determinism, some researchers, e.g. Hall (1977:315-348, 1982:57-90) have sought theoretical inspirations from the work of Gramsci and the concept of hegemony. These authors say, that the media contribute to maintaining the hegemonic position of the ruling class, by disseminating its ideas.

The most important criticism of Marxist approaches is that they are, or at least were, overdeterministic and too theoretical, not being able to confirm (most for lack of attempt) the theories empirically (Curran and Seaton 1985:275-78, McQuail 1987:63-67).

## **Political Socialization**

Implicit in most, if not all the paradigms here discussed, is a notion of a socializing effect of the media. However, until recently, textbooks about socialization have not attributed the media much socializing power. But if much media use is thought to be able to have 'desocializing' effects on people, it must also have socializing effects. That the media were not thought to be very important as agents of socialization is partly because of the 'limited effects' orthodoxy. Klapper was probably taken too seriously. Moreover, the question of media and socialization became more important after the spread of television. Another point is, that the focus was on persuasion and campaigns, the effects that campaigns had on attitudes, and then primarily in changing them. What probably is more important in the field of political socialization is the question of knowledge, how it is shaped, and where it comes from in the first place. These questions are now being addressed on more than one front (Kraus and Davis 1976:12, McQuail 1987:279-81).

## The Spiral of Silence

In her famous article 'Return to the Concept of Powerful Mass Media' (1973) Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann put forward the 'spiral of silence' hypothesis. She started from the assumption that most people are afraid of isolation. In order to prevent isolation most people are conformist. They try to find out the majority opinion, and then never go against this opinion or climate of opinion, no matter what they think of it. The role of the media in the process is to define and disseminate the climate. The more the media stress the opinion-climate, the more individuals who are against it will remain silent. Hence, the spiral effect (McQuail 1987:281).

In a more recent elaboration of the theory, Noelle-Neumann (1984) gives countless examples, some from historical situations, and some from research into the matter in her home country, West Germany. In Sweden and the US, researchers have not been able to confirm the theory (McQuail 1987:281).

The spiral of silence hypothesis is strongly related to Mass Society theories, discussed earlier. The isolated and atomized individuals at the mercy of centralized, powerful media (Beniger 1987:S51, McQuail 1987:282).

It is probably premature to deny the possibility of a spiral of silence. However, the model needs much elaboration, especially in relation to: a) defining it operationally, and b) its theoretical assumptions.

Noelle-Neumann discusses in her book Spiral of Silence (1984:37-57), many experiments in psychology that demonstrate that people tend to be conformist. This is not doubted here. However, experiments of this kind usually use items that individuals do not relate to strongly or emotionally. Who has attitudes towards line-lengths? Who cares? If most people say one line is longer than three others, and I do not agree, I would probably blame it on my sight. It would not be

the first time my eyes betrayed me. But does this mean that I conform to everything the media say? Noelle-Neumann does not convincingly show the relation between conformism and fear of isolation.

Therefore we could hardly agree that the media are the definers of the climate of opinion. It would be more appropriate to say they were the definers of the climate in which opinion develops. Then we are getting closer to the theoretical standpoint adhered to in this project, the Agenda-Setting hypothesis, discussed in a separate chapter, next.

## **II.2. THE AGENDA-SETTING**

### **APPROACH**

The term "agenda-setting" was first coined in 1972, by Shaw and McCombs (McQuail 1983:196). That however, does not mean that they were the first to acknowledge the phenomenon of the agenda-setting function of the press, meaning both newspapers and broadcasting media. For at least two decades the study of agenda-setting has been the focus of some students of mass communication. In a study conducted in 1964, Blumler and McQuail (1968) found, at least in the case of the Liberal Party, that attitudes toward that party improved, the more people had been exposed to its party political broadcasts (Blumler and Gurevitch 1982:251). Moreover, a study of the 1959 election by Trenaman and McQuail showed, that television performed an educational role: people knew more about politics, the more they watched television (Blumler and McQuail 1968:4).

A clear agenda-setting notion can be found in the following words:

"We are unsure about the degree of freedom that politicians should have to present unadulterated party propaganda to a virtually captive audience on television, and about the freedom given to journalists and producers to direct public attention to whatever issues they deem important." (Blumler and McQuail 1968:3).

Although the aforementioned study is based primarily on the uses and gratification approach, it is clear, that at least these two authors had become aware of the possibility of an agenda-setting influence of mass media.

The most detailed work on agenda-setting has been done by Shaw and McCombs and their associates. The first of their work along these lines was conducted in the United States in 1968 (McCombs and Shaw 1972:176-187).

During the 1972 presidential campaign they directed a larger study, in which they combined findings from content analyses and a panel survey. Although this study is seriously flawed methodologically (e.g. the sample), and its findings therefore not to be counted too heavily on, the book that was published to report these findings contains valuable theoretical conceptualizations. (Shaw and McCombs (eds.) 1977). These will serve as the main inspiration of the rest of this chapter, although other sources will be consulted as well.

What agenda-setting is all about, is well described in the words of Shaw and McCombs (1977:5).

"...the mass media may not be successful in telling us what to think, but they are stunningly successful in telling us what to think about."

They say, that there is a causal relationship between the salience given to an issue or a topic in the media, and the salience of the same topic among the public (Shaw and McCombs 1977:12).

"The agenda-setting power of the press may be thought of as a process of consensus building between those who have access to the press or whom the press regularly covers with news, the press itself, and the audience or society at large. Agenda-setting represents social learning." (Shaw 1977:20).

What seems to be the greatest advantage of the agenda-setting approach, in comparison with other approaches, is that it combines, or at least can combine macro and micro notions of mass communication influence. McCombs and Shaw (1977:152) note, that the idea of an agenda-setting function is a macro notion, while much of the research is based on micro variables. Thus the results of a skillfully designed study can tell us about both micro and macro influences of mass communication.

There are a few further points worth discussing. The first is about whether we can treat all news-media in the same manner. It has been observed, that television and newspapers influence people in different ways. Talking about a presidential campaign in the United States, McCombs (1977:98) says, that newspapers seem to set the agenda in the beginning of a campaign. In the latter stages of the campaign both the papers and television share the role. The different structures and forms of those media go a long way, McCombs says, in explaining why. Newspapers have much more space and can pick up issues at early stages, while television news is more like a front page of a news-paper. Issues have to be prominent already to hit the headlines in television. In spite of this, McCombs says, there does not seem to be any two-step flow of issue salience from papers to television, or agenda-setting within the media. Recently, David Butler has challenged this view, when saying that television editors have their priorities shaped by newspapers' headlines. (Butler 1986:12). McCombs however, stresses the difference between these media, and says that the role of television seems to lie in the fact that each network usually

reaches far greater proportions of a population than any single newspaper. "Television may be the ultimate mass medium." (McCombs 1977:98). Some researchers claim, that newspapers perform a more long-term agenda-setting function, while the influence of television is more short-term. (Weaver et al 1981:156 and McCombs and Shaw 1977:156).

Another important factor to be stressed is that agenda-setting can be indirect. It has been found, that there is an association between levels of interpersonal communication and agenda-setting. (Mullins 1977:135-144 and Shaw 1977:69-85).

We can find out by using content analysis which issues or topics are thought to be of major importance by a) the parties, and b) the media. We can also find with audience research which topics or issues are prominent in the minds of individuals using the media. Further, we can find out how these two measurements match with each other. But that does not complete the picture. How do issues hit the headlines or get coverage in the first place.

"Audience interests, candidate strategy, and media news values all play a part in determining what campaign news is carried. However the final result of this mix of interests is an agenda of news topics -the building blocks of public issues - which cannot always be predicted." (Shaw and McCombs 1977:39)

Of those three factors, media news values and institutional and structural constraints play a primary role. Audience interests, or shall we say audience interests as perceived by journalists, undoubtedly play an important role in deciding what is covered. Candidate strategy is likely to be of increasing importance, since television seems to be increasing its role in election campaigns. Some even talk about TV elections. (Even 1986:15).

"To a considerable degree, the art of politics in a democracy is the art of determining which issue dimensions are of major interest to the public or can be made salient in order to win public support." (Shaw and McCombs 1977:-15).

Most studies into agenda-setting have focused on the link between the media and the audience. Combining analyses of media content and surveys of audiences, it has been shown that media emphasis on certain subjects and issues tends to be followed by public concern about these issues. Some recent work, however, has drawn attention to the fact that there may be more to agenda-setting than the media-audience link. Weaver (1987) says there is another factor, not less important, that should also be the focus of research, namely the link between the source and the media. Why are some subjects covered in the media and some not? To explore the link between parties and the media, one has to examine the issues emphasized by parties and candidates on the one hand and what is covered by the media on the other. To explain the discrepancy between what parties stress and what is covered by the media one has to look for the tricks of the trade, news values and journalistic professionalism.

Another fresh influence in the recent agenda-setting literature is the research conducted by Shanto Iyengar and Donald R. Kinder, reported in the book News that Matters (1987). Their study, instead of using content analysis and the survey method, uses experiments derived from the social psychology tradition. Each experiment lasted six days. People recruited through advertisements were asked to answer a questionnaire, dealing with various subjects, including the most important problem facing the nation. The next four evenings, the subjects watched a news bulletin from the previous evening. The bulletin had been edited in the manner that a news-item that had actually been on the news six to eight months earlier was placed in the middle of the bulletin, while another one, equal in length was omitted. This was done all the four evenings and the "new" item was

always about the same issue, for each of the experimental groups. On the sixth day, participants answered a second questionnaire, dealing with similar questions as the first one. The results were reported in the following words:

The message could not be clearer. In every instance, participants emerged from our experiments believing that the target problem was more important than they did when they began. Seven of the eight changes were statistically significant. (Iyengar and Kinder, 1987:19).

There were other variants of the experiment. They showed a group of people one bulletin with either no item, three items or six items dealing with a specific subject. The result was that the more people were exposed to a problem, the more they were concerned about it. When asked about the most important issues a week later, the effects of the experiment still persisted. A third method was to analyze media material and a collection of survey answers over a seven year period. They found, that much coverage and people's concerns went hand in hand.

Taken all together, our evidence decisively sustains the agenda-setting hypothesis. The verdict is clear and unequivocal:...By attending to some problems and ignoring others, television news shapes the American public's political priorities. These effects appear to be neither momentary, as our experimental results indicate, nor permanent, as our time-series results reveal.

All told our evidence implies an American public with a limited memory for last month's news and a recurrent vulnerability to today's. When television news focuses on a problem, the public's priorities are altered, and altered again as television news moves on to something new. (Iyengar and Kinder, 1987:33).

Most researchers have come to the conclusion, whether there is an agenda-setting effect or not is different in terms of issue types. (Weaver, 1987:180).

"..., many important issues are matters of personal experience for the audience, or matters in which saliences have already been shaped by past learning from a variety of media and personal information sources. Irrespective of media emphasis, these issues may assume major importance in an election if the public is greatly concerned about them." (Weaver 1987:186-187).

This means, that certain issues, which are felt directly by the public, such as inflation, may be the concern of many people, whether they are heavily covered by the media or not. (Iyengar and Kinder 1987:25). The same can be said about unemployment (Behr and Iyengar 1985:50, Weaver et al 1981:47,92).

"Apparently, when individuals are experiencing the real-life impact of major issues, they hold little need to be told by the mass media that such matters are important, nor do they require newspapers and television to initiate interpersonal discussion of such issues." (Weaver et al 1981:56).

It is therefore primarily in the domain of what Weaver et al (1981:92) call unobtrusive issues, issues that people are not likely to experience directly in real life, that the role of the media is most important. This would entail such issues as defence and foreign affairs.

There is difference of opinion as regards the length of time it takes for an issue to be prominent in the media, to become a major concern of the public. Evidence is contradictory. Traditional agenda-setting research, using content analyses and surveys of voters suggests, that this may take months. For instance Weaver et al (1981:19-6) suggest, that the time-lag in the case of newspapers is about two months and about one month in the case of television.

"It is quite clear that agenda-setting is not an instantaneous or even short-term effect of the mass media." (Weaver et al 1981:10).

This view is challenged by evidence from the experiments of Iyengar and Kinder (1987:23-25). In fact the design of the experiments did not take into account that the effects were other than short-term. Given the different evidence, one may be tempted to conclude, that agenda-setting can be both short-term and long-term. This may depend on a wide array of factors: type of media; audience differences; different issues and different circumstances.

It has been found, both by traditional agenda-setting research and experimental design, that an important factor affecting agenda-setting effects, is the placement of stories in the news.

"..., it may be presumptuous to expect that the entire list of issues be transferred to the public agenda, much less in the same order." (Weaver et al 1981:98).

Behr and Iyengar (1985:52) and Iyengar and Kinder (1987:43-46) suggest, that the greatest impact is from lead-stories, the stories on the front pages of newspapers and the stories appearing first in television news bulletins. In the case of television, this is thought to be because people pay greatest attention to items appearing first in bulletins and therefore remember them best.

# III.1. CONTENT

## ANALYSIS

### A. Introduction

In this chapter, an attempt is made to portray the research technique, generally called 'content analysis'. First, a general outline will be drawn, where a brief history of the technique and its uses will be outlined, some of the main purposes of content analysis mentioned, and a general definition offered.

Second, a more detailed discussion of content analysis methods follows. Therein will be discussed different approaches to content analysis, problems of research design, validity and reliability.

Third, some of the critical points made by various authors will be discussed.

It should be borne in mind, while the chapter is read, that content analysis is not one technique. Rather, the concept is more like an 'umbrella' label, attached to many relatively different research methods. Furthermore, it should be kept in mind, that a content analysis design should be both 'context sensitive' and 'material sensitive'. By context sensitive is meant, that there must be some explicit or implicit correspondence between the research design and properties of the context. Material sensitive means that the structure of the material under scrutiny should affect the research design (Pool, 1959b:204, and Krippendorff, 1980:49). These requirements entail, that the researcher must be reasonably familiar with the material under study, and the society in which it is produced.

Since the present study includes five relatively different types of material, there will inevitably be as many research designs. The material is of different origins, including:

- a) Televised party propaganda;
- b) printed party propaganda;
- c) newspapers;
- d) television news;
- e) current affairs programmes on television.

However, care will be taken to design each part of the investigation with the aim in mind to be, on the one hand, able to compare results from each part to those from other parts. On the other hand, the subject matter categories used in the content analysis will be as much as possible identical to those used in coding the issues thought most important by the survey respondents.

## **B. A brief history of content analysis**

It is thought, that the first practised content analysis dates back to the late 1600s, when the Church was evaluating whether some texts were religious or anti-religious in content (Krippendorff, 1980:13). The first well documented case, however, is from the mid-eighteenth century, from Sweden, also an analysis of religious material. In 1743 a collection of 90 hymns, 'Songs of Zion' was published by a German religious movement, called the Moravian Brethren. The Orthodox Lutheran State Church felt itself threatened, and after debates it was decided to quantify some predefined key-words, both in the hymns and in orthodox religious texts, in order to find out if the hymns undermined the right understanding of Christianity. The results led to some of the most prominent members of the Moravian Brethren being sent to exile (Dovring, 1955:389-394, Rosengren, 1981:9).

Around the turn of the century, it was a widespread practice to quantify the space in newspapers devoted to specific matters. This was called 'newspaper analysis' at the time (Berelson, 1952:21, Krippen-

dorff, 1980:14). During the 1920s, some literary researchers in the United States divided words into the categories 'easy' and 'hard', and by counting easy and hard words, they could compute a readability quotient of texts (Berelson, 1952:63).

During the late 1930s, content analysis was given an important stimulus through the work of Harold Lasswell, and it was during this phase the term 'content analysis' was actually labelled. Lasswell introduced new problems, procedures and categories. During the second world war, he was director of the so-called 'war-time project' in the US Congress Library. This project was mainly structured around newspaper analysis. Another important pioneer during the war was Paul Lazarsfeld, who was the first to try radio analysis to any considerable extent (Berelson, 1952:22-23, Hofstatter, 1981:529 and Krippendorff, 1980:9).

The wartime studies were centred around various themes. The Department of Justice in the United States used results from content analysis as legal evidence about the assistance of certain organizations and publications to the enemy (Berelson, 1952:80). The main use of content analysis during the war, however, was to secure intelligence data from the enemy's propaganda, what Lasswell (1950:272) called 'outguessing' the enemy. Through the analysis, attempts were made to find out the next moves of the enemy's army, the moral state of the public in enemy countries and so on (Berelson, 1952:35,83).

After the war, much of the data gathered for intelligence purposes was analyzed again and the inferences validated against documents from Germany and Italy that became available after the war. This work, primarily conducted by George (1959), contributed considerably to conceptualizations of aims and processes.

After the Second world war, content analysis spread to other disciplines than political science and mass communication. Psychologists, anthropologists, linguists, historians, and literary critics all became interested in how the approach might enrich their studies. In

1955 a conference was called on content analysis, drawing together researchers from these disciplines, as well as political scientists. A volume, edited by Ithiel De Sola Pool (1959a) was issued after the conference, including some of the contributions to it.

The development of computer technologies has been used by those engaged in content analysis. Programmes have even been designed to read texts automatically. In 1967 the Annenberg School of Communication sponsored a conference on content analysis, which focused primarily on computer techniques.

During the last two decades, linguists have developed a somewhat more qualitative approach to content analysis than has been used within the mainstream (Krippendorff, 1980:19-20). This will be discussed in more detail later.

James Deese (1969:39) wrote about the uses of content analysis:

"The primary objective of any content analysis is to provide some interpretation of a cultural product of possible symbolic significance."

The central idea underlying any content study, according to Weber (1985:12), is to classify the many words of a text (by text we mean written or spoken word, or any other symbolic activity) into much fewer categories of content. The units used, e.g. words, sentences, statements, news-stories, etc., that fall into the same categories, are presumed to have similar meaning.

What we get from a content analysis is a completely new text. This new text inevitably differs from the original text to a considerable extent. However arbitrary or abstract it may seem, it may lead to a better overall picture of the contents of voluminous material, a picture that otherwise might be lost (Berelson, 1952:45, McQuail, 1983:129).

Probably the most quoted definition of content analysis is from Bernard Berelson (1952:18):

"Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communications."

There are five key elements in Berelson's definition. A content analysis must be objective, it must be systematic and quantitative, it is a description of manifest content. Not all authors agree on, whether these are the necessary elements of a content analysis. In fact, there has been a certain development, from this strict and precise definition, towards a more loose and open one. George (1959:78), for instance, talking from experience in analyzing wartime propaganda, says that in some cases qualitative methods may produce more valid results than quantitative. Which to choose, depends simply on the nature of the problem. It would hardly have been very informing about German intentions in the war, to analyze a single speech by Hitler or Goebbels, quantitatively. A lot of information, however, might have been acquired with a qualitative analysis of such a speech (and was in fact done). By putting quantification as a requirement in his definition, Berelson, and others who follow this definition are in fact saying, that qualitative methods of analyzing content are something other than 'content analysis'. Furthermore, George (1959:28) says, that not all agree on the importance of manifest content, and assuming we can say something about 'latent' content, that we can somehow 'read between the lines', gives us a wider range of possible uses of content analysis.

Philip Stone and Ole Holsti (1966:5), have defined content analysis in the following manner:

"Content analysis is any research technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics within text."

It can be seen, that this is a much more open-ended definition than Berelson's. Apart from leaving out 'quantitative' and 'manifest', Stone and Holsti also leave out the descriptive function of content

analysis, and therefore clear the way for wider inference-making possibilities.

Perhaps the most sophisticated, albeit loose definition is offered by Klaus Krippendorff (1980:21)

"Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context."

The requirement to be objective and systematic, that can be found both in the definitions of Berelson, and Stone and Holsti, is subsumed under the requirement to be replicable. This, for Krippendorff, is simply a matter of reliability. What the definition says, is that any categorization of a text, which can be said to score high in reliability and validity, can be called content analysis (see also Krippendorff 1969:70)

As there can be said to have been a certain development in what authors have seen as content analysis, and what not, there have also been changes in their vision of what it is good for, and what not. As was the case with the definition, it is appropriate to work our way from Berelson (1952:26), since his work is, besides being original, a survey of the field.

"The uses of content analysis are ordered under major headings which progressively refer to the characteristics of communication content, the causes of content, and the consequences of content."

If we look at the first usage type, i.e. characteristics, then most studies of content before World War II, the 'newspaper analyses', were of this variant. The first of these were simply descriptions of the content of specific newspapers. Then analysts began to describe the contents of newspapers for comparative purposes, first to compare various papers, then to compare between countries, and finally to compare content at different time-points. By doing that, it was thought that 'trends' could be deciphered. For such trend analyses, one has to

use the same categories at all time-points. It has been popular, and still is, to analyze content to find out some general outlook features of various media, e.g. how much sex or violence is shown on television (Berelson, 1952:30-35, McQuail, 1983:126).

Content analysis has been used to get at 'the spirit of the age'. Some students have used it as an index to attitudes, interests or values of a population. This is based on the assumption, that communication content 'expresses' or 'reflects' the Zeitgeist (Berelson, 1952:90).

Although the pioneers of content analysis were quite certain that it could only be used for description, those following had more ambitions for the technique. One can also speculate on their claim to be descriptive only. It has been pointed out by Krippendorff (1980:25), that content analysis cannot be purely descriptive.

"Consider so-called purely descriptive accounts of political bias, of social prejudice, or of violence on television. Although such accounts might be presented as "factual" they are meaningful only in the context of the social problems that render them significant. Rarely would someone undertake to systematically describe something without some implications in mind... any description entails inferences..."

Although 'descriptive' content analyses are still undertaken, analysts have become more aware of the need to develop methods so they can "...produce something that would go beyond the reaffirmation of the obvious." (Pool, 1959a:2)

Most studies nowadays fall under Berelson's second heading, 'causes'. By causes of content is meant, that the analyst tries to find out something about the producer of content, or to reveal situational factors surrounding him. Here, we can distinguish between several subtypes. The first is based on the highly psychological assumption...

"...that all of the events which occur in messages are causally dependent upon events or states in the human individual(s) producing the messages." (Osgood, 1959:34)

Mahl (1959:89) says in this connection, that it is one of the major aims of content analysis to make inferences about motivations, emotions and attitudes of producers of 'texts'. All this, of course, is based upon the belief,...

"...that the kinds of words a person uses and the frequency with which he employs them are a reflection of his inner nature." (Garraty, 1959:176).

The second subcategory of content analyses that are aimed at the source of content, are those that try to make inferences about matters, that would otherwise have been inaccessible, for instance personalities of dead persons, intentions of groups or enemy governments (Hofstatter, 1981:539, George, 1959:7).

Third, content studies can help analysts to make inferences about technical structures, or other factors which are held to condition the output (Krippendorff, 1980:47).

The third heading under which Berelson puts uses of content analysis, is 'consequences', or 'effects' of messages. In the early days of mass communication studies, when students had few reservations about media omnipotence, description of content was equated with statements about effects (McQuail, 1983:124). Berelson himself, (1952:107), however, had some doubts about this.

"In fact, there are a large number of content analyses which simply re-phrase their results in effect terms - mistakenly, in view of the role of predispositions and other factors involved in the situation."

According to Kris and Leites (1950:278-279), the assumption that one can measure effects by only analyzing content, is based on the belief, that content reflects the expectations of communicators about

audience responses. Although he may not have the right expectations, he will somehow learn about the responses of the audience and adapt his output in future to this knowledge. How he comes to know about the audience's responses, is seldom specified.

Although Berelson had, as early as 1952, discovered that content was not enough for an analyst to be able to say something with certainty about effects, the idea can be found in later work. For instance Osgood (1959), says there is no reason why content analysis is more feasible for analyzing sources than receivers. More recently, Larson (1984:34) wrote:

"Television news content and the influences that shape it are only important to the extent that they are assumed to have some important effects."

Some authors, i.e. McQuail (1977:83) are quite explicit about their view that evidence of content should never be taken as evidence of effects. One has to have evidence about the users of the content in question, obtained independently. For example, content analysis has been used in conjunction with surveys of public opinion. Most agenda-setting research is based on this, for instance Shaw and McCombs (1977) and Patterson (1980, see also Hofstatter 1981:552).

It can be said, that the first content analysis was conducted in Iceland in the 1600s, by Jón Ólafsson, the secretary of Árni Magnússon, a famous collector of old manuscripts. Jón had been going through the old sagas, and said that one could describe the contents of them all in two words: 'farmers scuffled'. Although this was not very systematic, and not a study designed beforehand, these words share the basic thought underlying content analysis, i.e. to describe the contents of long texts in shorthand.

Studies of social phenomena are relatively young in Iceland, and the study of mass communication still younger. There do not exist, to this author's knowledge, any content analyses of Icelandic media,

except the MSc project of the present author, an analysis of television news for two months in 1986. Although this was only a study of television material, it can in some respects be looked at as a pilot study for this one. At least, it has been of help in the design of this study, and it is hoped that it will help in raising the methodological standards and avoiding certain pitfalls and flaws, bound to be present in a first study, and one done somewhat hastily.

## **C. A Methodology outlined**

Krippendorff's definition of content analysis, cited above, does not, as did older definitions (cf Berelson, 1952:18) restrict content analysis to quantitative methods. As mentioned earlier, not all texts are suited for quantification, but this does not mean that the analysis of its content is not worthwhile or should be called something other than content analysis.

The division between 'quantitative' and 'qualitative' content analysis has been tackled differently by different authors, and sometimes other labels are used. Qualitative analysis, or instrumental analysis as Pool (1959b:2) and Mahl (1959:90) call it, is more concerned with content as reflections of deeper phenomena. A child claiming it is hungry, may be hungry, but it may also be avoiding being put to bed. In order to see it that way, one has to go beyond the message's face value, and be highly familiar with the context of the message. Qualitative analysis usually uses less formalized categorization than quantitative or 'representational' analysis. The themes used are often more complex and the analyst often tries to see the whole 'gestalt' of the content (Berelson, 1952:127). Frank (1973:23) calls this the 'soft', as opposed to the 'hard' approach, and writing about an analysis of broadcast material he says:

"...the hard approach is defined as a simple frequency count of words, seconds of airtime coverage and other discrete and concrete quantifiable bits of data. The soft approach, on the other hand, utilizes the judgement of trained coders to evaluate the entire Gestalt package of the news story, the news segment, and/or even of the entire news broadcast."

Generally, it can be said, that qualitative content analysis is rooted in linguistics and semiotics, and is in some respect close to aesthetic and literary judgement. (McQuail, 1983:128). The underlying assumption, according to Fiske (1982:29) is that...

"...the meaning of the message is not contained in the message itself, but is the result of an interaction or negotiation between the receiver and the message."

It would be wrong to think that there is a strong dichotomy between qualitative and quantitative content analyses. For instance, the so-called quantitative approach is based on a qualitative analysis. The design of a research depends largely on the knowledge an analyst has of his subject. Therefore, when constructing his categories, i.e. when deciding what to count, his predispositions, subjective and qualitative evaluations are bound to play a major role. Furthermore, when interpreting his data, he must again resort to subjectivity. So it may be said, that every quantitative content analysis begins and ends with a qualitative analysis (Garraty, 1959:179-186).

A final point about quantitative and qualitative content analyses, is borrowed from Karin Doving (1955:394):

"...quantity itself is one of the qualities of any text which ought to be described."

When designing a content analysis there are two major decisions which have to be made, early in the process. One is to decide what are to be the units of analysis, and the second, how to divide each unit into categories.

For what here is attempted, it is enough to distinguish between two types of units, although some authors, i.e. Berelson (1952) and Krippendorff (1980), make further distinctions. The first type of unit is the sampling or coding unit, the actual unit of analysis. The most commonly used unit, is the item itself, the whole natural unit used by the producer of the material. When analyzing television news, this would mean the news-story or item, or article, editorial, news item and such when analyzing a newspaper. The use of such natural units is appropriate when there is not much variation within the item. One is looking for variations between items, not within them. It has been suggested, and evidence seems to support this, that it does not matter much for one's results, whether one uses large or small coding units. For instance, the use of a news item as the basic unit, tends to give highly similar results as an analysis using sentences as the basic unit. (Windhauser and Stempel, 1979:148-150, see also Berelson 1952:146). For obvious reasons, then, it must be more economical to use relatively large coding units. There can, however, be certain problems involved, such as, that when coding the country which is the basis of a television news item, there can be more than one country recorded. This however, is a problem one has to try to solve with the design of recording units, discussed next (Berelson, 1952:141, Larson and Hardy, 1977:37, Nimmo and Combs, 1985:22, Tan, 1980:49).

A recording unit is what one looks at within the coding unit. Each coding unit can have many recording units within its boundaries (Hofstatter, 1981:530-531). According to Krippendorff (1980:58):

"Recording units are separately described and can therefore be regarded as the separately analyzable parts of a sampling unit. While sampling units tend to have physically identifiable boundaries, the distinctions among recording units are achieved as a result of a descriptive effort."

Recording units may deal with the form of the content, or substance. Form units involve such things as, when looking at newspapers, a distinction between editorials, news, cartoons and advertisements. In television news, a form unit can be the use of outdoor video, or graphic. Substance deals with 'what is said or shown'. These are the subject matter units. Each coding unit can entail various recording units, both handling form and substance at the same time. (Berelson, 1952:158-159, Hofstatter, 1981:530-531, Krippendorff, 1980:57-59, Armstrong, 1959:153).

When an analyst has decided which recording units to use, he has to define categories for each of these. Categories can be of three kinds. They can be nominal, ordinal or interval categories. Nominal categories can be those dealing with the subject matter of the item. Categories dealing with whether an item is favorable or unfavorable towards its subject matter, i.e. 'direction' categories, are ordinal. Categories measuring length and space are usually interval categories. All can be used at the same time, that is, on the same basic unit of analysis (Budd et al., 1967:31, Berelson, 1952:149).

Defining the categories is the most important step in any content analysis, it stands or falls by its categories (Budd et al, 1967:39). In the words of Berelson (1952:147).

"Since the categories contain the substance of the investigation, a content analysis can be no better than its system of categories."

There are two requirements a set of categories must fulfill. One is that categories have to be mutually exclusive, the other being that they must be exhaustive. When coding subject matter, the situation should not arise, that an item appears that does not fit into any of the established categories (Saporta and Sebeok, 1959:146, Budd et al, 1967:39). Both these requirements are of the nature, that the analyst must be reasonably well acquainted with the material before the

actual analysis takes place. Preferably, he should have gone through at least some of it 'qualitatively' before designing the categories (Hall, 1969:148-149, Krippendorff, 1969:70-71, Budd et al, 1967:47).

Some analysts, i.e. Lasswell, have argued for a standardized set of categories, so that all content analyses could be comparable (Pool, 1959:213, Budd et al, 1967:45). That, however, does not seem to be feasible, both because of what was mentioned earlier, about different materials, and because a categorization should be based on what kinds of questions one is trying to answer. There is no use in categories that are not relevant to the problem one is investigating (Hall, 1969;148-149, Osgood, 1959:62, Pool, 1959b:204, Budd et al, 1967:47).

As in other investigations of social phenomena, the concepts of 'validity' and 'reliability' are of central concern in content analysis. Validity refers to whether the instruments used, actually measure what they are designed to measure. Validity has to be established in terms of data gathered with other methods, or with observable facts. A primary condition, necessary, though not sufficient for validity is reliability (Krippendorff, 1980:129, 155-169).

"Reliability assesses the extent to which any research design, any part thereof, and any data resulting from them represent variations in real phenomena rather than the extraneous circumstances of measurement, the hidden ideocyncracies of individual analysts, and surreptitious biases of a procedure." (Krippendorff, 1980:129).

Reliability has been tackled with various means. Sometimes it has been neglected totally. One should not underestimate the importance of reliability, since results based on unreliable data are of little use. Moreover, time invested in reliability tests, and adaption of categories and coding instructions is rewarded, with a richer study than otherwise. One should have the question of reliability in mind at all times, since errors may creep in at any stage (Budd et al, 1967:66).

Probably the best account of reliability in content analysis is given by Klaus Krippendorff (1980). He says, there are three separate types of reliability tests, stability, reproducibility and accuracy. Stability is the weakest measure of these, based on intra-coder stability. It means, that the same coder goes through the same material at two different times. Reproducibility is the measure of more than one coder recording the same set of data, independently. This produces inter-coder reliability. The third, and strongest measure is accuracy. Accuracy is established when a coder codes in a way which is known to be correct by some standard. Standards may have been set previously by a panel of experts. It is hardly realistic to insist on accuracy, but at least one should try to achieve reproducibility (Krippendorff, 1980:130-132).

Some authors, i.e. Stempel (1955:449) and Budd et al (1967:67) have argued for the fourth measure of reliability, the split-half method. According to Krippendorff (1980:132), this method says nothing about reliability. What it tells us, is whether there is homogeneity within a sample.

When conducting a reliability test, one usually takes a sample of the data. This sample needs not necessarily be representative of the total population. It is more important that it is representative of all distinctions made, i.e. it must cover all categories and units (Krippendorff, 1980:146).

There is not an agreement in the literature on any reliability standards. Tan (1980:50) says agreement has to be at least 80%. Others, i.e. Krippendorff (1980:135) and Stempel (1955:449) say that percentages and correlations based on simple frequencies are not accurate measures, since they can overlook random errors and inflate reliability. Instead, one should compare both coders and cases, to detect every single disapproval, and compute therefrom. This will be discussed in greater detail later.

Reliability is a problem that every researcher has to tackle for himself, in terms of the limits of his study design, his resources, and what he intends to do with his results (Stempel, 1955:449, Krippendorff, 1980:146).

Content analysis has, as McQuail puts it (1983:129), 'many limitations and pitfalls'. Some are theoretical and some practical. Analyses of a qualitative nature are often thought to be too theoretical, while traditional content analysis is said to be atheoretical.

The major problem facing anyone engaged in content analysis, is that the category systems used must be highly selective. Therefore, the new 'text' produced by the analysis, may be distorting. This, of course, is closely related to the problem of validating constructs in content analysis (McQuail, 1983:129).

A second problem is, that the researcher tends to impose his meaning-system on the research design. This can be avoided, to an extent, by always keeping in mind that the design should be 'material sensitive', i.e. the meaning-system in the research should be taken from the content rather than the analyst.

A major advantage of content analysis is that it is unobtrusive. This means, that the target of the investigation is not aware of being investigated. Because it is unobtrusive, or non-reactive as McQuail (1983:125) calls it, the measurement itself will not cause changed behaviour (Hofstatter, 1981:529, Weber, 1985:10, Krippendorff 1980:29).

Finally, it should be emphasised once again, that content analysis should not be seen as a 'thing in itself', but rather as a means to an end. Approaches and methods can never be good in themselves, but they can be good for something (Rosengren, 1981:14, Hall, 1969:147).

It is appropriate to sum up this line of reasoning with a quote from Berelson (1952:198), whose work, after 35 years, must still be seen as one of the most complete and original hitherto.

"Content analysis, as a method, has no magical qualities - you rarely get out of it more than you put in, and sometimes you get less. In the last analysis, there is no substitute for a good idea."

## **D) Content analysis and this study**

As was mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, content analysis is used on five different material types. What kinds of questions each type is aimed at giving answers to, will now be discussed.

### **I. THE PARTY-AGENDA**

To answer questions about the structure of the agenda of the political parties, we used material of two origins.

- a) Printed propaganda pamphlets, issued by the political parties during the election campaign.
- b) Television programmes, one from each of the eight constituencies and a few nationwide in which party spokesmen outline the policies of their parties.

### **II. THE MEDIA-AGENDA**

To answer questions about which issues were most salient in the various media during the campaign. Three separate variants of content analysis are used.

- a) Newspaper analysis
- b) Analysis of television news
- c) Analysis of current affairs programmes on television

In all cases the period covered is from March the first, until election day, April the 25th, both included.

When constructing issue categories, all this data was gone through, qualitatively. The same applies to the answers to the questions about most important issues in the three survey waves. This has

been done, in order to be able to treat the party-agenda, the media-agenda and the voter-agenda on similar bases.

In the case of each of the content analysis methods used, a separate reliability test is reported. These tests are extremely important, since all the material has to be coded by one coder, for financial reasons. In the tests, other Icelandic students at the LSE coded a sample of the material, independent of each other, with the coding instructions prepared.<sup>1</sup>

## III.2. THE PANEL SURVEY

It was during the Second World War that researchers began using surveys to assess the effects of media content on the audience, instead of inferring simply from content, although such practices were kept alive and are even still used today by some. In surveys, researchers could 'feel the pulse' of the audience. The underlying principle in survey research, in the words of Kidder and Judd (1986:129), is that...

"...,one collects data from all or part of a population to assess the relative incidence, distributions, and interrelations of naturally occurring phenomena."

What researchers are primarily after when using survey methods are perceptions, beliefs, motivations, anticipations, feelings, and intended future behaviour (Selltiz, Wrightsman and Cook (1976:292-293).

By using a panel design, i.e. questioning the same sample at more than one time, one can detect changes and their direction.

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<sup>1</sup> These tests are reported on in Appendix H

Furthermore, in an ideal situation, when one has related data obtained otherwise, one may be able to say something about causation (Kidder and Judd 1986:133).

In this project, a sample of 1500 individuals was drawn randomly from the Icelandic National Registry. The sample was a quota sample in the respect, that those younger than 18 years old, and older than 70 were left out. Care was taken to secure a correct representation in terms of age (within the restricted group named above), sex and constituency.

The panel consisted of three waves of telephone questioning, two before the election, and one immediately after it.<sup>2</sup> Undergraduate students at the University of Iceland, trained in interview work, were employed to make the phonecalls. The telephones and computer facilities were provided by the Social Science Institute at the University of Iceland.

## **A) The first wave**

The first wave was carried out between March the 27th, and April the 2nd.<sup>3</sup> The interviews took from 3 to 90 minutes, the average length being a little more than 18 minutes. See graph below.

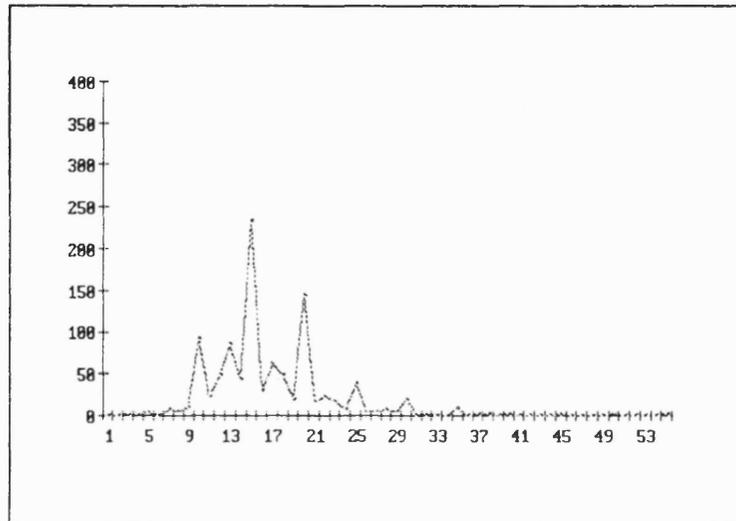
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<sup>2</sup> There is hardly a home without a telephone in Iceland

<sup>3</sup> See questionnaire in Appendix E

GRAPH 1  
LENGTH OF INTERVIEWS IN  
MINUTES

Graph 1 shows the lengths of interviews in the first survey wave. The horizontal axis represents minutes, while the vertical axis represents number of cases



Out of the sample of 1500 individuals, we got 1041 answers, a little less than what we had hoped for, but it seemed like the whole nation was either interviewing or being interviewed the month before the election. In a small country like Iceland, there is always the danger of the same people being in more than one sample, or at least people from the same families. Icelanders do not seem to much like this "invasion on their privacy". 1041 is a little less than 70% of the original sample of 1500. However, there does not seem to have been any systematic refusal. If we look at sex first, then 50.6% of those answering in the first wave were men, and 49.4% women. The sex distribution within the age group in question, i.e. 18-70 years old, was in 1980 50.9% men and 49.1% women. Although these figures were almost 7 years old at the time the sample was taken, the overall distribution cannot have changed to any considerable extent. This is further supported when one looks at the most recent population figures published, that is from 31st. December 1983. Then, the percentage of women (all age groups) was 49.68%, while men were 50.32%. It should

be noted, that the life expectancy of Icelandic women was in 1985, 79.9 years, but 74.1 years among men. This indicates, that the percentage of women in the total figure is somewhat inflated, since those older than 70 are kept in these figures. If they were left out, the proportion would be even more identical to the distribution among respondents in the first survey wave (Statistical abstract of Iceland 1984:25, and Monthly Economic Bulletin Sept.1988:2).

It is somewhat more difficult to get comparable figures about the age distribution, figures that correspond to the age groups used in the sample. Suffice it to say, that 31st December 1980 the proportion of those aged 20 to 39, was 52.5% of the age group 20-70. A corresponding figure from the sample is 54.1%. As many as 31.5% of those 20-70 years old were from the age group 40-59. A corresponding proportion of the respondents was 31.8%, almost the same. The reason why those aged between 20 and 39 are more numerous, proportionally, in the sample than in the 1980 figures has probably more to do with the boom in births after 1960 than a systematic error in the responding sample. The annuals born in the early sixties are the largest ones in Icelandic history (Statistical abstract of Iceland 1984:25, and Monthly Economic Bulletin Sept.1988:2).

If we finally look at this in terms of constituency, the distribution among respondents is almost the same as in reality, with two exceptions. The proportion from Reykjavík is too high, and the proportion from Reykjanes, the second largest constituency is too low. That probably does not matter much, since both are similar constituencies in terms of occupational distribution and living standards. Both are exclusively urban.

## **B) The second wave**

The second wave was administered between the 18th and the 21st of April. We could not begin earlier, because the Institute was carrying out its own survey, and we had to finish it in such a short time because it was getting very near election day. The questionnaire<sup>4</sup> used was considerably shorter than the first one, for two reasons:

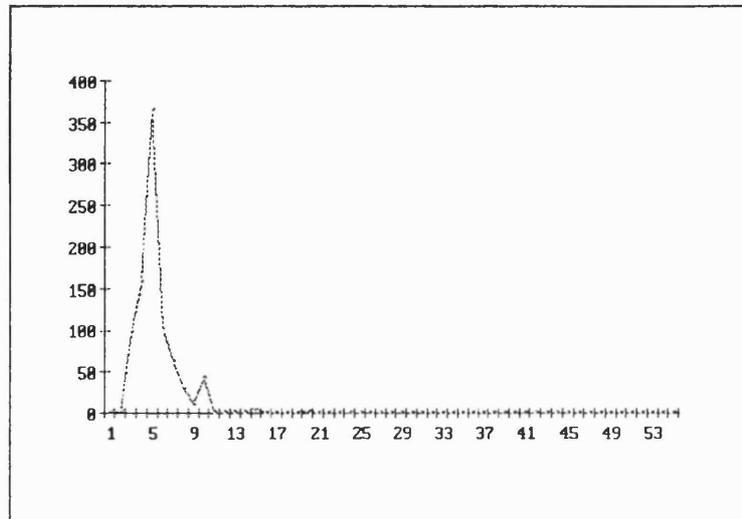
- a) The one named above, that is, shortage of time;
- b) the interviewers got the impression from the first survey, that people would not be willing to answer questions for another 18 minutes. This does not matter much, since the questions we cut out, were those that people are not likely to change their views on, at least not in the short run, such as attitudes toward the various media, their thoroughness and political leanings. Questions about matters that are likely to change over time were included, such as questions about the most prominent issues in the campaign and so on. The shortest interview lasted only 1 minute, and the longest took 20 minutes. The average was between 5 and 6 minutes.

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<sup>4</sup> See Appendix E

## GRAPH 2 LENGTH OF INTERVIEWS IN MINUTES

Graph 2 shows the lengths of interviews in the second survey wave. The horizontal axis represents minutes, while the vertical axis represents number of cases



We got 889 answers, which amounts to nearly 60% of the original sample of 1500 and 85.4% of the 1041 who answered in the first wave. The responding population was somewhat more distorted than in the first wave, although this can hardly be thought severe. Here, male respondents were 52.5% and women 47.5%. Respondents in the age group 20-39 were 56.7%, were 54.1% in the first wave. This is probably somewhat higher than in reality, as has been discussed earlier. Respondents in the age group 40 to 59 were in the second wave 31.4%, almost the same as in the first wave. This indicates, that those older than 60 years old tend to drop out more than those younger.

If the figures are looked at in terms of constituency, the status of Reykjavík and Reykjanes have reversed. The proportion from Reykjavík is too low, but the proportion from Reykjanes too high. Their strength, relative to rural constituencies is however the same as before, and very close to reality, so this does probably not matter much.

How representative the sample was, is further validated when one looks at how people in this group said they were going to vote, and compare the figures with the actual election results. As will be discussed later, this was the closest prediction of election results that were published before the election.<sup>5</sup>

## **C) The third wave**

The general election was held on the 25th of April. We began interviewing on Monday, the 27th, and the last interviews were taken on May the 2nd. The questionnaire was, as the second one considerably shorter than the first one, and for the same reasons.<sup>6</sup> However, care was taken to keep those aspects that might change over time, and ask more specific questions about the media in the election campaign coverage. The shortest interview took about 1 minute, and the longest took 15 minutes. On the average, the interviews took 3-4 minutes each.

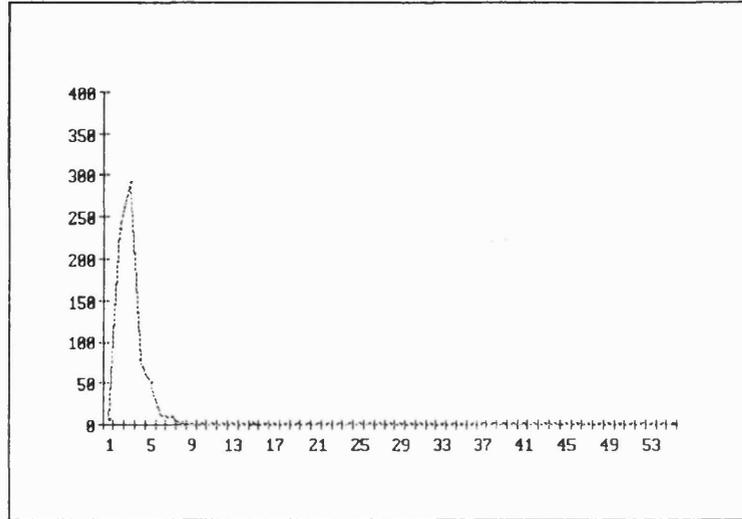
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<sup>5</sup> See chapter IV.9

<sup>6</sup> See questionnaire in Appendix E

GRAPH 3  
LENGHT OF INTERVIEWS IN MINUTES

Graph 3 shows the lengths of interviews in the third survey wave. The horizontal axis represents minutes, while the vertical axis represents number of cases



We got 835 answers, 55.7% of the original sample, but 93.9% of the 889 still left after the second wave.

The extent to which the group of respondents is representative does not seem to be worse than in the second wave. The sex distribution is somewhat closer to reality than in the second wave, and the same is evident in the case of constituency. In fact, the constituency representation is the closest in the whole panel. In terms of age, the oldest group tended to drop out more than others.

We can further validate how representative the group was by comparing figures from the question in which we asked how respondents voted, to election results. The deviation was from 0.0% (per party), to 2.5%. In all but two cases the deviation was below 1.4%. These two exceptions may have logical explanations. The deviation in the case of the Progressive Party was 2.3%. The voters of this party are considerably older on the average than in the case of all other

parties, and the population as a whole.<sup>7</sup> It has been shown, that older people tended to drop out of the panel to a higher extent than younger respondents. The highest deviation, 2.5% was in the case of the Women's List. Women tended to drop out of the panel more than men, so that cannot explain why they got a higher percentage in the survey than in the election. However, the mood around the Women's List was rebellious and lively. These facts might be parts of the explanations for higher deviations in the case of these parties.

## **III.3. REPORTERS'**

### **SURVEY**

Before the General Election in 1987, ten students at the University of Iceland conducted a survey amongst Icelandic news-reporters. The study was designed and performed under the supervision of two teachers at the University, Mr. Þorbjörn Broddason, Associate Professor, and Dr. Elías Héðinsson, Lecturer. Mr. Broddason, who wrote a report on the study, has kindly given permission to use from it whatever is thought to be useful. As indicated, the method was survey technique, so what has been said above about surveys, is also valid in this context.

The group wanted to reach all news reporters known to work on the news-media, i.e. the daily newspapers, (6 in all, five nationals and one regional), the broadcasting media (four at the time) and one weekly newspaper. The aim was to find out about professional attitudes, and attitudes towards mass media, both their own and other.

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<sup>7</sup> See a further discussion in chapter IV.10

A questionnaire was posted to 239 individuals, at the beginning of April 1987. Their names were achieved through the staff managing office at each medium. Soon it became apparent, that the definition of the group was perhaps too loose. For instance, editors and photographers were included in the sample, which they should not have been, and was not intended. It is known by those who did the study, although care was taken not to relate names to questionnaires, that many of the aforementioned, i.e. editors and photographers, did not think they belonged in the group, and therefore did not answer. Thus, the sample should be considered to consist of fewer individuals than 239, although a precise number can not be given.

Altogether 115 individuals answered the questionnaire. That amounts to 48% of the total sample (N=239). However, if we take into consideration what has been said earlier, the "real" proportion might be considerably higher, around 60% is suggested by the author of the report. But because of this uncertainty, the report does not generalize about all Icelandic news-reporters, but is about, and is called "The Attitudes of 115 News-Reporters". However, it is not likely that "non-answerers" are much different from "answerers" (except for editors and photographers) for instance, sex is similar in both cases. However, a striking difference is evident in terms of the media, i.e. reporters on some media were more willing to answer than those on other media.

Less than 50% of the reporters in three of the media answered the questionnaire. The most effective in pulling down the total percentage is the Morning Paper, where only 28% answered. Another striking fact is that reporters on the state owned broadcasting media were less willing to answer than reporters on the privately owned ones. This is most evident in the case of RÚVTV, where only 3 out of 16 (19%) answered the questionnaire. For this reason, primarily, it was not possible to find out if there are different attitudes prevailing on the State media from privately owned media, except what can be

inferred from the simple fact that reporters on the State owned media were less willing to participate.

In the treatment of this survey, no distinction is made between the media, i.e. the manner that attitudes of reporters on each medium are never taken out. The only distinction made, is between reporters on print-media and broadcasting media.

## **III.4. NEWSROOM STUDY**

During the last 10 days of the election campaign, the researcher spent some time in RÚVTV's newsroom. More time was intended to be spent there, but because of a tight schedule, especially in relation to administering the surveys, the time in the newsroom consisted mostly of day-parts.

The author had the kind permission of the news editor at the time, Mr. Ingvi H. Jónsson to be in the newsroom, like a fly on the wall, attend meetings, and discuss whatever he liked with him, and other newsroom personnel, given that it did not disrupt their work, and they were willing to answer questions.

The approach is of a somewhat ethnographic character, no systematic questions asked, and what notes were taken were to try to 'catch the feeling of the moment'.

The purpose of this study was to observe the practices of the newsroom staff in an election campaign, and to try to follow 'issues' from the time they were spotted by reporters, until they hit the headlines in the evening's news-bulletin.

## **III.5. THE INTEGRATION OF DIFFERENT METHODS**

One might wonder, after what has been said in this chapter, 'How can these different approaches be of use in looking at the same reality'? This will now be discussed.

The main aim of the thesis is to look at the relationship between the reality of the mass media and the reality of the voters in an election campaign. It is hypothesized, that there is a causal link between which issues the media present as the most important ones, and the ones the voters report as the most important ones. To add further to the spectrum of the project, two sidesteps are taken. 1) What do the parties see as the most important issues and; 2) Why do some issues and events hit the headlines, and some not? These two questions are closely related to the implicit assumption that the parties are perhaps not so successful in defining the situation. To make an empirical assessment of that, one has to know the answer to the first question above. The second question is to try and find out why this is so.

The relation between the main hypothesis of the project, that is the 'Agenda-Setting' hypothesis, the two questions posed above, and the methods employed is as follows.

- a) To find out which issues were stressed by the parties we use content analysis of party propaganda, both printed and broadcast.
- b) To find out which issues and events were stressed by the mass media we use content analysis.
- c) To find out why some issues and events hit the headlines and others not, we use content analysis, reporters' survey, and newsroom

study, in relation to a theoretical discussion about newsworthiness, news-values and practices.

d) To find out which issues got to the voters, why and how, we use the panel survey.

It is thought, that by employing these different methods, it will be possible to draw a quite clear picture of the role the mass media played in the general election campaign of 1987, and answer some of the whys that are bound to follow.

# IV.1. COUNTRY AND NATION

## Geography

Iceland is an island standing in the North-Atlantic, the Arctic Circle cutting through its northernmost point. It has a total area of 103,100 square kilometers, and is therefore the second largest island in Europe, and the third in the Atlantic Ocean. The mainland is 102,950 km<sup>2</sup> and islands 150 km<sup>2</sup>. Lakes comprise around 408 km<sup>2</sup> of the total area. Iceland is almost all made of volcanic rocks, and volcanic eruptions are frequent, an average of one every five years in this century, so the country is still in the making, and is relatively young according to geological standards. It is estimated that between 30 and 40 volcanoes have erupted during Iceland's historical times. Lava flows cover about 10% of the country's area.

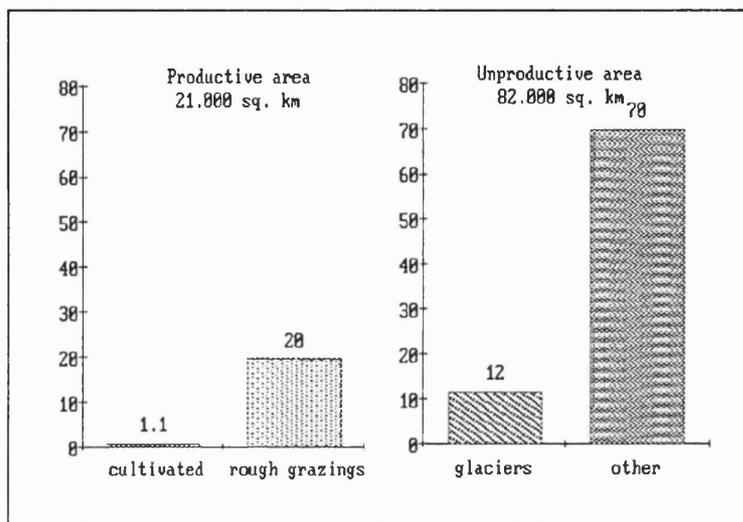
Iceland is extremely rich in natural heat, with the regional heatflow in volcanic areas averaging two or three times the global average. Hot springs are found in around 300 localities. Some of the hot springs are spouting, *geyser*, the most famous of them being Geysir, that at times spouts water to a height of about 60 metres.

Earthquakes are frequent in Iceland. The largest occur in the Southern Lowlands and also in the Reykjanes peninsula and can often be felt in Reykjavík.

More than 11% of the total area is covered with glaciers. The largest of these, Vatnajökull is equal in area to all the glaciers on the European continent put together. Where it is thickest, it is around 1000 meters. The average height in Iceland over sea-level is 500 m. The highest point, Hvannadalshnúkur is 2119 m. A quarter of the country lies between 200 m. and sea-level.

GRAPH 4  
PRODUCTIVE AND UNPRODUCTIVE  
AREAS 1000 KM<sup>2</sup>

Only around 20% of the country is grown. Half of Iceland's population lives on as little space as 50 km<sup>2</sup>. More than a tenth of the country is covered with glaciers



The climate is considerably warmer than the geographical situation of the country would suggest. The Gulf stream carries warm sea and winds from southern parts of the Atlantic Ocean, so ports around the country are ice-free throughout the year. In the Capital, Reykjavík, the average temperature in January is -0.4 degrees Celsius, and in July, the average is 11.2 degrees on a Celsius scale. The lowest temperature recorded at sea-level was - 36.2 C°, in 1881 and the highest in 1939, 30.5 C°. The average precipitation in Reykjavík in January is 90 mm and 48 mm in July. In northern parts of the country the average is considerably lower, but more than twice the Reykjavík average in the most southern parts.

It is estimated, that around half of the country was covered with vegetation when settlement began 1100 years ago. The arrival of man had disastrous consequences for the soil. Wood-cutting and grazing livestock devastated the once extensive birch woods. Then wind and water carried away the now unprotected soil. It is thought that half

of the area once grown is now deprived of its soil.<sup>1</sup> (Þórarinnsson 1986:1-9 and OECD Economic surveys 1988/1989 - Iceland 1988:7).

### **Population**

It is customary to look at the year 874 as the beginning of immigration to Iceland. However, it is believed by some, that Irish hermits had been scattered around the country for some decades before, and some place-names still suggest their existence. The immigrants came primarily from Western Norway and from the Celtic areas of the British Isles, primarily slaves of the Norwegian settlers. It is difficult to decide the proportional distribution of these two nationalities. However, there are little traces of the Celtic influence in the language and culture. Blood groups on the other hand, are more closely related to Celtic origins than Norwegian. This can be a result of the fact that the Celtic blood, called O, is stronger than the A and B blood from Norway. When it blends, it is more likely that the offspring has O blood than A or B.

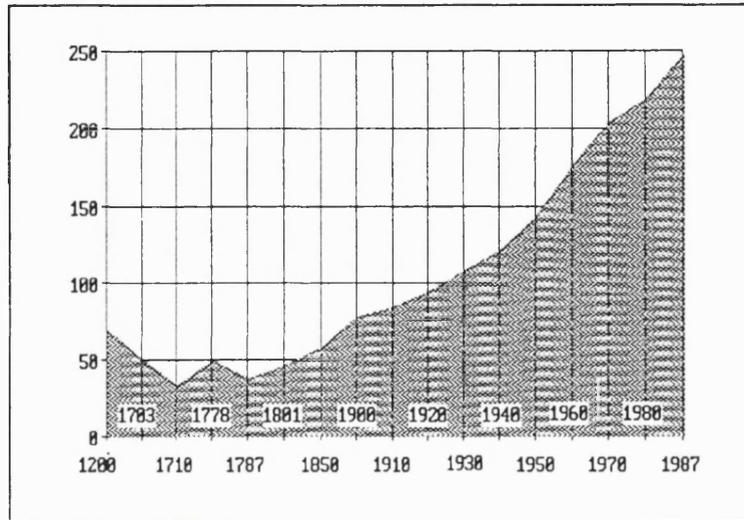
It is thought, that in the 12th to 14th centuries the population was between 60,000 and 80,000. During the next centuries, the situation deteriorated, and the population decreased. Colder climate, overexploitation of natural resources, famine, epidemics and natural disasters, such as eruptions killed people by the thousands. In the year 1703, the first recorded census in the world was taken in Iceland. According to it, the number of inhabitants had shrunk to 50,358. In 1786 it had gone below 40,000. Only in the 1820s did the population exceed 50,000 again, and a century later, in the 1920s it went over 100,000 for the first time. In 1950 Icelanders were 143,973, passed the 200,000 mark in 1967, and on December the first 1987 they were 247,357, according to the National Registry.

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<sup>1</sup> See graph 4 above

GRAPH 5  
POPULATION CHANGES FROM  
1200 TO 1987

Little is known before 1700. The situation is thought to have deteriorated 1200-1700. 18,000 people died 1707-9 of small-pox and more than 10,000 died of famine resulting from an eruption 1783-6.



Iceland is the most sparsely populated country in Europe, the average density being 2.3 inhabitants per square kilometre. However, that does not tell us all, since more than half of the nation lives in the capital area, which is only around 50 square kilometers. Before the urbanization process began to be felt, in relation to the Icelandic variant of the industrial revolution, the geographic distribution was fairly even, that is in areas that made farming and fishing possible. In 1801 only 0.6% of the population lived in urban localities with 200 or more inhabitants. This proportion had risen to 21.4% 1901, 57% in 1930, 80.6% in 1960 and is around 90% today.

As has been experienced by most nations, there was a female majority through most of recorded time. During the last 100 years, the male population has been gaining. Around 1950 there was a balance in this respect and in recent years men have been slightly more numerous than women.

around 28 per thousand in 1950 but was 17 per thousand in 1984. Still births and infant mortality are among the lowest in the world. Only 0.6% die in the first year of infancy. In the eighties death rates have been between 6 and 7 per thousand. There has been a sharp decline in this respect during this century, due to the declining number of infant deaths and a complete extermination of some infectious diseases, such as tuberculosis.

In 1850 the life expectancy of men was 32 years on the average, but 38 years among women. In 1984 the figures were 74 and 80 respectively. These are higher life expectancy figures than reported by most other nations.

It is projected, that the population will be 274,000 in the year 2000, 295,000 in 2010 and 335,000 by the middle of the next century.

Between 1870 and 1910 around 10,000 emigrants left for the Icelandic settlements in Manitoba and other parts of Canada and the US. Another wave took place in 1968-1970, when around 4,000 people emigrated, mostly to Scandinavia. Another 4,000 emigrated in 1976-1980.

In 1984 the number of citizens of foreign countries totalled 3,534. Of those, 1,478 were from Scandinavia, 1,017 from other European countries and 762 from North America (Baldursson 1986:27-36).

## **IV.2. THE ECONOMY**

The Icelandic economy is extremely small compared with most other nations. Furthermore, being primarily based on fishing, it is subject to fluctuations due to factors such as weather, warmth in the sea and biological variations in fish stocks available. Fishing and fish-processing industries have accounted for over 90% of export value for

sea and biological variations in fish stocks available. Fishing and fish-processing industries have accounted for over 90% of export value for a long time. This, despite fishing still being of far the most importance, has changed somewhat. As Graph 6 demonstrates, agricultural products have also diminished in importance, while the products of manufacturing industries play an ever increasing role in the economy.

**GRAPH 6**  
**EXPORTS BY ORIGIN**  
**1881-1983**

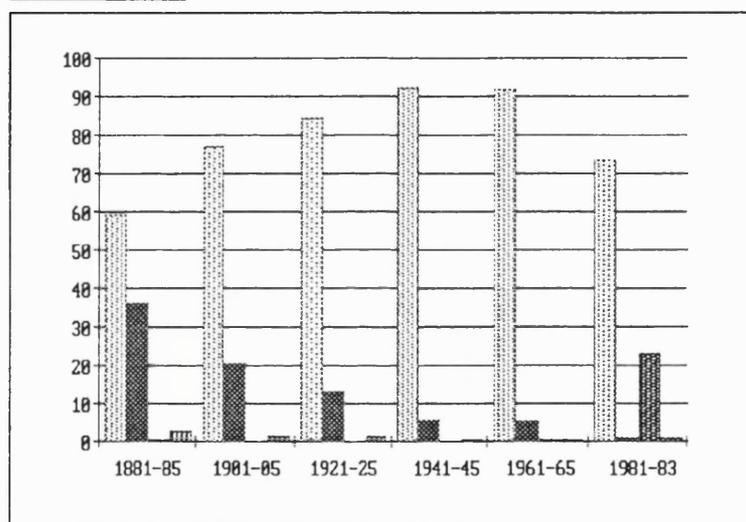
The graph shows %.

Column 1: products of fishing, including whaling.

Column 2: agricultural products.

Column 3: products of manufacturing industries

Column 4: Other<sup>1</sup>



After the Second World War, the main emphasis was on adjusting the economy to a changed world situation. Both the fishing and merchant fleets suffered some considerable losses in the war years. During the war handsome foreign exchange reserve had accumulated. A sizeable part of that was used to renew the fleet and invest in fisheries. The reserves were largely exhausted by the end of 1947 and

<sup>1</sup> This includes products of inland water fishing, seal-hunting, birding, used ships and aircraft and other miscellaneous

during the next years the economy suffered serious balance of payment difficulties. In the early 50s fish catch increased and general economic growth was resumed. However, the strain on the balance in payments remained. One of the reasons was a landing ban on Icelandic trawlers in Britain, imposed because of a "Cod war", a dispute over fishing limits. Iceland had to look for markets elsewhere, especially in East Europe. Over the next years export and economic growth were maintained through a complex export subsidy and import duty system. By the beginning of the sixties it was felt that this system of restriction would not achieve its aim and a new programme of economic reform was introduced. It included a devaluation of the currency "króna", the abolition of the export subsidy and an opening to foreign trade. This new policy turned the balance of payments deficit into a surplus and a new period of economic growth began. However, the programme did not succeed in containing inflation.

Knowing how vulnerable the economy was, being almost solely based on fish, Icelanders began to look for investment in other types of industry. In 1966 an agreement was reached with Swiss Aluminium Limited. SAL was to build a 66,000 ton aluminum smelter, based on hydro-electric power. Another heavy industry plant was built in North Iceland, which involved diatomite being processed with the help of geothermal steam.

Over the years 1961 - 1966 national income increased in real terms at an annual rate of 9%. This was a result of favorable export prices and very large catches of herring. This boom was brought to a halt by setbacks in prices and a collapse of the herring fisheries. Between 1966 and 68 the value of commodity exports reduced by 45%. Real national income per head declined by more than 16%. This was the worst depression in Iceland since the 1930s. The króna was devalued twice, in 1967 and 68, cutting back real income considerably. The economy recovered somewhat. A part in the recovery was due to the fact that exports were now more broadly based than before.

Furthermore, Iceland entered the European Free Market System in 1970, through becoming a member of EFTA and signing Free Market treaties with the EEC in 1973.

One important factor in the economy's setback during the latter half of the sixties was overfishing. In the seventies the fisheries jurisdiction of Iceland was extended twice, to 50 miles in 1972 and to 200 miles in 1975. The extension resulted in "Cod-Wars" with Britain both times, but the dispute was brought to an end in 1977 and now a 200 miles economic zone has been fully acknowledged by all parties.

The seventies were characterized by growing inflation. The first years were favourable, with considerable expansion in exports. The first oil-price crisis hit by the end of 1973 and struck the economy hard. Export prices fell and import prices rose. The result was a serious deterioration of the balance of payments. The króna was devalued substantially in 1974 and by 1976 the balance of payments had improved and inflation was on its way down. However, in 1977 inflation climbed again, reaching more than 40% in 1978. This was due, in part, to excessive wage increases in 1977 and a comprehensive indexation of wages.

During the seventies, further attempts were made to diversify exports. The capacity of the aluminium factory was increased and a new ferro-silicon plant constructed.

In 1982 fish catches fell sharply, hitting the economy severely. The króna was devalued successively and inflation rose to over 100% in 1983. That year the indexation of wages was abolished and a temporary income stop (2 years) imposed. Inflation fell below 20% by the middle of 1984 and the external deficit was sharply reduced. As said earlier, this was partly produced by cutting living standards. A wage increase in 1984 put inflation again over 30%. Over the next two years, oil-prices fell and fish catch increased, booming the economy again. This was further accelerated by moderate pay claims by the labour movement. In 1988 the economy was again hit by deteriorating

biological conditions in the sea, resulting in setbacks in fish-catch. Furthermore, export prices fell and the economy was hit by a severe recession. However, by strict fiscal policies, cuts in government spending and an understanding by the labour movement, hardly calling for any wage-increases, the economy seems to be recovering again. Inflation is down to 4-6%, the lowest for decades, it is projected that fish catch will increase in 1991, the price of aluminium is going up<sup>1</sup> and a long-term wage settlement was reached on 1 February 1990. For the first time in the last two decades, unemployment is felt in Iceland, the figure being between 1-2%. This, however, is thought to be on the decline. The nearest future prospects for the economy are therefore not bad, compared to the past. The negotiations between EC and EFTA might produce a positive impetus for the economy, that is if an agreement over a European Economic Space (EES) is reached. This would result in access to new large markets for Icelandic products. The new development in Eastern Europe might have similar effects.

### **Structure of the Economy**

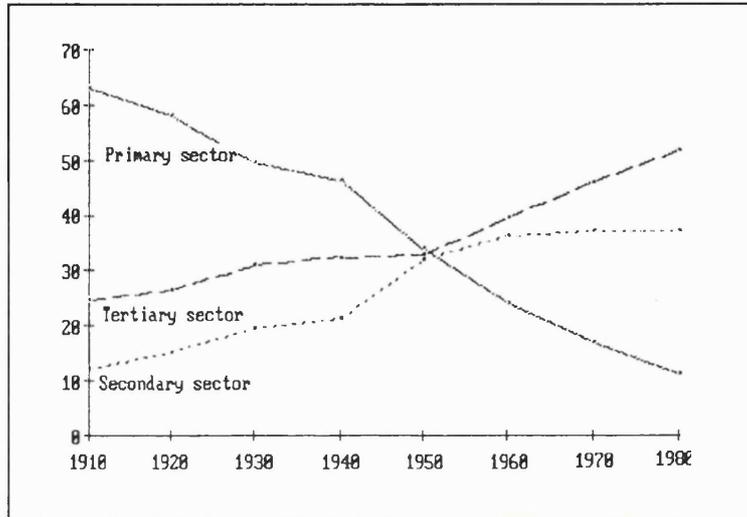
For the first 1.000 years of Icelandic history, the economy was almost exclusively based on farming. Around 1880 agriculture employed about 75% of the labour force. Around that time the economy underwent drastic changes, and has continued to change since. The total change of Icelandic society, from subsistence agriculture to a modern society has been led by the fishing industry. However, this industry does not employ more than around 14-15% of the total work force. This figure has decreased during the most part of the century, due to improved technology and increased productivity.

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<sup>1</sup> A new aluminium smelting plant is being negotiated with foreign investors

**GRAPH 7**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY**  
**SECTORS 1910-1980**

Primary:  
 Agriculture,  
 fishing.  
 Secondary: fish  
 processing, other  
 manufacturing,  
 construction.  
 Tertiary:  
 communication,  
 commerce,  
 domestic services  
 and other services



We will now look at the most important sectors of industry, their development and current status.

**Agriculture**

Grass is practically the only crop that can be cultivated to any considerable extent. This puts its mark on the industry, since this is mostly used for feeding sheep and dairy cattle. In recent years, however, there have been relatively large advances in pig, poultry and fur farming. The modernization of agriculture has resulted in it producing far more than the market allows. This overproduction has led to huge surplus stocks of agricultural products. The government has tried to help reducing this surplus by offering export subsidies, but in recent years government has resorted to a production quota system, which has led to more farmers leaving the profession, and production in certain areas to decrease and adjust to the market.

In 1920, cattle numbered 23,497 head, but in 1984 they were 72,665 head. Dairy production in 1920 was recorded at 1,789 kilos per

cow, but 3,850 kilos in 1983. Around 1900 there were some 469,000 sheep in the country. In 1978 there was a peak in the number, 891,000, but due to aforementioned government policies the stock had fallen to 713,000 in 1984. In 1930 a winter-fed sheep yielded 10 kg of meat, but 17.2 kg in 1984 on average. In the 1880s the population dependent on farming was almost 49 thousand families, but was down to around 15 thousand in 1980. In the 20s, the number of farms was between 5 and 6,000, but had reduced to 3,450 in 1980. The average stock per farm is 205 sheep and 24 cattle, including 19 dairy cows.

### **Fisheries**

Though fish still generates by far the largest part of foreign exchange earnings, about 70%, this has for the most part of the century been higher, about 90%.

Most of the species are fully used and major fishing stocks show signs of over-exploitation. This has resulted in strict government measures, involving a quota system. If the industry is to develop further there must come a qualitative change rather than quantitative expansion, such as a changed market situation, higher prices and demand for new unused species.

Freezing is the most important processing method, generating about half of the total production value. Second is salted fish, accounting for about 20%.

The largest single markets (1985) are: the United States (32.5%), the United Kingdom (20.4%), Portugal (7.4%) the Soviet Union (7.3%) and the Federal Republic of Germany (6.2%).

### **Manufacturing industries**

The geographical location of Iceland and the small population have led to poor access to foreign markets and a very small domestic market. The condition of Icelandic industry improved considerably after Iceland joined EFTA. Manufacturing industries supply between 15 and

20 thousand jobs. The food processing industries are the largest, then weaving, paper, timber, chemical and aluminium and ferro-silicon industries.

### **Living standards**

Iceland has, in the years after the war experienced a rapid rate of economic growth. In the first forty years, Iceland's gross domestic product (GDP) has risen fivefold, by an average of 4.2% each year. If population increases at the same time are taken into account, GDP per capita has risen by 172% in real terms. That corresponds to an average annual growth-rate of 2.6%. However, the development has not been smooth and without exceptions. Per Capita GDP did decrease five times over these years, between 1947 and 1952 it fell 15%, and 10% between 1966 and 1968. In 1982 and 1983 per Capita GPD dropped by almost 8% in real terms.

Although the Icelandic economy is an extremely small one, only a miniature compared with most other European nations, per capita GDP ranks among the highest in the world, allowing for living standards on a par with what is evident in the wealthiest nations in the world. This is clearly demonstrated in table 1.

TABLE 1

INTERNATIONAL COMPARISONS OF BASIC STATISTICS - 1986

	Denm.	France	FRG	Icel.	Japan	UK	USA
GDP (prices 1986) Billions US \$	83	724	892	4	1.956	548	4.185
GDP (per capita) US \$	14.326	13.077	14.611	15.984	16.109	9.651	17.324
Publ. cons. (% of GDP)	24.0	19.4	19.7	17.1	9.9	21.3	18.6
Priv. cons. (per capita) US \$	7.129	7.389	7.116	9.849	7.132	7.156	11.500
Passenger cars*	293	360	441	431	221	312	473
Telephones*	783	541	641	525	535	521	650
TV sets*	392	297	377	303	250	336	621
Doctors*	2.5	2.1	2.5	2.4	1.3	0.5	2.3
Infant mortality**	7.9	6.9	9.1	5.7	5.9	9.4	10.6
Export of goods as % of GDP	25.7	16.5	27.2	28.3	10.8	19.5	5.2

\* per 1000 inhabitants

\*\* per 1000 live births

It is notable, that there is a lower figure for public consumption in Iceland than among many of the neighbours. This may look surprising, especially in light of the fact that the structure of the welfare system is greatly similar to the closest neighbours, the Scandinavian countries. Education is open to everyone and free of charge. The health insurance system pays for hospital and other medical costs. The social security system provides for old age, invalid people and various other benefits. There are, however, some explanations for this disparity in public consumption figures between Iceland and her neighbours. First, Iceland has no military expenditure. Second, low unemployment has led to the fact, that benefits and outlays for training schemes have not been a large factor. Third, private pension funds play a large role and public funds are therefore less burdened with pension payments. Moreover, the population is younger than in most of the neighbouring countries.

Although at a relatively high level, there is a negative aspect as regards living standards. This has to do with uncertainty, the great fluctuation experienced in the economy. If the cod decides to move, not to grow or die of natural causes (cold) it has grave implications for the economy. (Snorrason 1986:195-205, Monthly Economic Bulletin, Sept. 1988:20, OECD Economic Surveys, 1988/1989 - Iceland).

## **IV.3. THE LABOUR**

# **MARKET**

As could be inferred from the size of the nation and the economy, the labour force is also small. It is estimated that between 55 and 60% of the population is in the labour force. The overall participation has increased considerably over the last one and a half decade, mostly for two reasons. The proportion of the population aged 18 and under has fallen and many more women work outside their homes. In 1963, around 37% of married women were working, in 1970 the figure had risen to 52% and in 1982 it was 73% of all women aged 20-60 years. People also tend to work longer than elsewhere. In 1982 a half of Icelandic men and women aged 65-74 years were still employed, while in Denmark the figure was 12.1%.

The labour force was extremely stable for centuries, in terms of geography, occupation and industry. Most people lived and worked on the farm they were born on, or close by. In the present century, the labour force has become extremely mobile, whichever standard is used.

There are extreme differences in the composition of the labour force, according to areas. In some regions agriculture and fisheries

account for 50% of the labour force. The same proportion is only 4.5% in the Reykjavík area, where nearly 60% of the total labour force lives.

The Icelandic labour force is almost fully unionized, with union density above 90%. The largest workers' association, the Icelandic Federation of Labour (Alþýðusamband Íslands, ASÍ in short) was formed in 1916. It has continued to grow and now includes more than half of all workers. The Federation of State and Municipal Workers (Bandalag Starfsmanna Ríkis og Bæja, BSRB in short) was established in 1942. In 1958 the Association of University Graduates (Bandalag Háskólamanna, BHM in short) was formed.

ASÍ negotiates directly with the Confederation of Icelandic Employers (Vinnuveitendasamband Íslands, VSÍ in short), which was formed in 1934. The ASÍ represents its members, either as a whole, or each member union negotiates separately. The trend has been towards collective bargaining. BSRB negotiates directly with the state (Ministry of Finance). BHM is divided into two departments, one handling State employees and the other those in the private market (Eggertsson, 1986:235-40).

## IV.4. CULTURE AND EDUCATION

The Icelandic language is one of the Nordic languages, which are a sub-group of the Germanic languages. Evidence suggests, that the origins of the language can be traced to West-Norway. These languages (Norwegian and Icelandic) did not become markedly different until the 14th century, mainly due to changes in Norwegian. A very large part

of the early Icelandic vocabulary has been preserved to modern times (Benediktsson, 1986:55-65).

The oldest literature until about 1100 is all composed in verse. It is usually divided into two main groups: Eddaic and Scaldic poetry. Most of the Eddaic poems are preserved only in a single vellum manuscript from the latter part of the thirteenth century. It is thought, that Sæmund the Wise collected the poems. The Scaldic poetry is scattered in Sagas. The Sagas were written during the Golden-age of Iceland's literature, from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. They are great in numbers, and varied in subject and style. Some 40 Sagas of Icelanders are now extant and about the same number of tales. About one of the Sagas, *Njáls Saga*, Sigurður Nordal, late Professor of Literature, University of Iceland wrote:

(However,) most would agree that *Njáls saga* denotes the greatest imaginative work of them all. It seems to have been written ca. 1280, and it belongs with those sagas, *Gunnlaugs saga*, *Bandamanna saga*, *Hrafkels saga* and *Hænsna-Póris saga*, which were composed as novels, with the author in complete control of his material from beginning to end, whatever use he may have made of written or oral sources. It is doubtful whether any prose has ever been written superior in purity and perfection to the best chapters in *Njála*. The firm control over extensive and varied material, the tension in the narrative, the author's equal ability to achieve tragic and comic effects, the profound characterization of enigmatic personalities, the dramatic description of events - everything bears the hallmark of genius. (Sigurður Nordal 1986:74)

In 1117 Icelanders undertook the written codification of their laws. The first history books were written about 1100.

Although the golden age ended in the 14th century, literary activities did not come to a halt. Annals were written and some religious texts were translated into Icelandic. Printing began in Iceland around 1530 and by 1600 Icelanders had obtained a good number of printed books, for instance a complete translation of the Bible (1584).

Printing and publishing was mostly under the church until the late 17th century. During this period, few works of literary originality appeared. After 1750 many Icelanders went to Copenhagen to study. Many of them were affected by the cultural currents in Europe. They formed literary societies, wrote and published many books and periodicals on a variety of subjects. There can hardly be said to have been any break in literary activities of the nation for the last 250 years (Nordal 1986:65-83).

### **Education**

An education act was introduced in 1880. It required all children to be taught reading, writing, arithmetic and the rudiments of the Lutheran version of Christianity. The responsibility for this education was to be in the hands of parents and the Church. In 1907 a new bill was passed. The basic aims and policies of it are still present today. The act made public education compulsory and free of charge for all children from the age of ten to fourteen. Children should, however, know how to read before entering school.

Icelandic education is organized into three interrelated levels, a primary level, from ages six to sixteen, a secondary level of four years. This level provides advanced general and vocational education. The third level, university level, offers higher education. The university was founded in 1911. That year, full-time teaching staff were 11 and students enrolled were 45. In 1961, teachers were 36 and students 799. Twenty years later, teachers were 226 and students 3.615. In 1985 comparable figures were 252 and 4.470, respectively (Jósepsson 1986:258-269 and Guðjónsson, 1986:270-274).

## IV.5. FOREIGN

# AFFAIRS

For most of her history, Iceland was under the rule of another country. Late in the 13th century the Althing passed a treaty of Union with the King of Norway. About a hundred years later, Norway and Iceland came under the Danish Crown. Since then, until independence in 1944, Icelandic foreign affairs were formally under the rule of Danes.

The Icelandic foreign service started when Germans occupied Denmark in April 1940. A Ministry for Foreign Affairs was established in 1941.

Two years after independence, Iceland became a member of the United Nations. In 1952, the Nordic Council was formed. Iceland was a founding member of NATO in 1949.

Three main factors affect Icelandic foreign policies: Membership in the Nordic Council. The Nordic countries hold regular consultations and try never to vote against each other in the UN. The second most important determinant is NATO-membership, which has affected Icelandic stand on security questions and East-West relationships. At Keflavík airport, there is an American Naval base, which has often been a subject of political controversy. Third, national interests as regards the Law of the Sea have been a very important determinant.

Iceland is a member of some other international organizations, the Council of Europe, since 1951, OEEC (later to become OECD), since 1948, and EFTA since 1970. There is now a lively discussion going on in relation to the negotiations between EFTA and the EC about a European Economic Space (EES), whether to take part in such

a system, or even, whether to apply directly for admission to the EC after 1992 (Björnsson 1986:125-30).

## **IV.6. POLITICAL**

# **PARTIES**

Danes have ruled Icelandic politics for the most part of the last centuries, although the first Parliament in the world was established in Iceland in the year 930. This marked the beginning of the so-called Free State Period, which lasted until 1262. The Althing performed both legislative and judicial functions. In 1262, the Icelanders swore allegiance to the Norwegian king. After that, the Althing remained primarily a judicial body, while lawmaking and executive powers were in the hands of the crown, which sometimes was Norwegian, and sometimes Danish. The Althing was abolished in the year 1800, and remained completely dormant for 45 years, but was re-established as a political consultative body to the king in 1845. It was granted limited legislative powers in 1874, and in 1904 Iceland got Home Rule. In the year 1918 Iceland became a sovereign state, although still under the Danish monarchy. In 1944, Iceland became an independent state.

There has been considerable continuity in the political landscape in Iceland, during this century. The struggle for independence took up most of the political activity during the 19th century. Most agreed on the goals, but there were some differences in relation to means, and how far the demands should reach. After the Althing was restored, and especially after it was granted limited legislative powers in 1874, politicians began to form parties along divisions in independence

demands. Until 1918, the independence question predominated in Icelandic politics, but after the question of sovereignty had been resolved, politicians began to form parties along other lines. Those changes went hand in hand with the transitions that were taking place in the economy, which was changing fast from self-subsistence agriculture, towards modern fishing. This has been called the Icelandic industrialization.

There can, if we simplify considerably, be said to be two main cleavage factors in Icelandic politics. First, there is the economic, or class dimension, which has been predominant since the first part of the century, and second, a foreign affairs dimension, rising primarily from the US naval base in Keflavík, and Iceland being a member of NATO. This factor, as well as the economic one has been creator of parties and governments, as well as deciding the destiny of some governments.

Now, we will discuss briefly the political parties that have fought in the class politics period.

### **The People's Party (SDP)**

The beginning of class politics can be traced to the formation of the first class party, the People's Party, which was formed in 1916, alongside the Icelandic Federation of Labour, (Alþýðusamband Íslands, ASÍ in short). The party and the ASÍ had organisational ties until 1942.

In the beginning the party was a radical left party, aiming at socialism in Iceland. It had a somewhat Fabian view of the road to socialism: with increased education and propaganda, people would realise, that socialism was the best way to handle their affairs. Revolution was not on the agenda. In 1930, communists left the party, to form a separate Communist Party (CP). The SDP split again in 1942, when a fraction of it joined forces with the communists again, and formed the United Socialist Party (USP). The same happened in 1956, when

a part of the SDP formed an alliance with the USP and formed the People's Alliance (PA). Still another split occurred in 1968, when a part of the SDP, a part of the PA and a group of young people from the Progressive Party formed the Union of Liberals and Leftists, which died in 1978. In 1982 and 1983 the SDP split once again, when the Social Democratic Alliance (SDA) was formed.

All these splits, which have always meant the part of the SDP most on the left, leaving, have driven the party rightwards. It was a radical socialist party in the beginning, but is now close to the centre. The party has almost always supported NATO and the Keflavík base.

Despite all the splits, the party has somehow always managed to stay alive. In 1974, it almost died, but during the next four years, new people took over within the party, and under the slogan 'a new party on an old foundation' it won a considerable victory in the election of 1978.

### **The Progressive Party (PP)**

The Progressive Party was formed in 1916 by 8 prominent figures in the co-operative movement, which has always been a rural based movement of producers (Árnason 1985). The founders of the party were all MPs, so the party was formed inside the Althing.

The party split in 1933, when the Farmers' Party (FP) was formed. This party collapsed in 1942, and most of its leaders joined the PP again.

The party has been, until recent years, almost exclusively a rural party, and has defined itself as a centre party. With growing urbanisation, the PP has not been able to rely exclusively on rural support, and has had to change its approach to Icelandic politics. Its support has mainly been in the rural parts, although it has strong support among urban-based civil servants. The party has thus been in a good position to take part in coalition governments, with the Independence Party on the right, and the other parties on the left. The party has

presented itself as the solid base of Icelandic politics. A government can hardly be formed without it being part of it. With this, it has managed to be continuously in the governing coalition since 1971, except for a few months in 1979, when there was a minority government of the SDP.

In economic matters, the party has been in favour of a mixed economy, with heavy stress laid on the role of co-operatives. Its position towards NATO and the Keflavík base has fluctuated over the years. Now the party is officially in favour of the base and NATO, although strong rural elements in it are against.

### **The Independence Party (IP)**

The party was formed in 1929, as a merger of two smaller parties, the Liberal Party and The Conservative Party. The party has been, from its formation by far the largest single one in Icelandic politics. It had never been a victim of major splits, until a month before the 1987 election, when one of its ministers was forced to resign, as a result of his suspected tax fraud.<sup>1</sup> After that, this Minister, Mr. Albert Guðmundsson formed the Citizens' Party (BP), discussed later in the chapter.

It can be said, that there has been room for almost all types of ideological shades in the party, except socialist ideas. The party has been thought to work primarily in the interests of those better off in society, and this tendency has increased, particularly in the last decade or so. However, the party has also taken part in shaping the welfare system, one of the more developed in the world. In many respects, it resembles the large Christian Democratic parties on the continent.

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<sup>1</sup> See a discussion of the Guðmundsson affair in chapter IV.9

### **The People's Alliance**

In 1930 a Communist party was formed in Iceland. It never got more than 8% of the vote (1937). In 1938 the CP joined a splinter group from the SDP, and the United Socialist Party was formed. The USP got almost 20% of the vote in 1942, and took part in a coalition government, with the IP and the SDP. This coalition broke in 1946, over the American naval base in Keflavík.

In 1956, the USP joined yet another splinter group from the SDP, and the People's Alliance was formed. The party had in the beginning, a somewhat socialist platform, and has always been in clear opposition to the Keflavík Naval Base, and Iceland being a member of NATO. Nowadays, the Peoples' Alliance can hardly be called socialist, rather, it is a Social Democratic Party, its policies being much like the Swedish SDP's. The party has close ties into the labour movement, in terms of leadership and support. However, it does not monopolise the movement. In fact there has been a tendency in recent years for the labour movement to be governed by party based coalitions, of the People's Alliance, the People's Party and The Independence Party.

The Party faces growing problems. It has lost support since 1978, when it won a considerable victory. Many of its members voted the Women's List (WL) and other parties.<sup>1</sup> It has taken part in unpopular governments, 1971-74, 1978-79 and especially 1979-83, a government under which, inflation reached 130% on a year's basis.

### **Social Democratic Alliance (SDA)**

The Social Democratic Alliance was formed in 1982-3, a split from the SDP. Its founder and leader, was a prominent MP for the SDP, and by many called the architect of the 1978 victory. In the 1983 election, the Social Democratic Alliance got 4 MPs elected. In 1984, the leader of the party a young man died. After that, short of effective

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<sup>1</sup> See chapter IV.11

leadership, the party began to break up. In 1986, all four MPs left the party, three joined the SDP, and one the IP. In spite of that, the party offered candidates in two of the largest constituencies in 1987.

### **The Women's List (WL)**

The WL was formed in 1983, and offered candidates in three of the largest constituencies. In the election 1983, the Women's List got three MPs elected, 5.5% of the total vote. The WL offered candidates in all eight constituencies in this election. It is mostly voted for by women, and it is thought, that the support comes primarily from the People's Alliance, although the leaders of the WL say the party is a broad alliance of women of all political shades.<sup>1</sup>

The policies of the Women's List often resemble those of the People's Alliance, in economic, social and foreign affairs. The WL presents itself as a carrier of "soft" values in politics. Since women are capable of running homes and households, where you do not spend more than you earn, their experience should be used in running the country.

### **Movement for Co-operation and Equality (MCE)**

This is a splinter group from the Progressive Party in one rural constituency. The group was formed around one man, former MP of the Progressive Party, Mr. Stefán Valgeirsson. The governing bodies of the PP in the constituency had decided not to offer him again as a candidate, and his supporters did not submit to the decision.

### **Humanist Party (HP)**

The Humanist Party was formed in 1986. It is formed around one individual, Mr. Pétur Guðjónsson, a political science graduate from Harvard. The Party seems to consist mainly of young people,

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<sup>1</sup> See chapter IV.11

particularly first time voters, who have not taken part in the activities of the other parties.<sup>1</sup>

### **Citizens' Party (BP)**

The party was formed only a month before the election, as a result of a split in the largest party, the Independence Party. Its leader was from the beginning Mr. Albert Guðmundsson, former Minister for Industry. He was forced to resign from the Cabinet, because of suspicion that he had attempted to avoid paying full taxes.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Guðmundsson has now retired from politics, to become Ambassador in Paris.

### **National Party (NP)**

This party was formed in 1986, and offered candidates only in five, the most rural constituencies. Its roots are in a pressure group that has for some time been stressing the need for regional equality, and a policy that gives more powers to the rural parts of the country, more investment in industry, roads and other transport in the rural parts.

### **Other parties**

A few parties other than the aforementioned have been formed over the decades. In 1933 a Nazi Party was founded, and existed until 1940, but attracted practically no followers.

Two parties, apart from the Citizens' Party, have been based on splinter groups from the IP. In 1941 a Commonwealth<sup>3</sup> Party was formed, and a Republican Party came into being in 1953. Both were

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<sup>1</sup> See chapter IV.11

<sup>2</sup> See a discussion of the Guðmundsson affair in IV.9

<sup>3</sup> Has nothing to do with "the British Commonwealth", though the name might indicate otherwise

extreme rightwing parties, and thought that the IP had come too close to socialism. Both were shortlived and did not gain any ground among the electorate.

In 1953 the National Preservation Party was founded by groups from the SDP, the USP and the PP. The party was formed around the NATO issue, its founders being against the NATO base in Keflavík. The party took part in forming the PA in 1956.

The Union of Leftists and Liberals has been mentioned, formed in 1971, and lived until 1978, when most of its members joined either the PA or the SDP.

Until recently, there were three ultra-left communist parties, two Marxist-Leninist, one with Stalinist leanings and the other with Maoist leanings, and a party of Trotskyites.

Some other parties have been formed, but all have been shortlived, and not gained any ground among the electorate.

## **IV.7. CONSTITUTION AND**

# **GENERAL ELECTIONS**

### **1946-1983**

The constitution, a written document, is almost the same as was presented by the Danish king in 1874. Some changes have been made, but can hardly be called fundamental: a) king was changed to president and b) the number of MPs has increased several times, restrictions on voting eligibility been abandoned, and the boundaries between constituencies have been changed.

The President is elected every four years. He (she) has to sign laws from the Althing, and thus has veto power, but that is never used. The Presidency is both above and outside politics, with the exception that he (she) must choose the person to be in charge of cabinet formation negotiations.

The Althing is elected for four years. It sits sometimes as one chamber, and sometimes in two chambers, depending on the nature of the issue being discussed. From 1874 to 1915, a certain number of members of the Upper House were appointed by the king, but from 1915 to 1934 these members were chosen by special elections to serve for six years instead of the four, the members of the Lower House were elected for. After 1934, all members were chosen in the same general election, and are divided between the two houses by themselves after the election.

Changes have been made in the number of MPs, and the boundaries of constituencies in 1923, 1934, 1942, 1959, 1968 and 1984. Since 1959 constituencies have been 8. In 1916, the number of MPs was 40. In 1923 it was increased to 42, and 49 in 1934. In 1942 the number of MPs was increased to 52, and to 60 in 1959. The number of MPs remained 60 until 1984, when their number increased to 63. This is a result of a tug-of-war between the interests of those who live in urban constituencies, and those living in rural ones. Those living in the Southwest, in the two largest constituencies, in terms of voters, want more seats for their constituencies, while those in the other constituencies want to keep intact the traditional influence of the more sparsely rural populated constituencies.

Voting age is 18 years (since 1987, was 20 before). 62 seats are divided between the constituencies, and in each of those, the seats are allotted to parties according to their proportion of the vote in the constituency. One seat is given to a constituency after the elections, to compensate the party with the fewest seats as compared to its number of votes. The rules are somewhat more complicated than this might

indicate. For instance seats are distributed between constituencies and parties in several steps, in order to secure an equitable representation of the parties in the Althing.

Let us now turn to the results of elections since Iceland acquired its independence in 1944. This is best shown in a table.

The table shows each party's proportion of the vote in all elections from 1946 to 1983.

TABLE 2

RESULTS OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS  
1946 - 1983

Party	Year												
	1946	1949	1953	1956	1959a	1959b	1963	1967	1971	1974	1978	1979	1983
SDP	17.8	16.5	15.6	18.3	12.5	15.2	14.2	15.7	10.5	9.1	22.0	17.5	11.7
PP	23.1	24.5	21.9	15.6	27.2	25.7	28.2	28.1	25.3	24.9	16.9	24.9	18.5
IP	39.4	39.5	37.1	42.4	42.5	39.7	41.4	37.5	36.2	42.7	32.7	35.4	38.7
PA <sup>1</sup>	19.5	19.5	16.1	19.2	15.3	16.0	16.0	13.9	17.1	18.3	22.9	19.7	17.3
O <sup>2</sup>	0.2		9.3		2.5	3.4	0.2	4.8	10.9	5.0	5.5	2.5	13.8

The table shows clearly, that there was considerable stability in Icelandic politics in terms of election results, until the beginning of the 1970s. From the 1971 election fluctuations have increased steadily, reaching an unprecedented peak in 1983. In the election 1987, which here is under scrutiny, there was still greater fluidity, as will be discussed after we have presented a short history of governments.

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<sup>1</sup> United Socialist Party before 1956

<sup>2</sup> Others. In 1953 this included the National Preservation Party, which got 6.0% and a Republic Party which got 3.3%. In 1971, the Union of Leftists and Liberals got 8.9%. In 1983, the Social Democratic Alliance got 7.3%, and the Women's List 5.5%.

(Statistical Abstract of Iceland 1984, Iceland, 1986, Alþingismannatal 1975 (A Register of MPs 1975).

## **IV.8. GOVERNMENTS**

On February 1st 1904, Iceland got its first Minister appointed (home rule was granted 1903). Until January 4th 1917, 6 individual MPs were Ministers of Iceland. From 1917, three ministers sat in a cabinet. Eight such coalition governments sat until 1934, when the number of ministers was increased to four. Three coalitions sat from 1934 to 1942, when a government of individuals not sitting in the Althing was formed, because of difficulties in forming a political coalition. From independence in 1944, 15 coalitions had sat until the 1987 election. Each will now be listed briefly, in terms of which parties took part. In the government 1983-1984, there were 10 ministers, some of which served more than one Ministry.

### **1944 (21 Oct) - 1947 (4 Feb)**

This was a government of the Independence Party, the United Socialist Party and the People's Party, under the Premiership of the IP's leader.

### **1947 (4 Feb) - 1949 (6 Dec)**

A coalition of the SDP, the PP and the IP, under the premiership of the SDP's leader.

### **1949 (6 Dec) - 1950 (14 March)**

This was a minority government of the Independence Party, formed only to sit until a new majority coalition could be formed.

**1950 (14 Mar) - 1953 (11 Sep)**

A coalition of the Progressive Party and the Independence Party, with three ministers from each party, and the Prime Minister coming from the PP.

**1953 (11 Sep) - 1956 (24 Jul)**

A continuation (after an election) of the same coalition, although this time the PM came from the IP.

**1956 (24 Jul) - 1958 (23 Dec)**

Led by the PP, a coalition of the SDP, the People's Alliance and the PP. Often called the first 'Left government'.

**1958 (23 Dec) - 1959 (20 Nov)**

A minority government of the SDP, formed only to stay in power until an election could be held.

**1959 (20 Nov) - 1963 (14 Nov)**

A coalition government of the Independence Party, which had the Prime Minister, and the People's Party.

**1963 (14 Nov) - 1970 (10 Oct)**

A continuation of the Independence Party's and the People's Party's coalition.

**1970 (10 Oct) - 1971 (14 Jul)**

A continuation of the same coalition, under a new Prime Minister (the former PM had died).

#### 1971 (14 Jul) - 1974 (28 Aug)

A coalition of the Progressive Party, which provided the Prime Minister, the People's Alliance and the Union of Leftists and Liberals. This is the second 'Left-government'.

#### 1974 - 1978

Under the Premiership of the IP's leader, a coalition of that party and the Progressive Party.

#### 1978 - 1979

The third 'Left-government', consisting of the Progressive Party, which provided the Prime Minister, the SDP and the PA.

#### 1979 - 1983

Three MPs from the Independence Party formed a cabinet with the People's Alliance and the Progressive Party. The IP, apart from those three MPs was in opposition (without the party splitting!).

#### 1983 - 1987

The coalition of the Independence Party and the Progressive Party discussed earlier, headed by Mr. Hermannsson. (Alþingismannatal 1845-1975 (Register of MPs 1845-1975), Árnason 1988:122-125)

## **IV.9. THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1987**

The election was called on 25 April 1987, the Althing having run its four year term. When the governing parties, the Independence Party and the Progressive Party had taken office after the 1983

election, the annual rate of inflation was 130%. The economy was in severe crisis. By 1987, inflation had gone down to approximately 20% and the economy had recovered considerably. The government took strong measures to fight inflation, early in the term, called a "flashing attack on inflation". It cut wages by approximately a third, and banned strikes for two years. It cut the tie between wages and inflation, so that wages did not follow inflation rates, every three months as had been the case before. The government introduced new tax laws, privileging industry and aiming at increasing the incentive for investment. It was thought by the opposition, that the harsh economic measures would lead to unemployment and general depression. That, however did not prove to be the case. Unemployment has hardly been measurable in Iceland since the beginning of the 1970s. Although living standards had fallen considerably after those measures, they rose again in the latter half of the government's term in office.

The recovery of the economy, however, cannot be attributed to government actions exclusively. External factors played an important role. Oil prices, extremely important for the fishing fleet, had gone down. Prices for the main fish export rose. Interest rates on foreign loans were lower. And, what is perhaps most important, the labour movement's pay claims were moderated. Instead of high pay claims, the movement put pressure on other issues, such as lower customs on car imports, higher mortgages and other things that can contribute to higher living standards. To a great extent, therefore, the state carried the burdens of the outcomes of bargaining between the labour movement and employers; and, in some cases, the movement itself, since the reconstruction of the mortgage system has been financed by the movement's pension funds. Pay bargaining, therefore did not restrict the breathing-space for further industrial expansion.

The governing parties, the IP and the PP, had held a comfortable majority in the Althing. The IP had 23 MPs and the PP 14, so

together they had 37 MPs out of 60. The IP had 6 ministers in the government, while the PP had 4, including the Prime Minister, Mr. Hermannsson.

In the election campaign, and before it, the governing parties emphasised the achievement of the government, especially in stabilising the economy and reducing inflation.<sup>1</sup> It might have been supposed beforehand, that the government would be re-elected. There would have to be rather drastic changes in their support if they were not to be. However, events saw to it, that after the election, the two parties did not hold their majority. Only a month before the election, the largest party, the IP suffered a major split. The Minister for Industry, Mr. Guðmundsson, was accused of tax fraud. Less than a week before the deadline for nominations to the Althing, Mr. Guðmundsson was forced to resign as a Minister, by the leader of his party, Mr. Pálsson, who was Minister for Finance (and therefore tax). However, Mr. Guðmundsson was told he could be the party's first candidate in Reykjavík, the largest constituency, and lead the campaign there. Mr. Guðmundsson calling this hypocrisy, said it was wrong that a man could not be a minister, but could stand for parliament, and in the seat that always has most votes behind it of all parliamentary seats in the country (largest constituency, largest party). His reaction was to form a new political party, the Citizens' Party, and offer a list of candidates in all constituencies. This was done in less than 48 hours. The party was formed, a manifesto completed, offices opened in most towns, in less than a week.

Seven parties offered candidates in all eight constituencies, the NP in five, the SDA in two and the MCE (a split from the PP) offered candidates in only one constituency. Of 172.366 eligible voters, 154.370 cast their vote (89.6%). Table 3 shows the results of the election.

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<sup>1</sup> This will become evident in the analysis of the 'Party agenda'.

TABLE 3

ELECTION TO THE ALTHING 25 APRIL 1987

party	votes	%	% change since '83	change MPs from '83	
People's Party (SDP)	23260	15.2	+3.4	10	+4
Progr. Party (PP)	28883	18.9	+0.2	13	-1
Soc.Democr. All.(SDA)	246	0.2	-7.2	0	-4
Indep. Party (IP)	41484	27.2	-11.9	18	-5
People's All. (PA)	20382	13.3	-4.1	8	-2
Split from Pr.P (MCE)	1892	1.2	+1.2	1	+1
Humanist Party (HP)	2431	1.6	+1.6	0	0
Citizens' P. (BP)	16583	10.9	+10.9	7	+7
Women's List (WL)	15467	10.1	+4.6	6	+3
National Party (NP)	2047	1.3	+1.3	0	0

As can be seen there were considerable shifts in support since 1983. The instability and volatility that has been evident during the last few elections seems to be further increasing. What is more important perhaps, is that the monopoly of the "old" four, the SDP, the PP, the IP and the PA seems to be breaking up. For the first time, a fifth party, the WL, increased its share of the vote between two elections. Several times before a new party has tried to break into the party system, and has managed to get a few MPs elected, but its support has always vanished in the second election, as in fact was the case with the SDA now.

The WL and the BP must be seen as the 'winners' of the election. The SDP also won a considerable victory, although not as big as they had hoped for. Their leader, Mr. Hannibalsson had hoped to regain most of the support the SDA got in the 1983 election, as well as some votes from the IP. The party only gained a little more than half of what it had lost in 1983. The election was also a success for the PP, and especially its leader, Prime Minister Hermannsson. Although the party increased its vote by only 0.2% from the last election, not losing votes is a victory for a governing party, and even

more so, when it is kept in mind that the party was split in one constituency, and lost almost a third of its votes there. Mr. Hermannsson, had moved from a safe seat in the western part of the country, to a seat in the second largest constituency, where the party had no MP elected in the last election. This time it got two, and increased its share of the vote in the constituency by almost 8%. This, of course, was primarily a personal victory for the Prime Minister, who has established himself as one of the most trusted and respected political leaders in Iceland.

The losers in the election were the IP, the SDA and the PA. The reasons are different in each case. The main reason for the IP losing is of course the split, in the middle of the campaign. The reasons for the SDA's collapse are twofold. First, its founder and leader Mr. Gylfason had died early in the term. Second, the party's four MPs had left the party just a year ago, three had joined the SDP, and one joined the IP. The loss of the PA can probably be traced to two main reasons. The party has not been able to regain its credibility after taking part in a very unpopular 1979 to 1983 government, which cut wages several times, and under which inflation reached an annual 130%. The second reason is, that the party has suffered more than other parties from the victories of the WL in the last two elections (Árnason 1988:122-125).

## IV.10. THE VOLATILITY OF ICELANDIC VOTERS

Having demonstrated increased fluidity in Icelandic politics over the last decades, it is in order to look more closely at the phenomenon. In this chapter an attempt is made to "measure" the volatility of Icelandic voters. There can be more than one way of approaching the problem. One can look at official statistics of the election results. That however is not enough, since such statistics can hide at least some of the facts. 10 of those who voted for party A in 1983 decided to vote for party B now, but again five of those casting their vote on party B 1983 have changed their position and vote for Party A in 1987. From the statistics it would appear, that five persons moved from Party A to Party B, and no one the other way, while in fact 15 voters changed their positions.

Another approach is to look at a crosstable from the third survey wave, in which respondents were asked how they voted in 1983 and in 1987. Such a table would give us a better picture of how many voters changed their positions from 1983 to 1987. That, however, does not tell us how many changed their minds during the actual campaign, and besides, although the responses from the third survey wave were considerably 'accurate' when compared with election results 1983, there is always the problem of self-report reliability. To what extent is one to trust respondents' memory (or wish to remember) correctly how they voted four years ago? Therefore, the time-consuming work of comparing the answers of each and everyone of our respondents from all three survey waves was undertaken, and changes (and non-changes) coded each time as a separate variable. All respondents kept the same numbers during all waves, so their identity numbers were

used for the purpose. This will be of considerable value later on, since not only will we be able to find out whether differences in voting intentions can be related to different patterns of media use, but also whether different media-use patterns may have contributed to changes in voting intentions and behaviour.

Before going into the analysis, it is in order to say a few words about the questions used to measure voting intentions. A certain type of questioning has been developed at the Social Science Institute at the University of Iceland, primarily by Mr. Ólafur Harðarson, Lecturer at the University. Three separate questions are used. If a proper answer is achieved by the first question, the other two are skipped, and similarly, if an answer is got in the second question, the last one is skipped. The questions are as follows;

1. If a general election were to be held tomorrow, which party would you vote for?
2. Which party do you think it is most likely you would vote for?
3. Do you think it is more likely you would vote the Independence Party, or some other party?

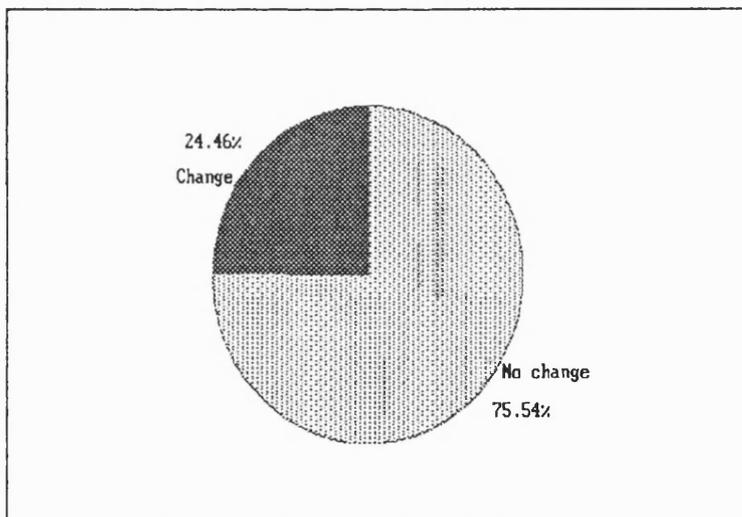
By using this technique, one gets a much higher response rate than if one uses only the first question. The second question adds at least 10% to valid answers, and the third another 5-10%. The answers from the third question are dealt with in the manner: those who say they think it more likely that they would vote for the Independence Party are added to those who have already said they will vote for that party, and those who say it is more likely they will vote for some other party are distributed between the other parties, in the proportions they get from the first two questions. Those who say they still do not know, are obviously those who do not know or will not tell you.

In our survey, we used these questions, and especially so, because the Institute made it a condition, if they were going to buy the results from these questions.

## a) Changes in the first weeks of the campaign

In order to find out how many voters changed their minds during the first weeks of the campaign, i.e. between the first and second of our survey waves, those have been taken out for analysis who gave their voting intentions on both occasions. That leaves us with 789 respondents, out of the 889 who took part in both waves, or 88,7%. Those who have been left out are those who refused to answer in one or both of the first two waves. Out of the 789 giving their voting intentions both times, 24,5% changed their positions between the two survey waves.

GRAPH 8  
CHANGE BETWEEN FIRST AND  
SECOND WAVES



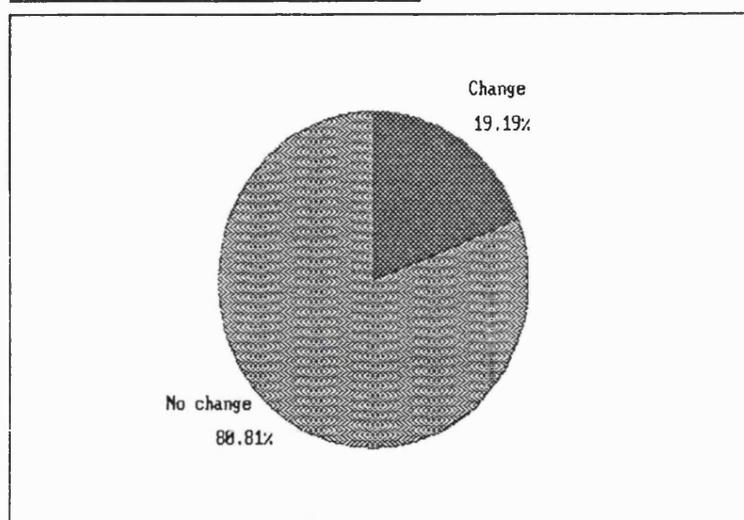
Valid cases 789.  
596 did not  
change their  
minds.  
192 changed their  
minds.  
Missing cases 252

## b) Changes in the last week

In this case, our population is down to 835 respondents, i.e. those who took part in all three waves. Of those, 740 gave a valid answer both in the second and the third wave, 88.6%. Of those, 19.2% changed their positions.

GRAPH 9  
CHANGE BETWEEN LAST WEEK AND  
GENERAL ELECTION

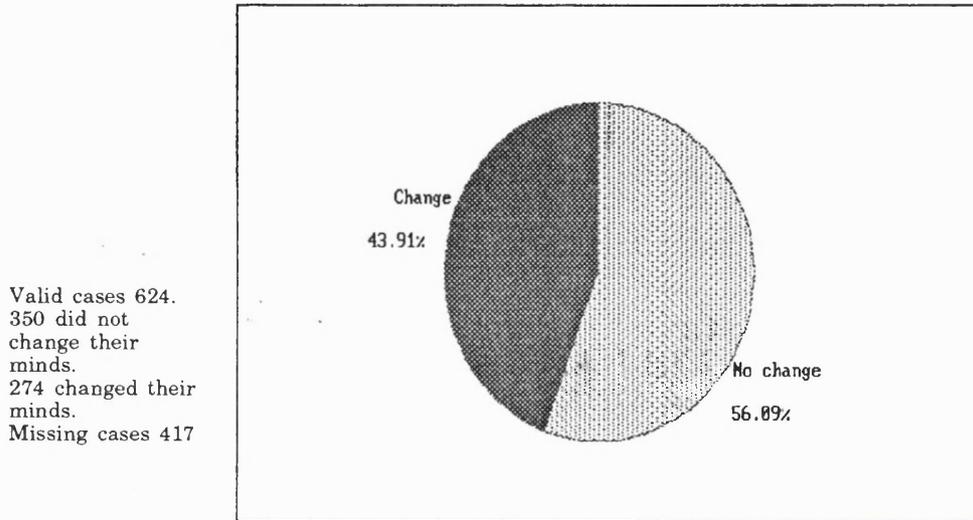
Valid cases 740.  
598 did not  
change their  
minds.  
142 changed their  
minds.  
Missing cases 302



## c) Changes between the 1983 and the 1987 elections

For the purposes of this analysis, 624 cases are looked at, 74.7% of the 835 taking part in all three waves. They are those who gave answers both in the second and the third wave, but for obvious reasons, one has further to exclude those who were not eligible voters in 1983, six annuals in all. This data still further shows the high degree of circulation of votes between the Icelandic political parties.

GRAPH 10  
CHANGE BETWEEN ELECTION 1983  
AND ELECTION 1987



The proportion of those who said they had cast their vote for another party in 1987 than they had done in 1983, is 43.9%. One should keep in mind, that people may have forgotten how they voted four years ago, or may give wrong answers for other reasons, but the outcome of the question 'How did you vote in 1983', in the survey was quite near the actual results of the '83 election, and furthermore, a quite high degree of consistency was found between the three survey waves in this respect (the question was asked in all three waves).

**d) When did people change their minds**

In this analysis 610 cases are dealt with, those who gave valid answers in all three waves. Let us first take a look at those who voted

for the same party as they did in 1983. All in all, they were 56.1% of the 610. Of them, 46.9% (of the whole) never changed their minds during the panel period. 5.6% gave another party in the first wave, but changed their minds in the second wave, toward their 'old' party. Another 4% (of the whole) changed their minds in the last week, went back to their 'old' party. Of the 43.9% who voted for another party than in 1983, more than a half, 22.8% (of the whole), had decided how they were going to vote before they were asked the first time. 7.2% decided between the first and the second wave, 7.4% between the second wave (a week before the election) and the actual election, while 6.1% changed their minds all the time, i.e. between first and second wave, between the second wave and the election, and voted for another party than they did in 1983.

It can further be read from the figures, that more than half of the voters, 53.1% changed their voting intentions some time, either before the panel period or during it. The figure could be higher, if the panel had been spread out over the Parliamentary term, but it can hardly be lower according to the statistics. It should further be kept in mind, that in this analysis, six new annuals of voters have been left out, and it is widely agreed, that new voters are more volatile than the older ones. If they could have been kept in, the figure might have proven higher.

## **e) Which groups changed their positions**

Since there have been constructed variables showing the changes in voting intentions, and in actual voting, we are now able to find out if there were differences in this respect, in terms of groups of voters. Were there differences between sexes, constituencies, age groups, education and occupation? Since there were three 'change' variables, we

have to look at the survey waves separately, but that should add to the depth of the analysis. Let us first take a look at the changes in terms of sex.

TABLE 4

CHANGE BETWEEN FIRST AND SECOND WAVE BY SEX

SEX <sup>-</sup> >	Count		men	women	Row
	Col	Pct	1	2	Total
No change	0		327 79.6	265 70.9	592 75.4
Change	1		84 20.4	109 29.1	193 24.6
	Column		411	374	785
	Total		52.4	47.6	100.0

Number of Missing Observations = 257

TABLE 5

CHANGE BETWEEN SECOND WAVE AND GENERAL ELECTION BY SEX

SEX <sup>-</sup> >	Count		men	women	Row
	Col	Pct	1	2	Total
No change	0		326 84.9	268 76.1	594 80.7
Change	1		58 15.1	84 23.9	142 19.3
	Column		384	352	736
	Total		52.2	47.8	100.0

Number of Missing Observations = 306

TABLE 6

CHANGE BETWEEN ELECTIONS 1983 AND 1987 BY  
SEX

SEX→	Count	men	women	Row
	Col Pct	1	2	Total
No change	0	195 59.6	152 51.9	347 56.0
Change	1	132 40.4	141 48.1	273 44.0
	Column	327	293	620
	Total	52.7	47.3	100.0

Number of Missing Observations = 422

All the tables (4, 5 and 6) show the same pattern, although the difference is not great, women tend to be slightly more volatile than men. They changed their positions more often in all three cases.<sup>1</sup>

In the case of all survey waves, the pattern is the same, two constituencies, seem to be different from the rest, Reykjavík (1) and Reykjanes (2). These two constituencies are the most populated ones, and by far the most urbanized. In fact, over 60% of the nation live in the two constituencies. Let us see what happens if we put these two urban areas together, and the other six, the rural areas together. In the cases of 'change2' and 'change3', the differences between urban and rural constituencies are significant.<sup>2</sup>

The figures tell us, that in the cases of the week before the election, and on the other hand between the two elections, people in

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<sup>1</sup> In table 4, chi-square=7.54, sign. level=.0060 (C=.10)  
 In table 5, chi-square=8.50, sign. level=.0036 (C=.11)  
 In table 6, chi-square=3.46, sign. level=.0627 (C=.08)

<sup>2</sup> In the case of change2, chi-square=6.29, sign.=0121 (C=.09)  
 In the case of change3, chi-square=4.80, sign.=0284 (C=.09)

urban constituencies were more likely to change their voting intentions and positions than voters in rural constituencies. Although not statistically significant, the same is to be seen if one looks at 'change1', i.e. changes between first and second survey waves.

Surprisingly, no statistically significant correlations could be found in the case of age.

Educational status correlated in the case of change1 and change2, but not change between the two elections. Those with lowest educational status were those who changed their positions most frequently, while those with university education hardly changed theirs.<sup>1</sup>

## **f) The power bases of the parties**

The first matter of interest is to find out if there were differences in how people voted in terms of sex. For this analysis the last survey wave conducted in the week after the election was used, with 835 respondents. The difference between the sexes is not great, except in the case of the Women's List. Almost 20% of all women casting their vote, did so for this party, while the same can be said of less than 5% of the men. The People's Party (SDP), the Progressive Party, the Independence Party and the Citizens' Party, get slightly more support from men than women.

The voters of the People's Party seem to be rather young, while the reverse can be seen in the case of the Progressive Party, which has more support among middle aged people and older. In the case of the Independence Party, the highest proportion is in the age group 41-50, while the lowest is among the youngest voters. The support of the People's Alliance is weakest among those aged 41-50, while highest

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<sup>1</sup> In the case of change1, chi-square=38.66, sign. level=.0002 (C=.22)  
In the case of change2, chi-square=24.34, sign. level=.0282 (C=.18)

among the youngest, and the oldest voters. Most of the Women's List's support is among those under the age of 40. The support of the Citizens' Party tends to increase with age. Other parties are of minor importance.

If we control for sex, a different picture emerges. If we look at the People's Party and the Progressive Party, and their support among men, the tendency mentioned above strengthens. The support of the People's Party tends to be more among younger men, those under 40, while those men who voted for the Progressive Party tend to be over 40. Among women, the voters of these parties seem to be more evenly distributed. If we look at the Independence Party, a similar trend is shown. Men seem to intensify the general pattern, i.e. almost 40% of men in the age group 40-50 vote for the party, while its support among other age groups is similar when the sexes are treated together. In the case of women, only 20% in this particular age group, i.e. 40-50 vote for the party. If we look at the People's Alliance, few men in the aforementioned age group seem to have voted for the party, while its support is considerably higher among both older and younger men. A similar pattern is seen among women, although women in the oldest age group seem to be the party's strongest supporters. Almost a fourth of women in the oldest age group claim to have voted for the party. Turning to the Women's List, which is perhaps the most interesting of all, although the party does not get much support among men (4,6%), most of those who voted for it are under 40 years old. If we look at women, we can see, that the party's support among them seems to come from the same age groups. A fourth of women under 40 claim to have voted for the party, while it does not seem to get any support from the oldest age group. In this case, it is useful to keep in mind, that most analysts and politicians think that the WL takes more from the People's Alliance than other parties. In the case of the BP, its supporters among women seem to be primarily those over 30, while

among men its support is more evenly spread, although the largest support is among men aged 50-60.

## **IV.11. FLUIDITY - WHICH DIRECTIONS?**

Here we will look at the directions of the flow of voters in the 1987 election, from two standpoints. First we will investigate how the voters of each party in this election voted in the last election. Second, we will show how those who voted for each party in the last election (1983), cast their vote this time. With these two dimensions, it should be possible to say something about the directions of the main fluctuations.

In the discussion that follows, we will only look at the major parties, i.e. those that got considerable support<sup>1</sup> in either of the two elections under study.

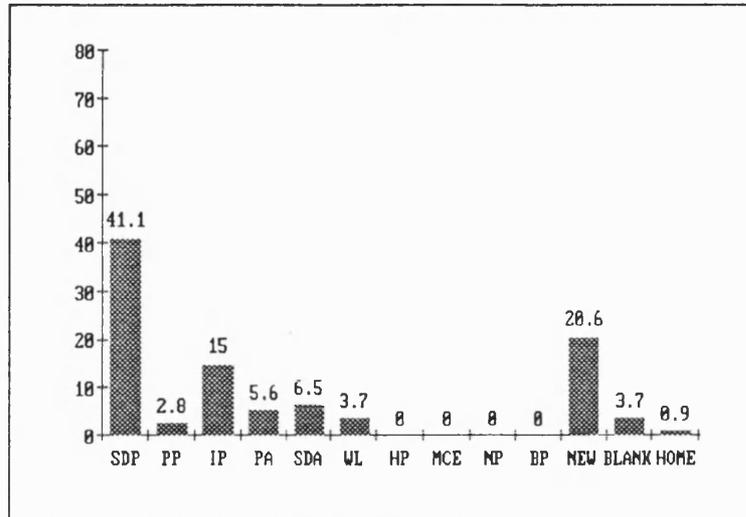
### **a) The People's Party**

Graph 11 shows how the voters of the People's Party in the 1987 election, voted in 1983.

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<sup>1</sup> The parties that got MPs elected

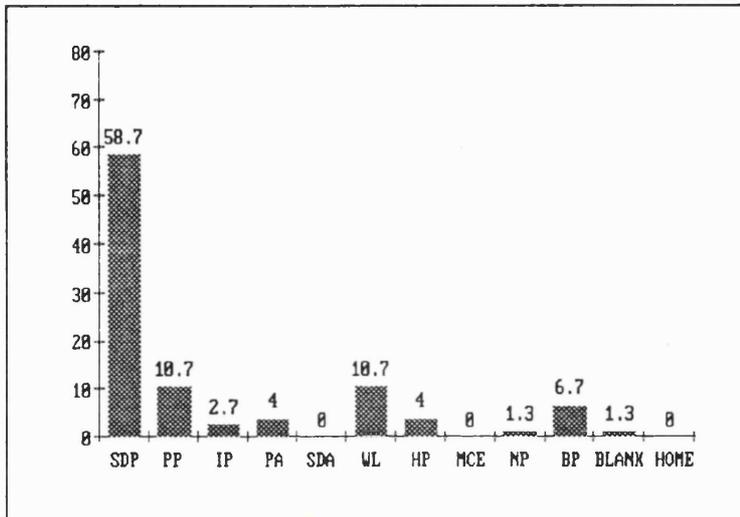
GRAPH 11  
HOW SDP'S VOTERS 1987 VOTED  
1983 - %



41.1% voted for the People's Party, while 20.6% of the party's support came from first time voters, and 15% from the Independence Party. In addition, a fair share of the party's support came from the Social Democratic Alliance which was in the first place a split from the People's Party and 5.6% from the People's Alliance.

In Graph 12 we can see how those who voted for the party in 1983 voted this time.

**GRAPH 12**  
**HOW SDP'S VOTERS 1983 VOTED**  
**1987 - %**

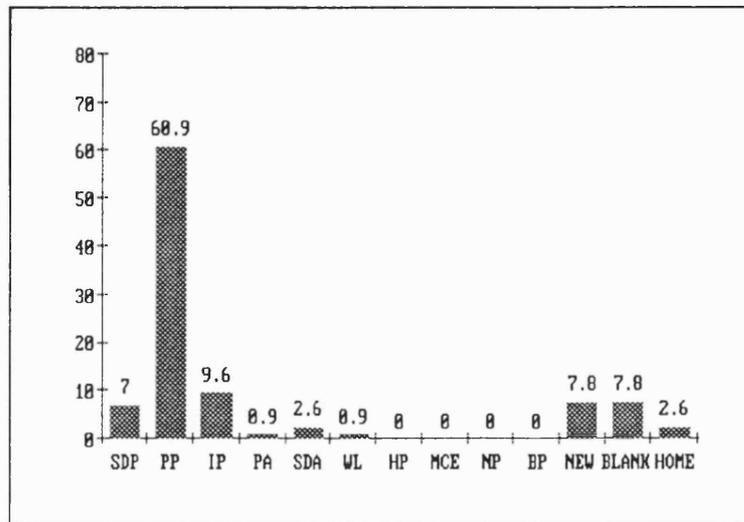


Almost 60% voted again for the party, while 10.7% each went to the Progressive Party and the Women's List, and 6.7% to the Citizens' Party. What the figures tell us is, that the support of the party is not very stable. More than 40% of those who voted for the party in 1983 voted differently this time. In spite of this fact, the party increased its support from the 1983 election.

**b) The Progressive Party**

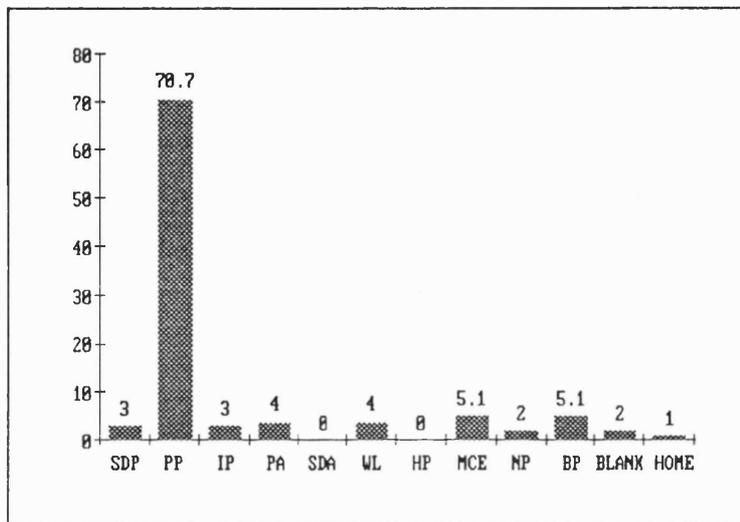
In Graph 13 it can be seen that more than 60% of the supporters of the Progressive Party this time, also voted for the party in 1983. Almost 10% of its support came from the Independence Party, and 7% from the People's Party. The party got almost 8% of its vote from first time voters, and interestingly enough, the same from those who voted blank last time.

GRAPH 13  
HOW PP'S VOTERS 1987 VOTED  
1983 -%



If, however, we look at how the voters of the party in 1983 voted in 1987, Graph 14, we see, that the party's support is much more stable than in the case of the People's Party (above). 5.1% went to the splinter group in the North-East constituency, and another 5.1% to the Citizens' Party. The remaining 19% were evenly distributed among other parties. The party kept its share of the total vote between the two elections.

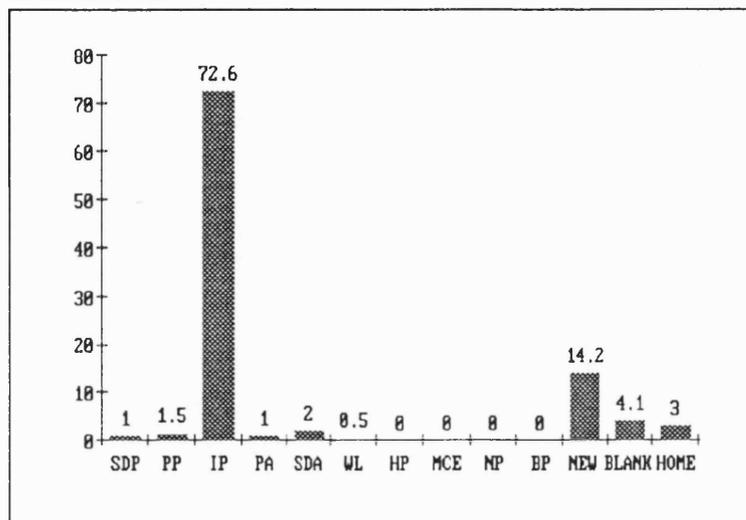
GRAPH 14  
HOW PP'S VOTERS 1983 VOTED  
1987 - %



**c) The Independence Party**

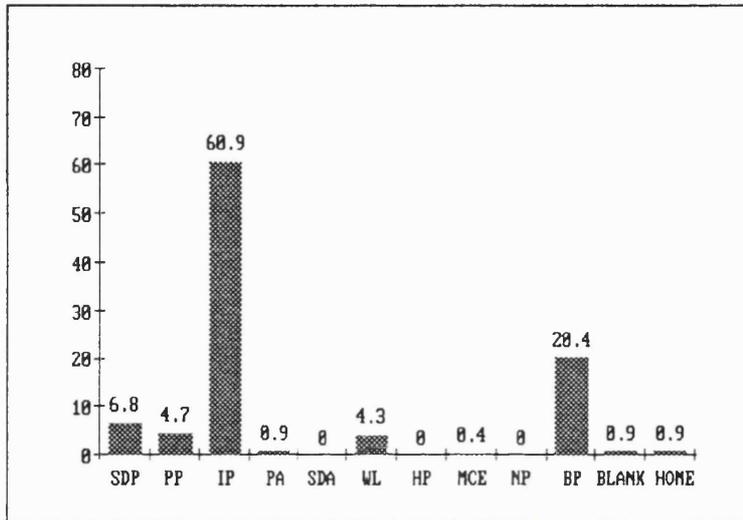
Graph 15 shows, that the Independence Party got almost no new votes from other parties. Those who voted for it this time were the same as last time, plus first time voters, 14.2% of the party's total vote came from first time voters.

GRAPH 15  
HOW IP'S VOTERS 1987 VOTED  
1983 - %



Graph 16 is even more interesting. It shows where the party's support in 1983 went (it should be kept in mind, that the party lost considerably in the election). 20.4% of those who voted for the party in 1983, voted for the Citizens' Party this time. This indicates, that the Citizens' Party was primarily a split from the Independence Party. But other parties gained from the Independence Party's losses as well. 6.8% of those who voted for the party in 1983 supported the People's Party this time, 4.7% the Progressive Party and 4.3% the Women's List.

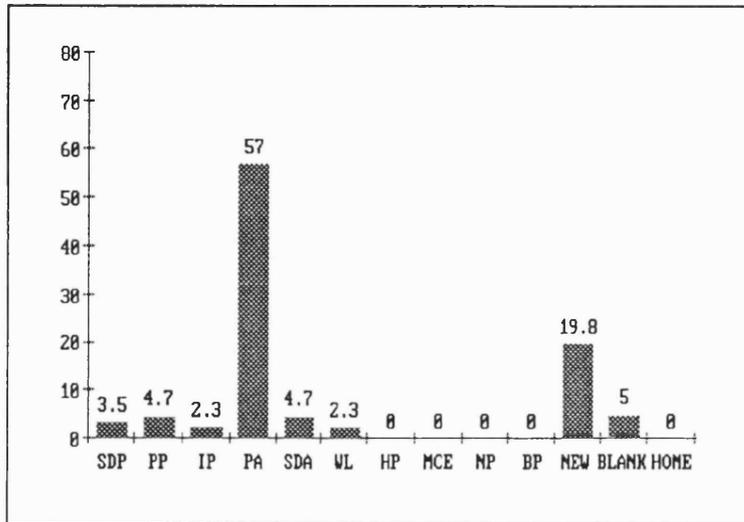
**GRAPH 16**  
**HOW IP'S VOTERS 1983 VOTED**  
**1987 - %**



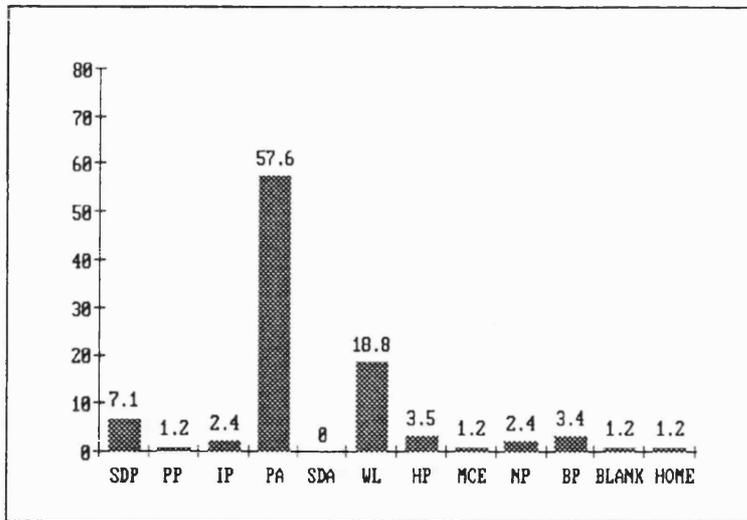
**d) The People's Alliance**

Graph 17 shows, that 57% of those voting the People's Alliance this time, did so also in 1983. Almost 20% of the party's support came from first time voters, and 5.8% from those who voted blank last time. Almost 5% came from the Progressive Party and the Social Democratic Alliance, each, and less from other parties.

GRAPH 17  
HOW PA'S VOTERS 1987  
VOTED 1983 - %



GRAPH 18  
HOW PA'S VOTERS 1983 VOTED  
1987 - %

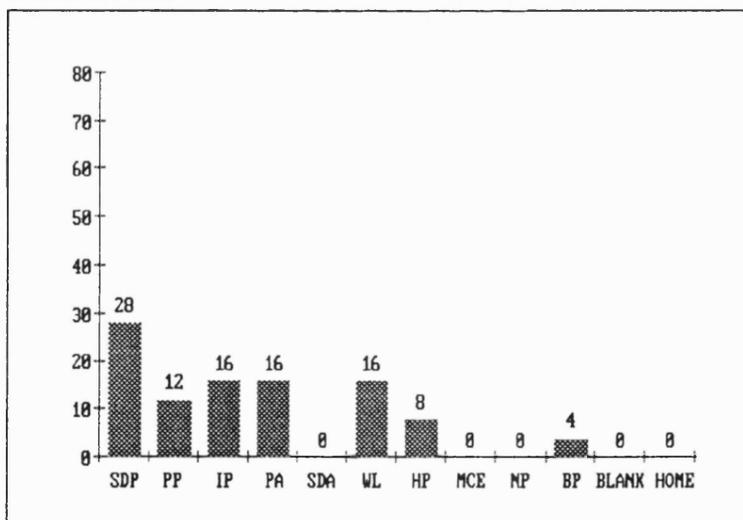


Graph 18 is more interesting in the case of the People's Alliance, since it is one of the losers of the election. Of those who voted for it last time, 57.6% did so again. However, 18.8% have gone over to the Women's List, which supports the hypothesis, that the bulk of the Women's List's support came from the People's Alliance. In addition, the People's Party seems to have gained considerably from the Alliance's problems, 7% of those who supported the Alliance last time have gone over to the People's Party.

**f) The Social Democratic Alliance**

There is no graph for the Alliance from this election, but since the party is one of the main losers of this election, there is a graph showing where its support has gone.

**GRAPH 19**  
HOW SDA'S VOTERS 1983 VOTED  
1987 - %



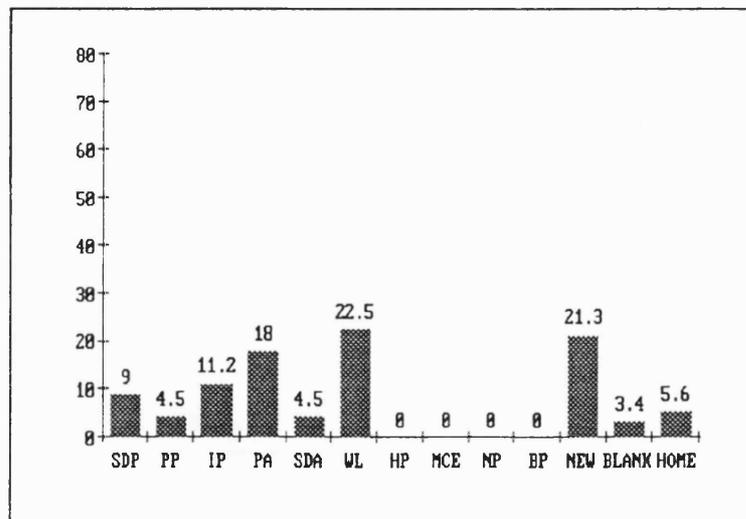
One would have thought, and so indeed did the leaders of the People's Party, that almost all of the party's voters in 1983, would vote the People's Party this time. This was expected, because the Alliance

was, at the time, a split from the People's Party, and even more so, since three of the Alliance's four MPs had joined the People's Party again. However, less than a third of those voting the Alliance in 1983, voted for the People's Party this time, while the Independence Party, the People's Alliance and the Women's List got 16% each, the Progressive Party 12%, the Humanist Party 8% and the Citizens' Party 4%. It can in fact be suggested, that most of those who supported the Humanist Party this time came from the Social Democratic Alliance, discontented voters, who did not trust the 'old' parties and what they stood for.

**g) The Women's List**

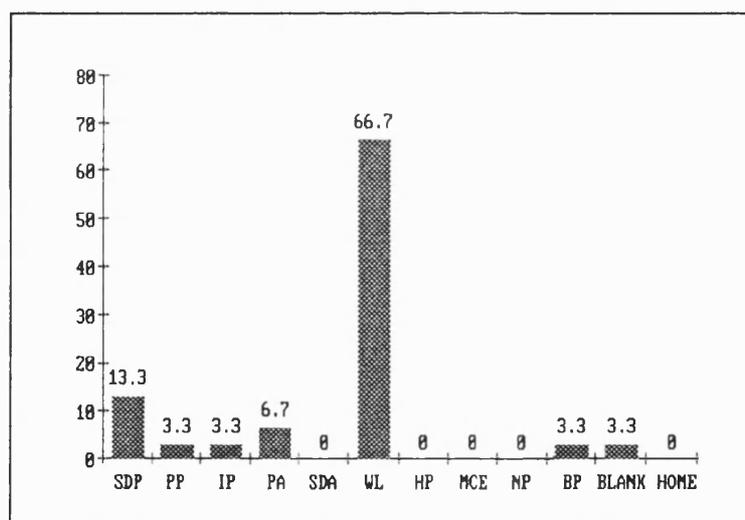
Graph 20, showing from where the Women's List took its increased support, further indicates what was suggested above, i.e. that the List gained most from the People's Alliance.

**GRAPH 20**  
**HOW WL'S VOTERS 1987 VOTED**  
**1983 - %**



18% of the Women's List's voters came from the People's Alliance, while 'only' 22.5% supported the WL last time. Almost as many as the WL's 'old' supporters, were first time voters. The WL also gained considerable support from other parties, 11.2% from the Independence Party, 9% from the People's Party and 4.5% from the Progressive Party and the Social Democratic Alliance, each. What the chart indicates, furthermore, if we leave aside for the moment, the fact, that the Women's List gained most from the People's Alliance, is that its support was extremely broad. It got considerable support from all other political parties.

**GRAPH 21**  
HOW WL'S VOTERS 1983 VOTED  
1987 - %

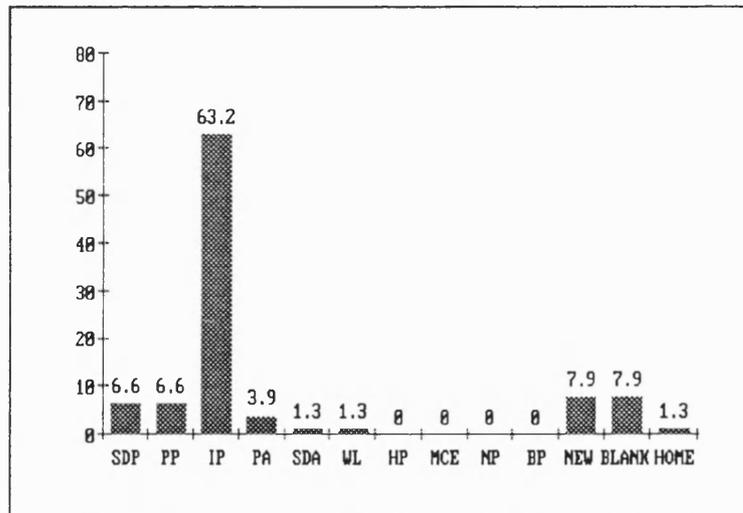


Graph 21 shows how those voting the List in 1983 voted this time. Two thirds stuck to the WL, while 13.3% went to the People's Party, and 6.7% to the People's Alliance (probably back again). Others got less.

### h) The Citizens' Party

The last party we look at, is the newly formed Citizens' Party. Almost two thirds of its support came from the Independence Party, 6.6% from each of the Progressive Party and the People's Party. Almost 8% came from first time voters, and another 8% from those who claimed to have voted blank last time. These figures support the hypothesis, that the party consists of discontented voters from the Independence Party.

GRAPH 22  
HOW BP'S VOTERS 1987 VOTED  
1983 - %

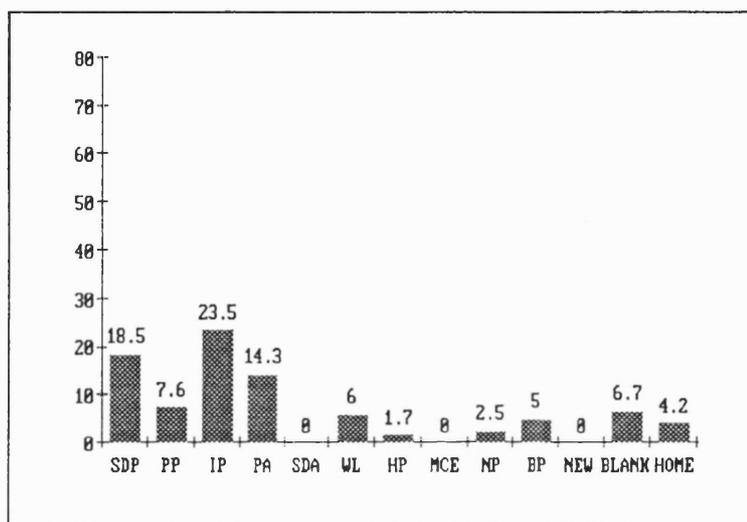


### i) How did first time voters cast their vote

Graph 23 is an analysis of the distribution of first time voters. The only parties gaining a greater share of first time voters than of the total vote (if we leave aside the Humanist Party and the National Party), were the People's Party and the People's Alliance, 18.5% and 14.3%, respectively. The Progressive Party, the Independence Party, the Women's List and the Citizens' Party all got less than their share of

the total vote. It is interesting, however, that more than 10% of first time voters, either gave a blank vote or did not vote.

GRAPH 23  
HOW NEW VOTERS CAST THEIR VOTE  
IN 1987- %



From what has just been said about the fluctuations of support between parties, it is probable, that there is a higher degree of circulation of votes on the 'left wing' of Icelandic politics, than in the 'centre' or on the 'right wing'. This is even more evident, if we keep in mind, that both the Progressive Party (centre) and the Independence Party (right wing) suffered splits shortly before the election. At the same time, no new parties emerged on the left wing. If the Progressive Party and the Independence Party had not split, the picture might have been much clearer, assuming, that those of the voters joining the splinter groups, would have voted as they did in 1983.

From what has been said in this chapter, we can conclude, that Icelandic voters are extremely volatile in the 1980s, and that there is a high degree of fluctuation of votes between the parties. Further, we can conclude, that women tend to be more likely to change their

positions. People living in urban areas also tend to have weaker party preferences than those in rural areas. The Progressive Party, being the most stable party of Icelandic Politics clarifies the picture. Its voters are primarily from rural areas, and are primarily men from the older age groups. Those with less formal education were also more prone to change their positions in the campaign.

# V.1. DEVELOPMENT OF MEDIA LEGISLATION

This chapter briefly discusses media laws in Iceland and their development.

Article 72 in the Constitution of the Republic of Iceland (1974:17) reads as follows:

"Every person has the right to express his thoughts in print but he shall be responsible for such utterances before the courts. Censorship and other restrictions on the freedom of the press must never be enacted."

This is the only reference to the media in the constitution. Moreover, the printed media are not, and have never been restricted by law, in any way other than they are responsible before the courts. They may be sued for what they print, but that is implied in general punitive laws, where newspapers are not specified.

The broadcasting media, on the other hand, have always been severely restricted by law, and until recently, the state has had monopoly rights on broadcasting.

The first official regulation of radio was in 1926 (44/1926). It allows the Icelandic Telephone Company to give individuals or private companies concessions to run radio stations. Conditions of such concessions were that a company must broadcast at least one and a half hours a day, up to half an hour in the morning, and twice that time in the afternoon. The material had to be educational and for pleasure. The Ministry for Communications had the right to demand that a committee of three or five members be set up, a committee that would choose what to broadcast. If the committee consisted of three, the Ministry appointed one, but two in a five person committee. The

Ministry also had permission to use the stations when telephone systems were out of order. In such cases, the Ministry had to pay for its use.

The sources of income for the owners of a radio station, according to this first regulation, were three. First, the concessionaire got 85 Icelandic krónur from every sold receiver. Special concessions were needed to import and sell receivers. Second, owners of receivers had to pay a radio licence, 12,50 krónur, in advance every three months. Third, the concessionaire was permitted to sell broadcasting time, for advertisements and all kinds of messages.

Two years later, in 1928, the Althing passed a bill (31/1928) which granted the state monopoly rights on broadcasting. The government was permitted to build and run a new "wireless station to broadcast spoken word and music", in addition to general radio transmissions. The name of the station was "The Icelandic Radio Station in Reykjavík". The practical side of the matter was put into the hands of the National Telephone Company. The financial security of the venture was to be bound by a clause in the State Budget. A prime source of revenue was a licence fee paid for every radio set, its amount to be decided annually by the Minister for Employment. The same Minister constituted a governing committee of three, that sat for a year. One member of the committee was appointed by the government, one by the University of Iceland, and one from a group of three, chosen by a "Society of radio users". This, however, was restricted by the condition, that at least 25% of radio users were members of the society. If that condition was not met, the government appointed the third man as well. A Director General was appointed by the Minister, after suggestions from the governing committee and the Director of the National Telephone Company. This law also permitted the government to take over a privately owned station from 1926.

Two years after the law on state monopoly was ratified, a new law was introduced (50/1930), which contained some changes, but

primarily a more detailed definition of how to run the State Radio. The main changes were, that the radio and the National Telephone Company were separated. The Icelandic Radio Station in Reykjavík, as it was named in the law, was from then on a separate company, owned by the state.

A second change was that the number of delegates in the governing committee was increased to five, and appointed for two years, instead of one before. One was appointed by the University of Iceland, one by the Church, one by the "Educational Board", and one by the Society of radio users, with the same conditions as in the law from 1928. The chairman was appointed by the Minister for Employment. The committee had to meet at least once a week. It was a planning body, i.e. it planned the programmes and was responsible for them.

New clauses of importance were that the radio was permitted to broadcast religious masses, public concerts and public meetings without payment. Second, the state was permitted to overtake the sales of radio sets. Third, and perhaps most importantly, radio's status in relation to politics was defined for the first time.

"It should be strongly maintained, that freedom of opinion is granted as well as total impartiality towards all political parties and policies in public matters."

In 1932 (law 37/1932) the radio was ordered to broadcast weather forecasts, at least four times a day.

In 1934 (28/1934) Iceland became a member of the international agreement, signed in Luzern 1933, on radio frequencies. The same year, a new law was passed on the State Radio (68/1934). Its name was changed to Ríkisútvarpið (RÚV in short). Under the same law, the radio was put under the Ministry for Culture and Education. The income of the Radio was not to be used for anything other than radio. The number of delegates on the Radio Board was increased to seven

persons. Three (and three substitutes) were to be elected proportionally by the Althing every four years. Another three and three substitutes were elected by those who had paid the licence fee. The Minister for Culture and Education appointed the seventh person, who was to be chairman. The Minister appointed the three users' delegates, if there were no candidates offered by the users.

The Board has the duty to put down the main program policy, and to secure that freedom of opinion and impartiality are granted.

In 1936 (10/1936) a new regulation was issued on RÚV. It is in all general terms identical to older laws and regulations, except, there is herein a separate chapter devoted to news:

"The news, that RÚV broadcasts of its own motivations and responsibilities must not be polluted by any critical or biased comments about any political ideology, political party, policy in public matters, associations, firms or individuals.

No advertisements or announcements must be allowed in the news, except they are an inseparable part of the news itself.

No critical remarks must be found in the news about the RÚV itself, its work or individual employees.

When producing news, it should always be secured, that it is said where a story comes from. In news there must be no hypotheses or guesses about events and facts. A story should be skipped if there is a danger of it being corrected."

In 1939 the composition of the Radio Board was changed by law (16/1939). The number of delegates was reduced to five, all to be elected by the Althing, triennially.

On the last day of the year 1939, a new brief law was passed, adding to the older one. It permitted the Minister for Culture and Education to make the news-room a special department, under the supervision of the Radio Board. Furthermore, it permitted the Minister to arrange with the democratic parties' newspapers for partici-

pation in running the news-room. By the "democratic parties newspapers" were meant the Independence Party's "Morning Paper", the Progressive Party's "Time" and the People Party's (SDP) "Peoples' Paper". It did not include the United Socialist Party's "National Will". This was a reaction to circumstances arising from the Second World War.

In 1943 the election of delegates to the Radio Board was changed once more (25/1943). This time, as with the laws from 1939, the change is aimed at strengthening political representation on the Board. This new law entailed, that the Board be elected after each Parliamentary election. This was to ensure that a newly elected government could appoint a favourable Board, although the previous government did not fulfil its four year term.

In 1956, the Minister for Culture and Education issued a regulation, for a fund, established as the RÚV's 25th Anniversary fund. Its function was, on the one hand, to finance research and artistic ventures for the good of the RÚV. On the other hand, it was to give awards for certain outstanding programmes.

In 1958 a new regulation was issued by the Minister, that takes to all spheres of RÚV's activities. Two important changes are to be found in this regulation from older ones. First, the Radio Board's power over the news-department is increased with two new clauses. The first says, that the Director General makes detailed rules about news and news-gathering, and each new rule has to be ratified by the Board. Second, if there are, at any time doubts or debates about anything in relation with news-gathering and news broadcasting, the Board shall predicate. The second change is a new clause, about the RÚV's Construction Foundation. If there is surplus-income from the RÚV, it should be put in a special Fund, that is to provide money for technical improvements.

In 1966 (34/1966) the number of delegates in the Radio Board was increased to 7. The Althing should elect them proportionally, and

a substitute for each one, after a general election. The reasons were, primarily, that over-viewing all programmes and planning the weekly program was becoming too time-consuming. The Board was now permitted to form sub-committees, to divide the workload. Later that same year, (88/1966) television was added to the law, and RÚV permitted to take foreign loans to finance the inception of television.

In 1971, new broadcasting laws were passed by the Althing. These new laws entailed some changes. First, there was a new definition of the role of RÚV:

"RÚV shall contribute to the general development of the national culture, and strengthen the Icelandic language. It shall, among other things, broadcast material related to the arts, literature, science, religion, strengthen popular education, and provide information in specific spheres, such as accident prevention. It shall try and provide debates on all kinds of issues, important to the public, in a way that the public can evaluate different opinions about them. It shall provide news and news analysis. It shall provide entertaining material for all age groups.

Broadcast material shall take notice of the richness of Icelandic culture, and needs and wants both of the minority and majority. RÚV shall provide all the service, that it can, and is of use to the public.

RÚV shall value democratic basic rules. It shall guard freedom of speech, and be impartial towards all parties and policies in public affairs."

This is the first time the 'public service function' of RÚV is clearly defined, although this does not entail any basic changes in how RÚV functioned. Another change was aimed at lessening the political stranglehold on the Radio Board. As before delegates were to be 7, but they were to be elected every 4 years, irrespective of elections and the life-span of governments. The third basic change was that the planning of programmes was put in the hands of the broadcasting staff. The Radio Board was only to lay down general rules, and give its agreement after the programme ahead had been planned.

In 1975 the election of delegates was changed once more, now towards strengthening the grip of politicians. The Radio Board was to be elected after each general election, and not every four years, as had been decided in 1971.

In 1985, some basic changes were made in the broadcasting laws. The state's monopoly was abolished, and others can be permitted to broadcast. A licensing committee decides who can broadcast. The committee, consisting of 7 individuals, is elected by the Althing every four years. Private stations must follow similar general rules as were laid down in 1971, i.e. be of service to the public. In the new laws, there is a chapter on RÚV, where it says that RÚV must provide two radio programmes and one tv programme at least, and broadcast to all parts of the country. It shall provide educational broadcasts, special material suited for children, and provide facilities for programme-making in all constituencies.

## V.2 DAILY NATIONAL NEWSPAPERS

There are five daily national newspapers in Iceland. As has been said before, there is hardly anything to be found in laws and regulations to restrict what these newspapers print, except in general punitive laws, and that does not refer to newspapers specifically. Therefore, there is, and has always been a completely 'free' press in Iceland, in terms of legal restrictions. The freedom of individual papers has, however, been restricted by their ownership, as will become evident when we discuss each paper.

The first newspaper was the weekly 'Pjódólfur', founded in 1848. In the first editorial one can see the aims of the publishers. It says

"Public opinion is omnipotent", and "It is god's will that a national life awakens among us" (Gíslason, 1972:74). Over the next decades a number of similar newspapers were launched. Some lasted only for a short time, but Pjóðólfur lived for 60 years.

**a) Vísir**

Vísir was founded in 1910 as a daily newspaper. It was the only afternoon paper in Iceland until 1975, when it split into two, and Dagblaðið, the Daily Newspaper was formed. For six years both papers existed, and competition on the afternoon market was intense. In 1981 the papers amalgamated under the name Dagblaðið-Vísir (hereafter called the Daily Newspaper). In 1982 the paper's circulation was 35.000. Vísir always supported the Independence Party openly, after the party was formed in 1929, but during recent years, the party's grip on the paper has loosened, and today it can be called the only 'independent' newspaper in Iceland (Iceland 1986:328, Gíslason 1972:263-266).

**b) Morgunblaðið**

Morgunblaðið (Morning Paper hereafter) is the oldest of the morning papers. It was established in 1913 by an individual, Mr. Finsen, and was independent politically until 1919, when Mr. Finsen was forced to sell it to a group of merchants in Reykjavík. They told him, that they would stop advertising in his paper, and found their own paper. If he sold it to them, however, he could remain editor. After this, the paper lost its independence, and has been, since then, an open supporter of the Independence Party and its predecessors. The Morning Paper has a daily circulation of 43.000 (Gíslason 1972:267-274, Iceland 1986:328).

**c) Tíminn**

Tíminn (Time hereafter) is the second oldest morning paper. It was founded in 1917 as a weekly. The founders were prominent members of Agricultural societies, the co-operative movement and the Progressive Party. In 1938 the paper became a daily, and the Progressive Party took over its publication. The Time's circulation is around 12.000 (Iceland 1986:328, Árnason 1985:88, Gíslason 1972:282-284).

**d) Alþýðublaðið**

Alþýðublaðið (People's Paper from now on), was founded as a daily in 1919. It was established by the SDP, and has always been the party's organ. Today, its circulation is around 5.000 (Iceland 1986:328-329).

**e) Þjóðviljinn**

Þjóðviljinn (National Will hereafter) was founded in 1936, as the organ of the Communist Party. Later, the paper became the organ of the USP, and since the People's Alliance was formed, the National Will has been its organ. The National Will's circulation is around 13.500 (Iceland 1986:329, Gíslason 1972:297-299).

## **V.3. TELEVISION**

The state radio, RÚV was set up in 1930. It held monopoly rights on broadcasting until the end of 1985, both radio and television. Television transmission by RÚV dates back to 1966. However, the first television broadcasts were in 1955, by the US military at the NATO base in Keflavík. These broadcasts were received by Icelanders living near the base (where more than half of the population lives). Effects

on the national culture were debated in the next years, and in the beginning of the seventies, transmissions from the base were confined to the military community, by means of cable distribution. This cultural debate, undoubtedly hastened the onset of Icelandic television by some years. When Icelandic television was established, in 1966, it broadcast only three days a week. The first broadcasts were to an area where approximately 60% of the population lived. There was a rapid expansion in the service. In the year 1968, Icelandic television reached about 70% of the population, for 18 hours a week on the average. In the next years, the service was further expanded. Soon, well over 90% of the population could receive television broadcasts. In 1979, television covered 98% of the population, and colour TV was introduced. Still, however, the station was only operated six days a week, and for eleven months a year (all the staff got their summer holiday in the same month, July). In 1987 the station broadcast all seven days of the week, all year round (Árnason 1986:3-4).

RÚV is financed through a licence fee, and advertising. Advertisements do not break up programmes, but come between them. It is prohibited to advertise medicines, cigarettes and alcohol. As has become evident in the chapter about media laws, new legislation came into effect on January 1, 1986, which opened the field to others. At the end of September that year a new channel, Stöð 2, (Channel 2) began transmission. It is primarily confined to the area around the capital. Programming is divided into two types, on the one hand it is interspersed with commercials, and on the other, pay-TV. One has to subscribe to a decoder in order to be able to view encrypted signals (Nordal (ed.) 1986:330).

## V.4 RADIO

The State broadcasting company, RÚV was initiated in 1930. Before that, a privately owned radio station, had been operating for two years. As was discussed in the chapter about media law, which take only to broadcasting, some changes have occurred in how politicians view the RÚV. However, most of these changes have aimed at defining the public service function further. Until 1983, the RÚV operated one channel, but that year a second channel was introduced, which broadcasts primarily popular music. The source of revenue is the same as is the case with television, a mixture of advertising and a licence fee. In August 1986 a new, privately owned radio channel, Bylgjan (the Wave) was established. This station is somewhat similar to RÚV's second channel, broadcasting primarily light music, but also news. This station is financed only by advertisements. Apart from these three Icelandic Radio stations broadcasting in the months before the general election<sup>1</sup>, the US military in Keflavík runs a radio station, reaching more than half of the population. This was popular with Icelanders before the 'light' channels were introduced. Now, it is hardly used at all (Nordal (ed.) 1986:329-30).

As has been discussed, RÚV is governed by a politically elected board. Although the basic rule is that news reporters, both in television and radio, can work with some standards of 'newsworthiness' the board has sometimes meddled in the practices of the news-rooms. For instance, in the discussion of the 'Hafskip bankruptcy' the board intervened more than once. On 20 June 1986 the board censured the news-rooms in the following manner: (Hafstein 1987:224-225)

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<sup>1</sup> At least four other stations have been established since

"The coverage has too much been marked by statements in a sensational manner, and in interviews have sometimes been aggressive for an impartial news-medium. The Radio Board thinks, it is dangerous that such a news-style decreases the trust of RÚV's news-rooms, and stresses the importance of the need, that the public can trust the news from RÚV be both right and honestly presented."

This was an issue that touched all major power institutions in Iceland. Although intervention has not happened often, the sheer fact that it is possible, must affect the news-rooms' staff. Some kinds of self-censorship tend to be the result.

# PART TWO

## VI. MEDIA USES

1. The Uses of Newspapers
2. The Uses of Television
3. The Uses of Radio

## VII. CLAIMED KNOWLEDGE ABOUT PARTY POLICIES, INTEREST IN AND HELP FROM MEDIA COVERAGE

1. Claimed Knowledge About Party Policies
2. Interest in Media Coverage of the Campaign
3. Which Media Gave Most Information About the Campaign?
4. Did Media Coverage Help Voters to Make up Their Minds

## VIII. ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE VARIOUS MEDIA IN A CAMPAIGN

1. Newspapers
2. Television
3. Radio

## IX. REPORTERS

1. News-Values and Practices
2. Attitudes of News-Reporters Towards Their Job
3. Inside the TV-Newsroom

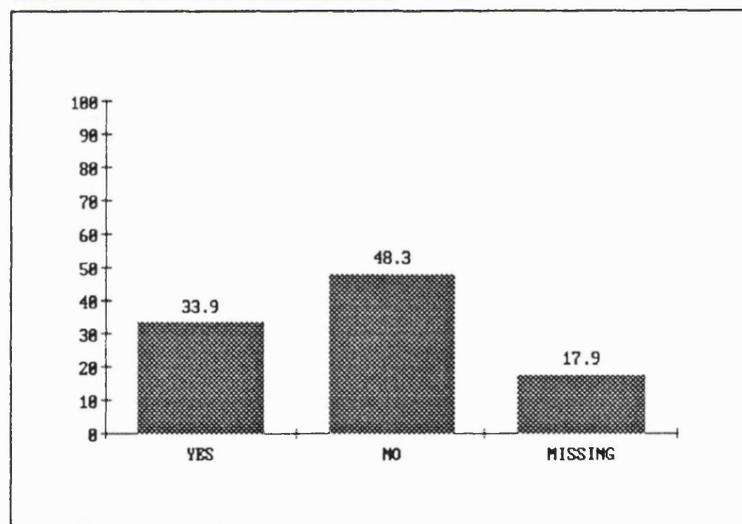
## VI. MEDIA USES

This chapter is devoted to how Icelandic voters used the different mass media in the 1987 General Election campaign. The analysis is based on several questions in the three survey waves, although most of the information comes from the first wave.<sup>1</sup>

The analysis begins by outlining where voters seek information about issues and events. As will be discussed later, we asked our respondents to name the issues, they thought of most national importance at the moment. Up to three issues could be mentioned.<sup>2</sup> After those questions we asked if they thought they had enough information about the named issues. The results are shown in graph 24.

GRAPH 24  
ENOUGH INFORMATION ABOUT  
NAMED ISSUES - %

Those in the "missing" column in the graph, are those who did not give a 'valid' answer, i.e. those who mentioned no issues in the question preceding (15.2%), those refusing to answer (0.1%), and those who said they did not know (2.6%). 353 said they had enough information. 503 said not enough, and 185 either did not name any issues, refused to answer or did not know.



<sup>1</sup> See questionnaires in Appendix E

<sup>2</sup> See chapter on the voter agenda

The confidence of our respondents is striking. A third of all said they had enough information and almost half said they needed more information (48.3%).<sup>1</sup> No visible pattern can be found in this respect if we look across different age groups, but the men were significantly more confident about their knowledge than were the women.<sup>2</sup>

TABLE 7

INFORMATION BY SEX

SEX™> ENOUGH INFORMATION	Count		men 1	women 2	Row Total
	Row Pct Col Pct				
yes	1		206 58.4 38.9	147 41.6 28.7	353 33.9
no	2		241 47.9 45.5	262 52.1 51.2	503 48.3
missing	3		83 44.6 15.7	102 55.4 20.1	185 17.9
	Column Total		530 50.9	511 49.1	1041 100.0

We then asked those who said they did not have enough information, where they would seek further information: family; work-mates; friends; institutions; newspapers; radio; and television. Respondents could name up to three.

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<sup>1</sup> One could probably add most of the missing cases to that figure, since it is likely, that those not naming any issues, would not be confident about their knowledge about issues.

<sup>2</sup> Chi-square=14.19, significance level=.0008 (C=.12)

TABLE 8

WHERE FROM INFORMATION IS SOUGHT

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Family	55	5.3	11.8
Workmates	42	4.0	9.0
Friends	36	3.5	7.7
Institutions	84	8.1	17.9
Newspapers	157	15.1	33.5
Radio	47	4.5	10.0
Television	47	4.5	10.0
Did not name iss./enough inf.	573	55.1	MISSING
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	1041	100.0	100.0
Valid Cases	468	Missing Cases	573

Newspapers were most often mentioned as first choice, then institutions and family. Radio and television came thereafter. When, however, second and third sources of information are added, the media gain more prominence. When these figures are added, newspapers were most often mentioned. 24.3% of the respondents named them as one of three choices, 20.1% named television and 17.2% radio. If we look only at those giving valid answers, then 68.2% named newspapers, 70.1% named television and 57.4% radio. The question, although directed at where people would seek further information on certain issues, gives an indication of where people get information, since it seems obvious that people seek information, where experience tells them they can get information.

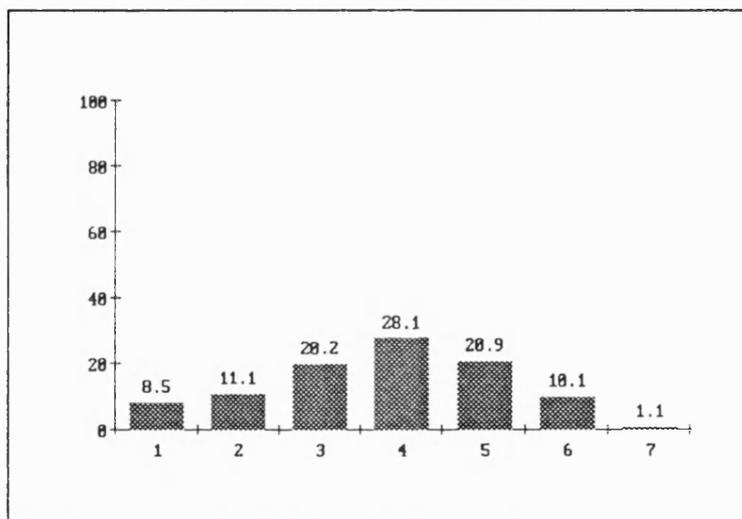
Now we will look at how much people use these media, and which newspapers, radio and television channels.

# VI.1. THE USES OF NEWSPAPERS

We asked: How much do you rely on newspapers for information about candidates and issues.

GRAPH 25  
RELIANCE ON NEWSPAPERS - %

1=Nothing  
2=very little  
3=little  
4=somewhat  
5=much  
6=very much  
7=do not know or  
refuse to answer



30.9% said they relied much or very much on them, 28.1% somewhat and 31.3% little or very little. 8.5% claimed they did not rely on them at all.

If we look at the statistics in terms of sex, we find, after recoding the newspaper variable into three values<sup>1</sup>, that there is a statistically significant difference between men and women. Men were more likely to say they used newspapers much or very much.<sup>2</sup>

TABLE 9

RELIANCE ON NEWSPAPERS BY SEX

SEX→	Count		men 1	women 2	Row Total
	Row Pct Col Pct				
NEWSPAPERS					
nothing/ little/ very little	1		200 48.1 38.0	216 51.9 42.8	416 40.3
somewhat	2		134 45.7 25.5	159 54.3 31.5	293 28.4
much/ very much	3		192 59.6 36.5	130 40.4 25.7	322 31.2
	Column Total		526 51.0	505 49.0	1031 100.0

Let us then look at which daily newspapers are most popular among Icelandic voters. The respondents could name up to three.

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<sup>1</sup> 1=nothing or little, 2=somewhat, 3=much and very much. Those who don't know or refuse to answer are left out (n=10).

<sup>2</sup> Chi-square=14.26, significance level=.0008, (C=.12)

TABLE 10

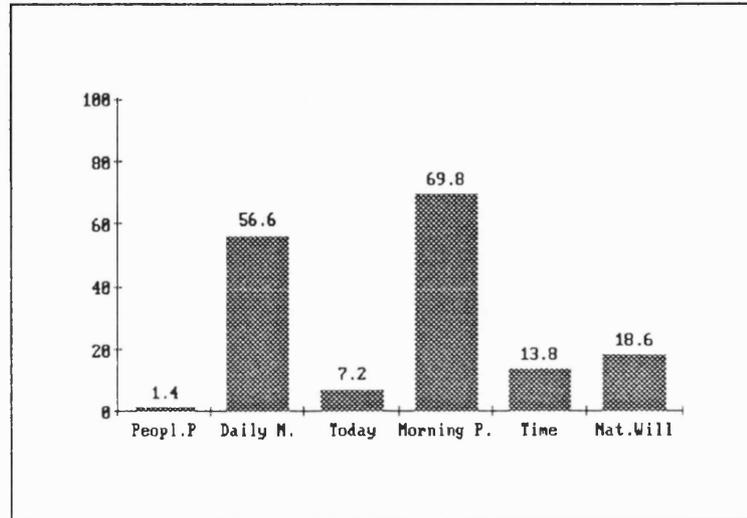
THE MOST POPULAR DAILY NEWSPAPERS

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
No paper	132	12.7	12.7
The People's Paper	4	.4	.4
The Daily Newspaper	262	25.1	25.1
Today	21	2.0	2.0
The Morning Paper	512	49.1	49.1
The Time	46	4.4	4.4
The National Will	63	6.0	6.0
Refuse to answer	2	.2	.2
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	1041	100.0	100.0

It is striking that almost 50% named the Independence Party's Morning Paper as their first choice. Another 25.1% named the Daily Newspaper, which claims to be independent. The People's Party's paper is hardly mentioned, and the only 'left' wing newspaper, the National Will, was named by just 6% as first choice, and the Progressive Party's 'Time' by only 4.4%. If we add second and third most popular daily newspapers, the strength of the 'conservative press' becomes even more apparent. Of three daily newspapers most relied on for information about candidates and issues, the Morning Paper was named by 69.8% of the respondents, and the Daily Newspaper by 56.6%. Next came the National Will, named by 18.6% as one of three most important newspapers for information about candidates and issues. 13.8% named the Time. Today, which has its circulation only in the northern parts of the country, was named by 7.2% and the People's Paper by only 1.4%. (See graph 26).

GRAPH 26  
MOST POPULAR NEWSPAPERS - %

The Morning Paper and the Daily Newspaper are by far the most popular papers in terms of information about issues and candidates. It is surprising how many read Today it being a regional paper

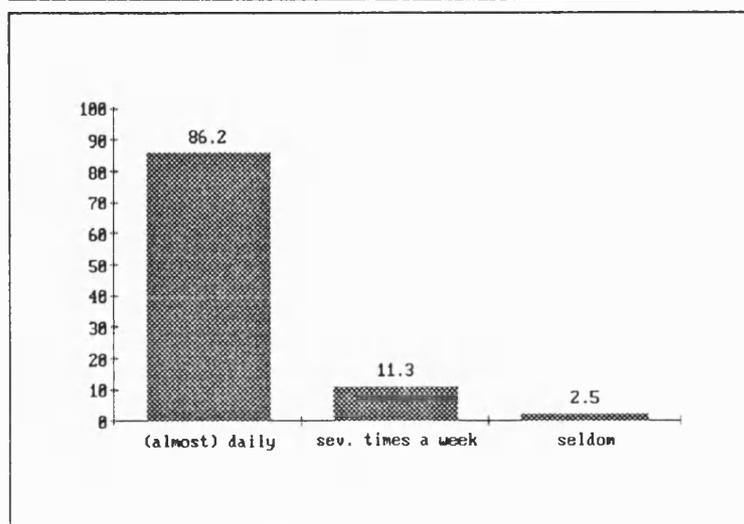


It is interesting to look at these figures in terms of the size of the parties, and the changes the papers have undergone in recent years. The People's Paper, seems to have become the purest 'party paper' of all, only read by a hard core of the most devoted supporters. The Daily Newspaper and the Morning Paper have managed to establish themselves as 'free papers', more independent of party than the others. The Time is still a 'party paper', and not even read by all party supporters, while the National Will, although never claiming to be 'free', does have readers outside the party's group of voters. The paper has managed, to some extent, to establish itself, as the only alternative to the conservative press. Today's nature is somewhat different from the other papers, since it is not a national paper. It seems to reach readers outside the supporters of the Progressive Party, although owned by the party. This has probably to do with its local nature.

The next matter of interest, is to find out how often our respondents read newspapers.

GRAPH 27  
THE USES OF NEWSPAPERS - %

Very few  
Icelanders do not  
read newspapers  
daily. Most  
households  
subscribe to at  
least one national  
newspaper



The graph confirms that Icelanders are among the heaviest newspaper readers in the world. Almost 80% say they read newspapers daily or almost every day and another 10% read regularly. A factor, which doubtlessly decreases the number of those who say they read newspapers daily or almost daily is, that in some rural areas, especially in the north-west, transport is so bad, that people do not get their papers except once or twice a week, at least during the winter. In this respect, there were statistically significant differences by age when recoded into five categories.<sup>1</sup> The use of newspapers increased with age. 91.2% of respondents in the oldest age group said they read newspapers daily or virtually daily, while the comparable figure for the youngest age group was 79.9%. Urban residents, i.e. those living in the Reykjavík and Reykjanes constituencies, read newspapers significantly

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<sup>1</sup> See recoding rationale in Appendix F. Chi-square=23.46, significance level=.0028 (C=.15)

more often than those in the remaining six, more rural constituencies.<sup>1</sup>

The next item analyzed, is which part of the newspaper is read first.

TABLE 11

WHICH PART OF NEWSPAPERS READ FIRST

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
No answer	86	8.3	8.3
News pages	588	56.4	56.5
Editorials	12	1.2	1.2
Gossip	16	1.5	1.5
Articles	21	2.0	2.0
Cartoons	19	1.8	1.8
The whole paper from page 1	239	22.9	23.0
Sport	43	4.1	4.1
Obituaries	12	1.2	1.2
Do not know	5	.5	.5
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL <sup>a</sup>	1041	100.0	100.0

It seems to be most common, that people read the news-pages first, which in most cases are the first two pages, and the last page. The second most common practice is to read the paper 'as it appears'. Considerably fewer look first at other parts of the paper. We then asked what part people looked at next. There appears to be much more variation in this respect. According to the statistics, the most widespread practice is to read the news-pages, and then go through the paper and read what is of interest to the individual in question, be it sport or even obituaries.

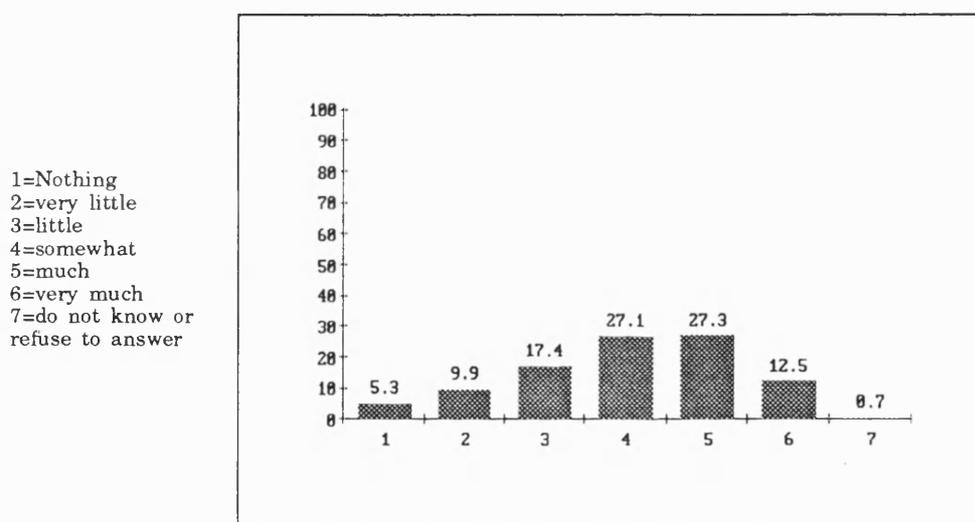
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<sup>1</sup> chi-square=44.52, significance level=.0000 (C=.21)

## VI.2. THE USES OF TELEVISION

Similar questions as the ones about newspapers, were asked about television. First we asked, how much people relied on television for information about issues and candidates. The results are shown in graph 28.

GRAPH 28  
RELIANCE ON TELEVISION - %

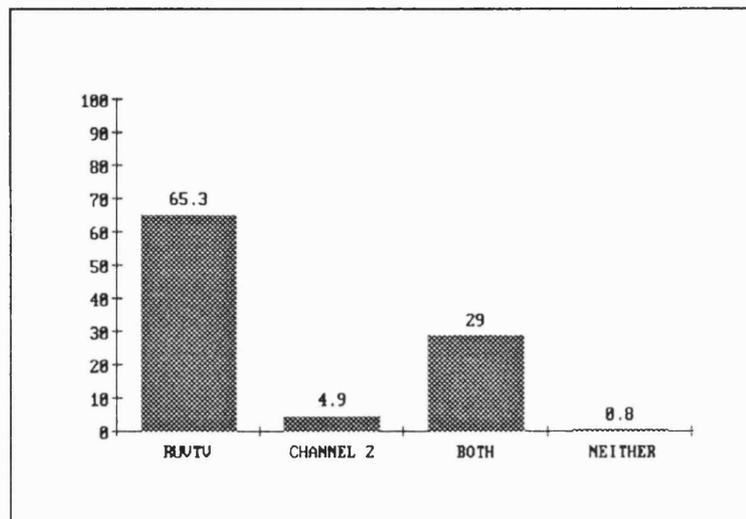


Television is the source of information for more people than the newspapers, although the difference is not much. There are no significant differences between the sexes in this respect, as was evident in the case of newspapers. Moreover, no differences could be detected by age or constituency.

Let us then look at which television channel is more popular for watching news. RÚVTV's news is at 8 o'clock, but Channel 2's news is at 7:30. Channel 2 reaches between 60 and 70% of the population,

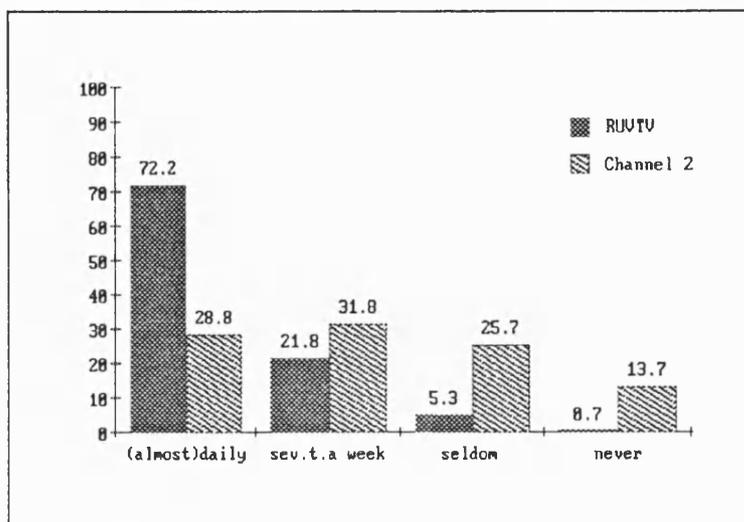
while RÚV can be seen by the whole nation. We asked: 'Which TV news bulletin do you usually watch?'

**GRAPH 29**  
**WHICH NEWS-BULLETIN - %**



The graph shows, that roughly 65% preferred RÚVTV to Channel 2, while only 5% preferred Channel 2. Almost 30% said they usually watched both bulletins. Therefore, almost 95% of Icelandic voters, when they watched news, watched RÚVTV, while the same figure for Channel 2 was less than 35% (It should be kept in mind, that Channel 2 does not reach all of the country). Now let us see, how often people watch television news bulletins, on each channel.

GRAPH 30  
HOW OFTEN DO YOU WATCH  
NEWS - %

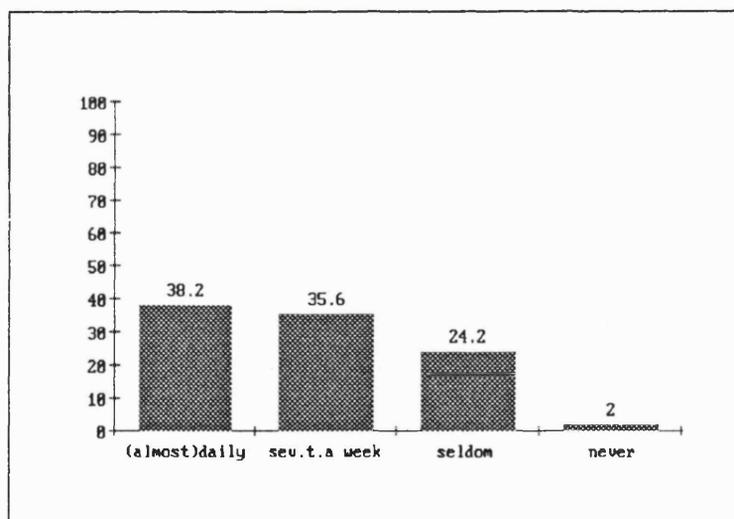


More than 70% said they watched the news on RÚVTV every, or almost every day, while the same figure was almost 20% for Channel 2, and almost 30%, when those are left out that cannot reach its transmissions. In addition, more than 20% said they watched news on RÚVTV several times a week. The same figure for Channel 2 was 21.9% and 31.8% if we leave out those not receiving it. Of those who reached Channel 2 at the time, 25.7% said they watched its news seldom, and 13.7% said they never watched it. The corresponding figures for RÚVTV were 5% who seldom watched its news, and those never watching it were hardly measurable. Therefore we can conclude, that despite the fact that RÚVTV has got competition, its news bulletins reach most of the nation, or at least this was the case during the election campaign. Channel 2 news can be considered rather as an addition, than an alternative. However, there was fierce competition between the two channels and this was not least the case with the two news-rooms during the campaign. Evidence points to the direction that

Channel 2's position has improved, the number of those viewing its news has grown steadily (Jónsson 1988:115).

The graphs showing the uses of television news also tell us, that Icelandic voters are quite heavy viewers. The same becomes evident when one looks at the viewing of current affairs and news-related programmes, although not quite as strong. Over 70% of our respondents said they watched such programmes often or always/almost always. 24% said they watched them seldom, and only 2% said they never watched such programmes.

GRAPH 31  
HOW OFTEN DO YOU WATCH  
CURRENT AFFAIRS - %



We can therefore conclude, that Icelandic voters are heavy consumers of news, and news-related material on television.

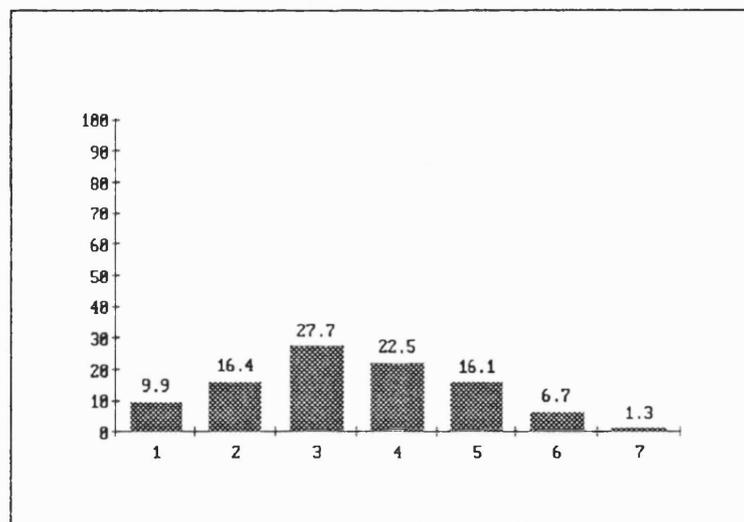
## VI.3. THE USES OF

# RADIO

Similar questions were asked about the uses of radio. There were, at the time of the survey three main radio channels, as has been discussed before. Two of them are owned by the state, RÚV1 and RÚV2, while one is privately owned, and had, by the time of the election, only been on the air for approximately a year. In the survey, we did not ask separately about RÚV2, since it is not a 'news channel': it primarily broadcasts music and human interest material. Therefore, we treated both radio channels as one, RÚV. First, let us take a look at how much our respondents said they relied on radio, to achieve information about candidates and issues.

GRAPH 32  
RELIANCE ON RADIO - %

1=Nothing  
2=very little  
3=little  
4=somewhat  
5=much  
6=very much  
7=do not know or  
refuse to answer



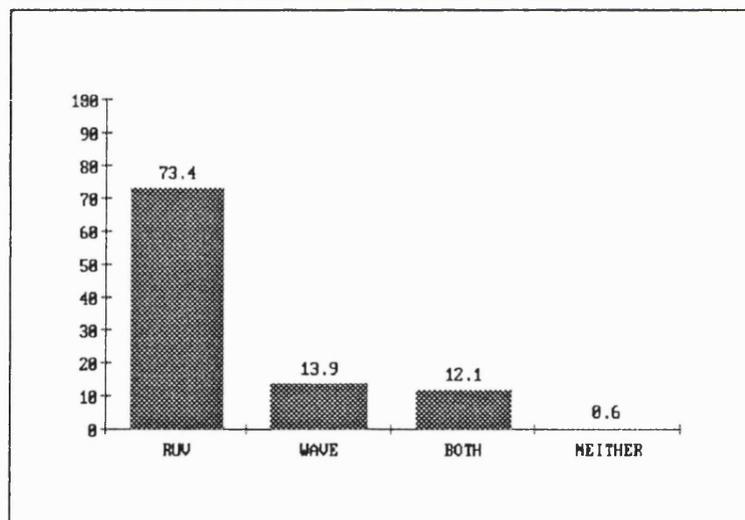
Radio is not thought to be as important a source of information, as newspapers, and especially television. More than 50% of our

respondents said they relied little or less on radio, and only around 23% said they relied much or very much on radio for news about issues and candidates. The same figure for television was around 40%, and around 30% for newspapers.

Men said they relied more on radio for information about issues and candidates than did women.<sup>1</sup> When age was recoded into five groups, reliance on radio correlated significantly with age.<sup>2</sup> That shows, that those in the older groups rely more on radio for news than those that are younger. No differences were found in this respect according to constituency.

The next graph shows which channel people preferred at the early stage of the campaign. As in the case of television, RÚV can be heard all over the country, while the privately owned 'Wave', can be heard by between half and two thirds of the nation.

**GRAPH 33**  
**WHICH RADIO CHANNEL - %**



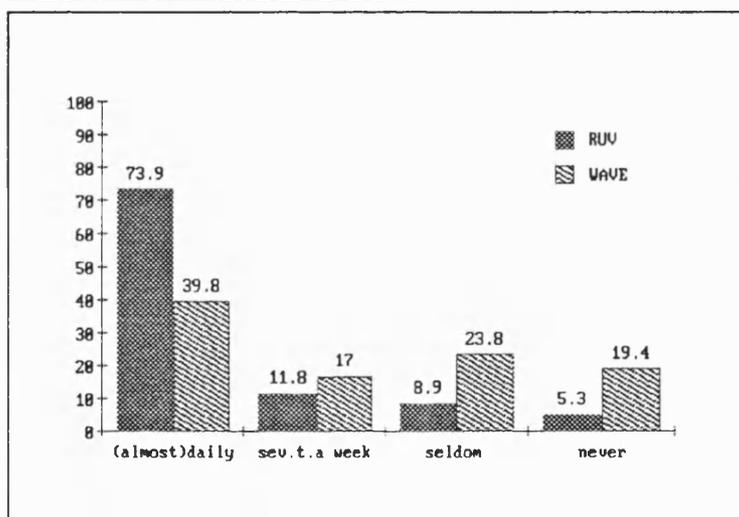
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<sup>1</sup> Chi-square=14.71, significance level=.0006, (C=.12)

<sup>2</sup> Chi-square=22.76, significance level=.0037 (C=.15)

Graph 33 shows, that around three out of four preferred RÚV, while almost 14% preferred the Wave. 12.1% said they used both. This means, that roughly 85% of those relying on radio, used RÚV for information about candidates and issues, while 26% used the Wave for these purposes. Although not as clear as in the case of television, we can see, that the state owned media were extremely strong and relied on, despite the newly arrived competition. The next two graphs show us how often people claim to listen to news on the two channels.

**GRAPH 34**  
HOW OFTEN DO YOU LISTEN TO  
NEWS ON RADIO - %

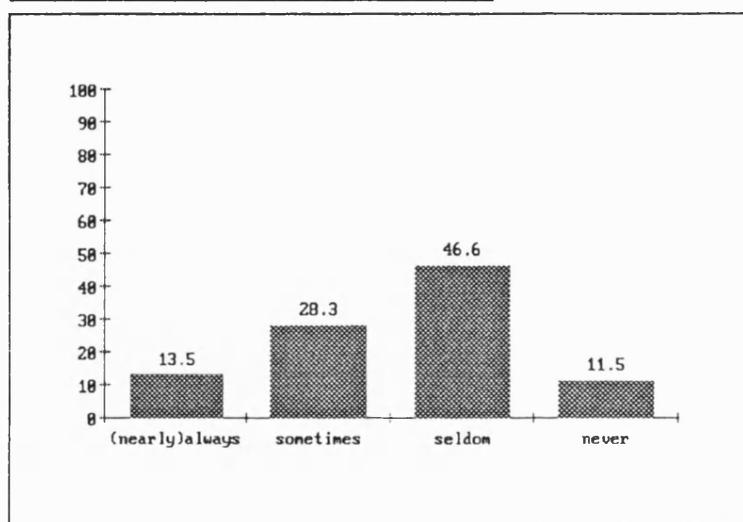


It is noticeable, how many said they listened to news on the Wave, compared to those who said they relied on it for information. This could be an indication, that people did not quite trust the Wave as much as they trusted RÚV, since almost the same number of people said they listened to the RÚV daily, as said they relied on it for information. It is also worth mentioning that 20% of those who could hear the Wave never listened to its news. If we add those who seldom

listened to it, the proportion rises to over 40%, while less than 15% said they seldom or never listened to news on RÚV.

But how many listened to news-related material on the radio? In graph 35, both radio stations are put together, although most such programmes were at the time on RÚV's older channel, RÚV1.

**GRAPH 35**  
**HOW OFTEN DO YOU LISTEN TO**  
**CURRENT AFFAIRS ? - %**



From this graph it is obvious, that interest in news-related material on radio was not nearly as much as on television. Almost 60% said they seldom or never listened, while a little more than 10% can be said to be heavy users.

Overall the general conclusions from the evidence are that Icelandic voters were very interested in election campaign coverage in the media, and relied quite heavily on the media for information about the campaign.

From correlation statistics, it can be seen that the same people tended to say they used all the media.<sup>1</sup> In the case of all media sex correlated with reliance on the medium. All the above named correlations were statistically significant, except sex and reliance on television. In that case women were as likely to say they used it for information. Although not clear cut, we can see there is a trend in the direction, that if a person relies on one medium for information on issues and candidates, it is likely to rely on the other media as well. The trend is, that either people rely on media for information or they do not, irrespective of which media we are talking about. This indicates, that either people have an interest in the media coverage of the campaign or they do not. However, separate questions were designed to tackle actual interest in media coverage of the campaign, and were asked in the second survey wave as reported in the next chapter.

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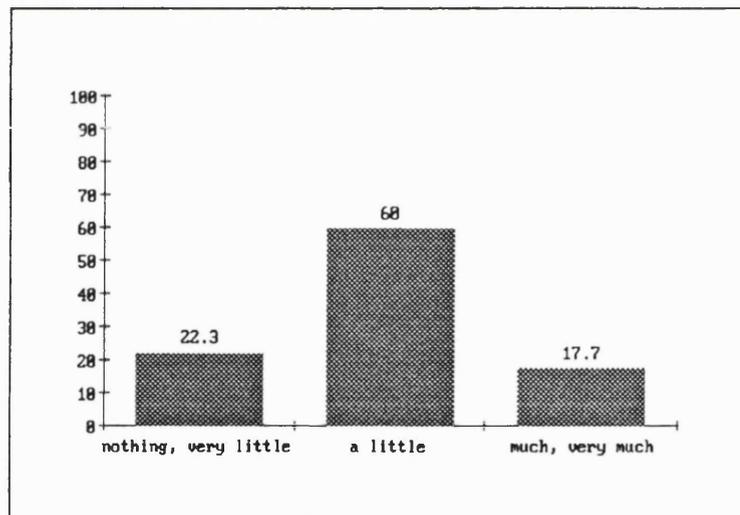
<sup>1</sup> The chi-square between reliance on newspapers and reliance on television was 38.72 (sign.=.0000, C=.19). There was an even stronger association between relying on television and relying on radio, chi-square=94.11 (sign.=.0000, C=.29)

# VII.1. CLAIMED KNOWLEDGE ABOUT PARTY POLICIES

In the second survey wave we asked respondents how much they felt they knew about the policies of the political parties in the campaign. The following graph shows the frequency, after answers have been recoded into three groups.

GRAPH 36  
CLAIMED KNOWLEDGE ABOUT  
PARTY POLICIES - %

nothing  
=32 (3.6%)  
very little  
=165 (18.7%)  
a little  
=534 (60%)  
much  
=136 (15.3%)  
very much  
=21 (2.4%)



Most people placed themselves in the middle, claiming they knew a little, while roughly 22% claimed they knew nothing or very little,

and almost 18% said they knew much or very much. There were significant differences between the sexes in this respect.<sup>1</sup> Men tended to claim more knowledge about party policies than women. If we recode age into five age groups, as has been done before, claimed knowledge and age correlate well.<sup>2</sup> The 60-70 years old, were most likely to claim much or very much knowledge, while those in the youngest age group, 18-30, were most likely to claim they knew little or very little. No significant differences were detected between urban and rural voters.

Those who said they relied much on the media for information about issues and candidates, were more likely to say they knew much about party policies than those who relied less on the media.<sup>3</sup>

That media use contributes to claimed knowledge is further supported if one looks at associations between measurements of how much people use the media and their claimed knowledge. For instance, those reading newspapers daily or almost daily, were more likely to claim they knew much about party policies.<sup>4</sup> The association was stronger in the case of how often people watched news on television.<sup>5</sup> However, those who said they listened to news on the state radio every day or several times a week tended to claim most knowledge of the policies of the political parties.<sup>6</sup> However, the strongest association

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<sup>1</sup> chi-square=16.839, significance=.0002 (Contingency coefficient=.14)

<sup>2</sup> Chi-square=37.137, significance=.0000 (C=.20)

<sup>3</sup> The chi-square for reliance on newspapers for information and claimed knowledge was 25.88, significance=.0000 (C=.17). The chi-square for reliance on television and claimed knowledge was 32.25, sign.=.0000 (C=.19). Reliance on television seems to have a stronger association with claimed knowledge than reliance on newspapers. Reliance on radio lagged somewhat behind both newspapers and television in this respect, chi-square being 17.85, sign.=0013 (C=.14).

<sup>4</sup> Chi-square=14.12, significance=.0069 (C=.13)

<sup>5</sup> Chi-square=19.75, significance level=.0006 (C=.15)

<sup>6</sup> Chi-square=28.16, sign.=.0000 (C=.19)

was found in the case of how often people watched current affairs on television and claimed knowledge. Those who said they watched such programmes always or nearly always were much more likely to claim much knowledge of party policies than those who seldom watched current affairs.<sup>1</sup> Although not as strong, the same pattern showed in the case of current affairs programmes on radio.<sup>2</sup>

When claimed knowledge of the policies of the parties partaking in the election was looked at in terms of whether voters changed their party positions during the campaign, or between the 1983 and 1987 elections, a clear pattern emerged. Those who claimed less knowledge changed their positions more often than those who claimed more knowledge.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Chi-square=48.82, significance level=.0000 (C=.23)

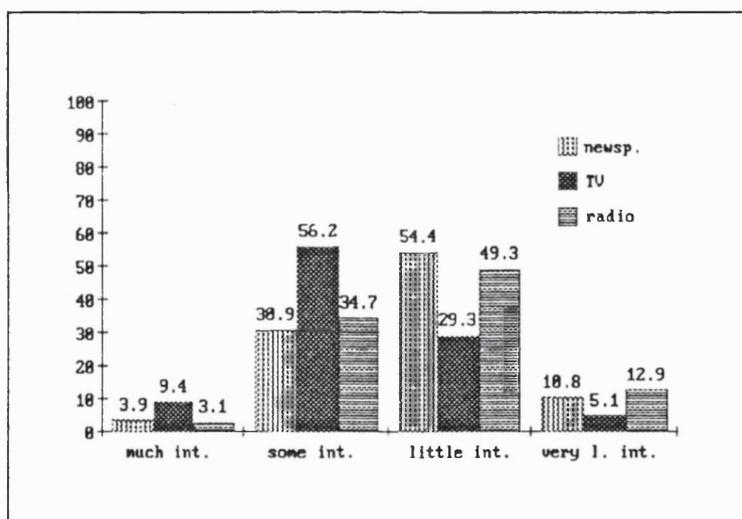
<sup>2</sup> Chi-square=26.41, significance level=.0002 (C=.18)

<sup>3</sup> The chi-square for claimed knowledge and change between first and second wave was 28.04, significance level=.0000 (C=.19). In the case of change in party preferences between the second survey wave and the 1987 election, the chi-square was 30.34 with a significance level of .0000. The association was not as strong when we look at changes between the two elections, chi-square=15.33, significance=.0005 (C=.16).

## VII.2. INTEREST IN MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE CAMPAIGN

Three separate questions were asked about interest in media coverage, one for each medium. Graph 37 shows the results.

GRAPH 37  
INTEREST IN MEDIA COVERAGE - %



It is obvious, that television was the most important medium for voters, if importance can be measured by interest. The other two media were similar in this respect. Around 65% said they were either very interested or interested in television coverage, while a similar

figure for newspapers and radio was around 35%. However, there was a strong tendency in the direction, that if an individual was interested in the coverage in one medium, he was likely to be interested in the others as well, as becomes apparent when we measure the association between the interest variables. The strongest link is between the broadcasting media. Those who have much interest in the television coverage have much interest in radio coverage. Although a strong association, it was weakest between newspapers and television.<sup>1</sup>

In the first survey wave we asked about how closely people thought they followed what was happening in politics in general. It was found, that those who said they followed politics were those who said they were interested in media coverage. The association was strongest in the case of interest in newspaper coverage, followed by interest in television coverage. The weakest association was with interest in radio coverage.<sup>2</sup>

In the cases of all media, men were much more interested in the coverage of the election campaign than women.<sup>3</sup> If this is looked at by age, then interest seems to grow with age, in all cases.<sup>4</sup>

It is also important to look at the interest questions in terms of 'change' variables. With all media, the trend was the same. Those changing their minds, tended to be those with little interest in the

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<sup>1</sup> The chi-square, in the case of interest in the campaign coverage in newspapers, and interest in the coverage in television was 205.65 (C=.43). In the case of newspapers and radio, chi-square was 320.07 (C=.52) and television and radio 411.43 (C=.57). The significance level in all cases was .0000.

<sup>2</sup> Newspapers: chi-square 147.05, significance level=.0000, (C=.38)  
Television: chi-square=130.65, sign=.0000, (C=.36)  
Radio: chi-square=103.14, significance level=.0000, Contingency coefficient=.33)

<sup>3</sup> This was most clearly so in the case of radio, where the chi-square was 34.53, significance=.0000 (C=.19). In the case of television, chi-square was 24.56, sign=.0000 (C=.15) and newspapers, chi-square=19.39, sign=.0002 (C=.15)

<sup>4</sup> This association was not significant in the case of television, but was significant (.0000) with radio, chi-square=41.66 (C=.21). Chi-square in the case of interest in newspaper coverage was 31.04, with a significance level of .0019 (C=.18)

campaign coverage. The association was strongest between interest in television and changes in voting intentions between first and second waves.<sup>1</sup> Another relatively strong association was between interest in radio coverage and changes in voting intentions in the last week.<sup>2</sup> The weakest associations were between the interest in media coverage and changes in party affiliations between the 1983 and 1987 elections.

One might be tempted to conclude that the relation between the media variables and the first two change variables was due to a reinforcement effect from the media, but a more likely explanation is that those with stronger party affiliations have more interest in the coverage, perhaps to see how 'their' party is doing in the campaign, or to get 'ammunition' for political discussions.

## VII.3. WHICH MEDIA GAVE MOST INFORMATION ABOUT THE CAMPAIGN?

In the first survey wave we asked people to name the medium that gave them most information about politics. We then gave the opportunity to name a second and third as well. In the last wave after the general election, we asked which media had given most information about the election campaign. People could, as before, name up to three media.

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<sup>1</sup> chi-square=21.83, sign.=.0001 (C=.16)

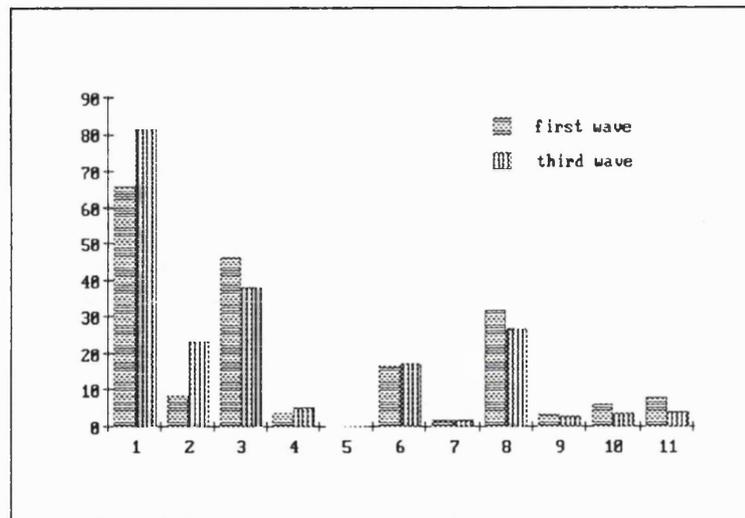
<sup>2</sup> chi-square=20.62, sign.=.0001 (C=.17)

RÚVTV was named by almost 45% as the medium giving most information about politics, second came the State radio at 22% and third the Independence Party's Morning Paper, named by almost 15% as medium number one. In fourth place was the independent Daily Newspaper, named by a 5% as the medium giving most information.

By adding the results from the second and third questions, we can see which media were most often named as one of three giving most information about politics.

GRAPH 38  
THE MEDIA GIVING MOST  
INFORMATION -%

- 1=RUVTV
- 2=Channel 2
- 3=RUV
- 4=The Wave
- 5=People's Paper
- 6=Daily Newspaper
- 7=Today
- 8=Morning P.
- 9=Time
- 10=National Will
- 11=No medium



Two thirds (65.2%) named RÚVTV in the first wave as one of three most important sources of political information, 46.3% named RÚV, and 25.1% the Morning Paper. 16.8% named the Daily Newspaper, 8.6% Channel 2 and 6.4% the National Will. 3.9% named the Wave as one among three most important media for information about politics, 3.5% the Time, 1.9% named the locally based Today, and only 0.4% the People's Paper. From this evidence we can conclude, first,

that the State media were at this stage, thought by most to be among the three giving most information about politics, and that they were somewhat superior in this respect. Second, the Independence Party's Morning Paper, and the 'independent' Daily Newspaper, were in a quite strong position in this respect, much stronger than the two privately owned broadcasting media, and all other newspapers. Third, the only medium with leanings on the left, was named by only 6.4% as one of three most important sources of political information.

In order to find out if people had changed their minds on the subject during the campaign, or whether they viewed the matter differently during a campaign than otherwise, we asked similar questions in the last survey wave, after the general election. The question was as follows: Which medium gave you most information during the election campaign? As before, respondents could name up to three media (see Graph 38).

RÚVTV was named by 64.3%, and RÚV by 11.9% in the third wave. The Morning Paper was named by 6.8% with Channel 2 not far behind with 6.6%. These figures are considerably different from the results when we asked which media gave most information about politics. Both television channels seem to have increased their share during the campaign, while the state radio dropped. The same trend is evident when we look at the second and third medium. The state television was named by 81.9%, as one of three most important sources of information during the election campaign. A similar figure, when asked in the first wave was 65.2%. Channel 2 has risen from 8.6% to 23.5%. We should keep in mind, that its transmissions were not seen by the whole nation (seen by 60-70% approximately). The state radio seems to have fallen slightly, but the newspapers score almost the same as in the first survey wave. A general conclusion that can be drawn from the evidence, is that television was for most people the most important source of information about the election campaign. Although also important at other times, its importance seems to have

increased during the later stages of the campaign. The relative stability of newspapers in this respect indicates, that people do not rely on them more during campaigns than at other times.

## VII.4. DID MEDIA

### COVERAGE HELP

### VOTERS TO MAKE UP

### THEIR MINDS?

We asked, whether people thought that the media coverage had helped or would help them in making up their minds, i.e. how to vote. In this, television scored highest and radio lowest. In all, 16.7% said newspapers helped them, 23.9% said television, and 13.5% radio helped them in deciding how to vote. This data further confirms that television was by far the most important source of information in the campaign. However, when one looks at the association between these three variables, there is a trend for the same people to admit that they are helped by the media.<sup>1</sup>

Neither sex nor age seem to be associated with whether people claim to get help from radio. In the case of newspapers, age correlates slightly, in the manner that the younger electors were more willing to

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<sup>1</sup> The strongest link is between help from newspapers and help from radio (chi-square=172.93, sign.=.0000 (C=.41)). Help from television, although strongly associated to both newspapers and radio, was less so than in the cases of the other media (Help from newspapers and help from tv, chi-square=122.83, sign.=.0000, (C=.36), help from radio and help from TV, chi-square=119.41, sign.=.0000, (C=.35)).

report that newspapers had helped them in making up their minds.<sup>1</sup> There was no difference between sexes in this respect. If we look at television, then there was a weak correlation between sex and help in decision making, women were more willing to claim such effects,<sup>2</sup> while age correlated more strongly. Younger voters were more likely to claim that television helped them in making up their minds than older voters.<sup>3</sup> Whether people lived in urban or rural areas does not relate to help from media.

There were no strong correlations between the 'help' variables and the 'change' variables. The strongest correlation was with help from television and the first change variable, i.e. whether people changed their voting intentions between first and second wave.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Chi-square=13.49, sign.=.0091 (C=.12)

<sup>2</sup> chi-square=7.24, sign.=.0071, (C=.09)

<sup>3</sup> Chi-square=76.27, sign.=.0000, (C=.28)

<sup>4</sup> Chi-square=11.36, sign.=.0007, (C=.12)

# VIII. ATTITUDES

## TOWARDS THE MEDIA

### IN THE CAMPAIGN

Several questions were asked concerning voters' attitudes towards different aspects of media performance in the election campaign. Here we will discuss perceived amount of coverage of the campaign, perceived fairness towards political parties, and thoroughness of the election campaign coverage.

#### VIII.1. ATTITUDES

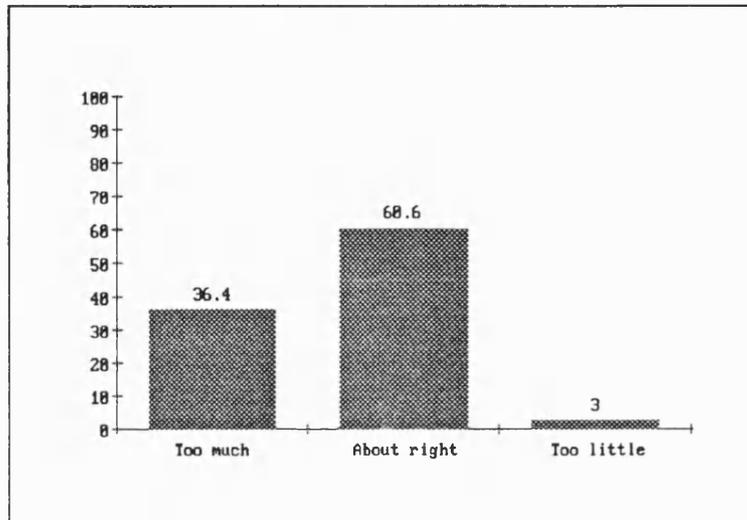
##### TOWARDS

##### NEWSPAPERS

We asked, whether people thought the newspaper coverage of the campaign was too much, about the right amount, or too little.

GRAPH 39  
AMOUNT OF ELECTION COVERAGE  
IN NEWSPAPERS - %

More than half of the sample said the amount of political coverage was about right, and almost no one said it was too little. More than a third said there was too much politics in the newspapers.



The older electors were slightly more likely to say the amount was too much,<sup>1</sup> while there was no difference between the sexes.

In the first survey wave a series of questions were included on how fair each individual medium was.

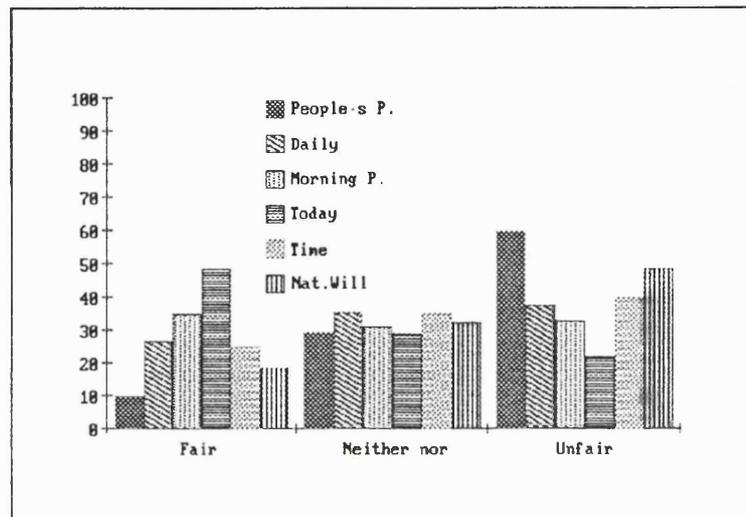
Graph 40 shows how people perceived fairness and bias in the daily newspapers. There were some considerable differences between the papers, as regards voters' perceptions of their fairness. First only 10% saw the People's Paper as fair, and 60% saw it as unfair. 18.9% saw the National Will as fair and 48.7% as unfair. These two papers were thought to be the most unfair. Today was seen as the fairest of all, followed by the Morning Paper (thought fair by more than two thirds). What is most surprising is how badly the Daily Newspaper fared, being an independent paper, and not doing any better than the

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<sup>1</sup> Chi-square=26, significance level=.0011 (C=.17)

openly partisan Time, and far worse than the Morning Paper, which admittedly supports the Independence Party.

GRAPH 40  
PERCEIVED FAIRNESS IN  
NEWSPAPERS - %



Age and sex do not seem to affect perceptions of any of the papers.

It is quite interesting to look at perceptions of fairness and bias in terms of the party people supported. It should be kept in mind though, that in some cases the numbers of respondents are few, and one should take care not to go into heavy interpretations. These figures, however, give us some indication of differences between the supporters of the parties. If we look at the Time, half of the voters of the Progressive Party saw it as fair and unbiased. The paper is owned by the Progressive Party. Least favourable towards the Time were the voters of the Women's List. Two thirds of that party's supporters saw

the Time as unfair, followed by the SDP's (60%) and the PA's supporters (46%).<sup>1</sup>

The Independence Party's Morning Paper was deemed to be fair and unbiased by more than half of that party's voters, as well as the supporters of the Citizen's Party, while less than 20% of the People's Alliance's supporters and around 10% of the WL's supporters saw it as fair.<sup>2</sup> The voters of the People's Alliance scored highest in the case of the Alliance's National Will, although not as high as the voters of the Progressive Party and the Independence Party did with 'their' papers. It was thought unfair by more than a half of all other parties' voters, and by two thirds of the PP's voters.<sup>3</sup>

The supporters of the WL and the PP were most critical of the Daily Newspaper's performance, while the BP's supporters were most favourable.<sup>4</sup>

There seems to have been most consensus around Today, of all newspapers. This has probably to do with its regional nature, and the fact, that it has no competitors on a local basis.

A number of questions relating to thoroughness of coverage of the policies and issue stances of the parties were asked in the first survey wave.

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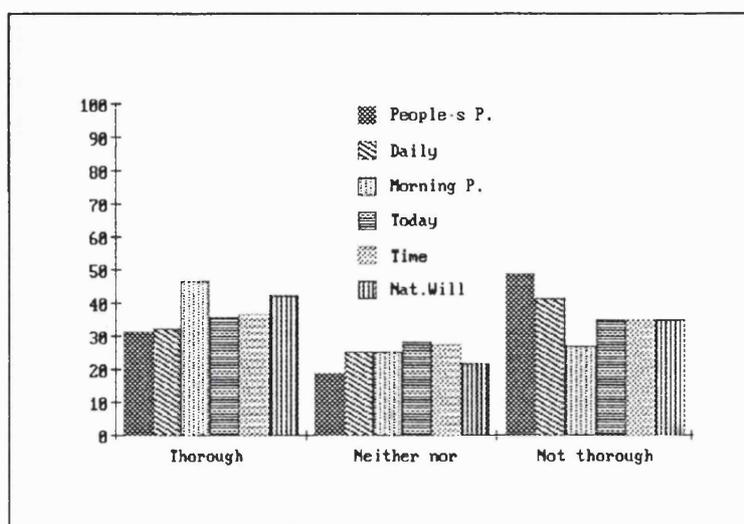
<sup>1</sup> Chi-square=26.67, significance level=.0029, (C=.34)

<sup>2</sup> Chi-square=76.23, sign.=.0000 (C=.37)

<sup>3</sup> Chi-square=29.29, sign.=.0011 (C=.32)

<sup>4</sup> Chi-square=28.77, significance level=.0014 (C=.25)

GRAPH 41  
PERCEIVED THOROUGHNESS IN  
NEWSPAPERS - %



The Morning Paper is highest of the newspapers on perceived thoroughness, and the National Will is not far behind. However, many fewer said that the Morning Paper was not thorough, than said so about the National Will. The 'independent' Daily Newspaper and the People's Paper scored lowest on these measures.

Perceived thoroughness correlated with sex in the case of one newspaper, the Daily. Women were more likely to perceive it as not thorough.<sup>1</sup> Perceived thoroughness did not associate with voting intentions.

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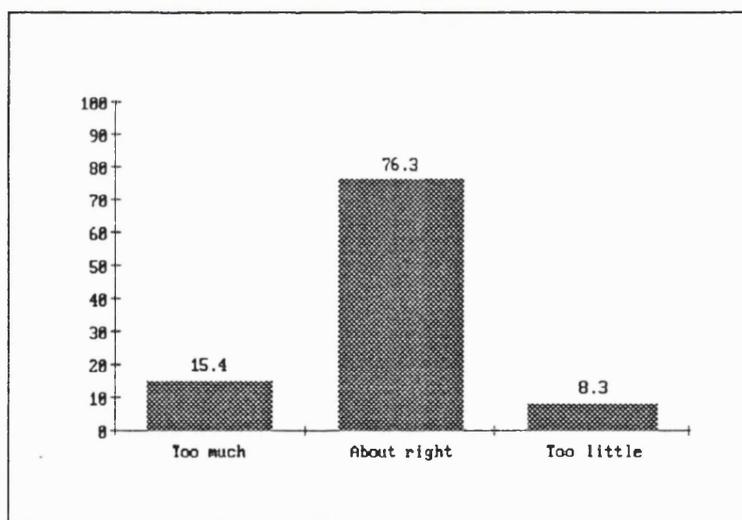
<sup>1</sup> Chi-square=11.76, significance level=.0028 (C=.13)

## VIII.2. ATTITUDES

# TOWARDS TELEVISION

As was the case with newspapers there were, in the second survey wave questions about perceived amount of coverage of the election campaign in television. By then, a week before the election, voters should have formed opinions about this aspect of the coverage. Graph 42 shows the results.

GRAPH 42  
AMOUNT OF ELECTION COVERAGE  
IN TELEVISION - %



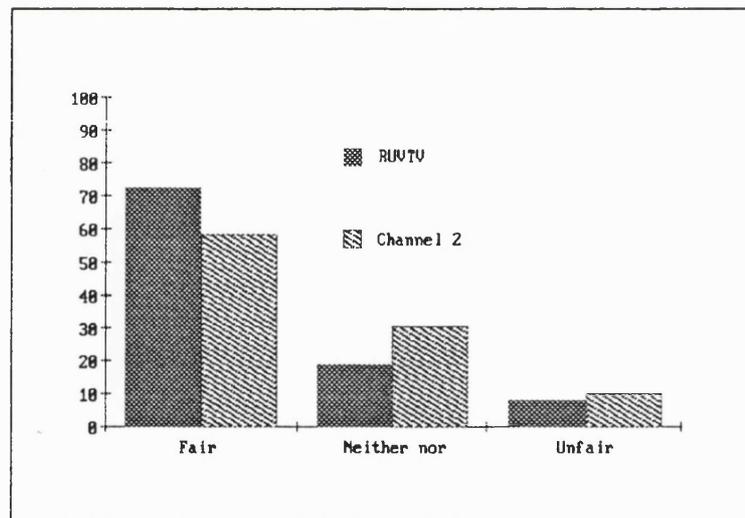
As can be recalled from the discussion about newspapers, less than 3% said the amount of election coverage was too little. A corresponding figure for television is almost 8%. By the same token, there were considerably fewer who thought television covered the

election too much, than thought so about newspapers. There, more than a third said so, whereas the figure is roughly 15% for television. Around three out of every four who gave a valid answer were content with the amount of election coverage in television. In this respect, no division was made between channels.

Women were slightly more likely to report that they thought television coverage to be excessive, than were men.<sup>1</sup> There were some differences between age groups in this respect. Those who thought the coverage to be either too much or too little, tended to be from the oldest age group, while the younger said the coverage was about right.<sup>2</sup>

Let us then look at perceived fairness in the two television channels.

GRAPH 43  
PERCEIVED FAIRNESS IN  
TELEVISION - %



<sup>1</sup> Chi-square=9.83, significance level=.0073 (C=.11)

<sup>2</sup> Chi-square=23.15, significance level=.0032 (C=.16)

It is noteworthy how many people were willing to judge RÚVTV as fair in its coverage of the campaign. Not as high a proportion of those answering the question for Channel 2 said it was fair. However, they would not say it was unfair to a greater extent than was said about RÚVTV. The difference between the two channels in this respect, seems to be that people were more cautious in the case of Channel 2, they did not know yet, how to judge it, since it had not existed long enough.

RÚVTV was more often perceived to be unfair by women than by men.<sup>1</sup> Such differences were not detected with Channel 2.

In terms of perceived fairness of political coverage in television, there seems to be an even distribution between supporters of the parties, with three exceptions in the case of RÚVTV, and one with Channel 2. If we look first at RÚVTV, it is found that the supporters of the People's Alliance and the Women's List were less willing to say its coverage was fair, than the supporters of other parties. The IP's supporters were happiest with RÚVTV's fairness.<sup>2</sup> The Women's List's supporters were least content with Channel 2 in this respect, although the association is not statistically significant. It is also worth noticing, how little bias was seen in Channel 2 by the supporters of the People's Alliance, but that party stood most strongly against abolishing the monopoly of RÚV, as to a lesser extent did the Women's List.

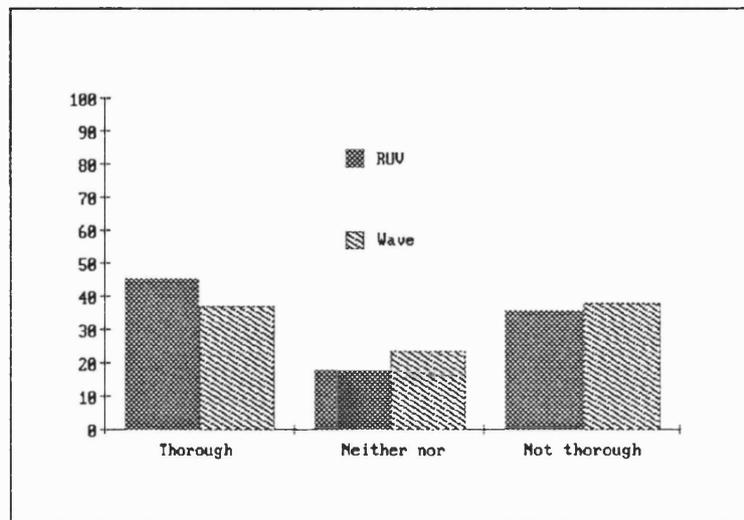
The final aspect of attitudes towards television, was the question about perceived thoroughness.

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<sup>1</sup> Chi-square=12.17, significance level=.0023 (C=.11).

<sup>2</sup> Chi-square=26.97, significance level=.0026 (C=.21)

GRAPH 44  
PERCEIVED THOROUGHNESS IN  
TELEVISION - %



It is evident that television coverage of the campaign was not thought to be as thorough, as it was thought to be fair. RÚVTV, however, scored a little higher than the privately owned Channel 2. The higher proportion of those saying 'Neither/nor' in the case of Channel 2 indicates, that people were not yet ready to judge it to the same extent as RÚVTV.

No significant associations were found between perceived thoroughness and sex. Those respondents belonging to the older age groups felt that RÚVTV's coverage was thorough, while a higher percentage of the younger thought it was not thorough enough.<sup>1</sup> No such age differences were found in the case of Channel 2.

The voters of the People's Party, the Progressive Party and the Citizens' Party found the coverage of RÚVTV more thorough than the voters of other parties. The voters of the People's Alliance and the

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<sup>1</sup> Chi-square=24.23, sign.=.0021, (C=.16)

Women's List thought it least thorough.<sup>1</sup> In the case of Channel 2, the Citizen's Party's voters were by far most willing to claim thoroughness; next came the supporters of the People's Party, and Independence Party. The voters of the People's Alliance seemed to be least willing to talk about thoroughness in Channel 2, followed by the PP's and the WL's supporters.<sup>2</sup>

## VIII.3. ATTITUDES

### TOWARDS RADIO

We did not ask separately about the second state channel, since both are served by the same news-room. The discussion here, therefore, relates only to RÚV1 and the Wave.

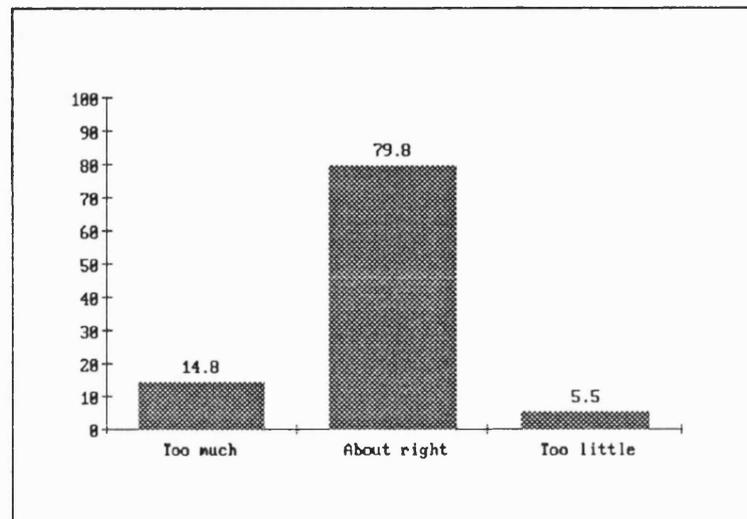
As before we begin with the question about perceived amount of election coverage.

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<sup>1</sup> Chi-square=20.06, sign.=0287 (C=.19)

<sup>2</sup> Chi-square=29.74, sign.=.0009 (C=.32)

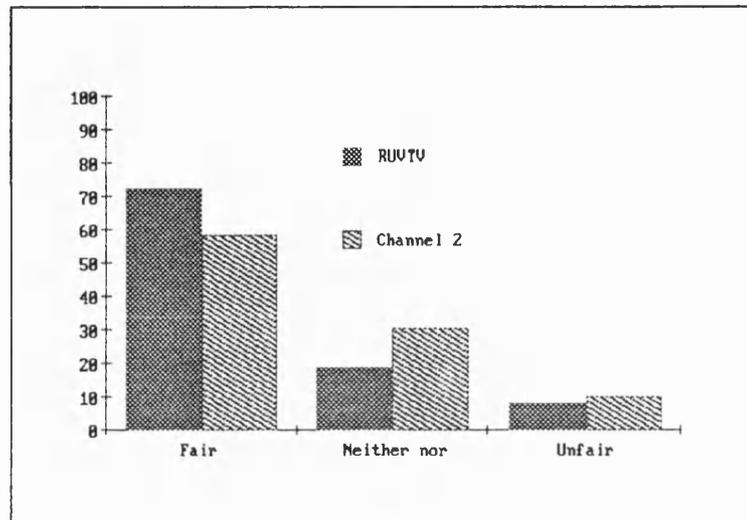
GRAPH 45  
AMOUNT OF ELECTION COVERAGE  
IN RADIO - %



If the above graph is compared with those about television and newspapers, we can see that radio was thought to get its act well together in terms of amount of election coverage. In fact it fared best of all media in this respect. Almost 80% of those giving valid answers thought it was about right, 5.5% thought it too little, and 14.8% too much. No significant correlations were found with any of the demographic variables in this respect.

Let us then turn to perceptions of fairness in radio. The first thing to strike one's attention is that RÚV seems to be superior even to the RÚVTV. 84% said it was fair. The fate of the privately owned radio channel seems to be much like the privately owned Channel 2 television. A much lower proportion of respondents said it was fair, without many saying it was actually unfair. This has probably to do with the fact that they were relatively new.

GRAPH 46  
PERCEIVED FAIRNESS IN RADIO - %



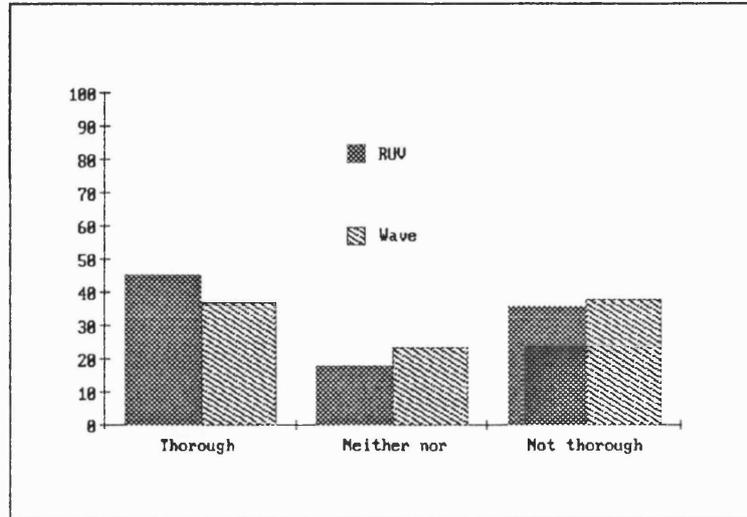
Sex correlated with perceived fairness on the Wave. Women more often said the election coverage was unfair.<sup>1</sup>

Let us then finally look at perceived thoroughness in radio. There were greater differences between the radio channels than the television channels. RÚV was by more than half thought to be thorough or very thorough, while a quarter thought it was not thorough enough. In the case of the privately owned 'Wave', only 30.6% thought it was thorough or very thorough, while 43.4% said it was not thorough enough.

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<sup>1</sup> Chi-square=13.24, significance level=.0013 (C=.17)

GRAPH 47  
PERCEIVED FAIRNESS IN RADIO - %



There were no significant differences as regards radio's thoroughness in terms of any of the demographic variables.

# IX.1. NEWS VALUES AND PRACTICES

Although it has been observed, that it is not simply the news bulletin or the front pages of a newspaper that provide people with knowledge about the world and what is important (Paletz and Entman 1981:182), it is obvious that news is the most important source of such knowledge. It is produced almost exclusively to inform people, while entertainment in the press and the broadcasting media also help to set the agenda. That, however, is in much more general terms than the news. News tells us what is happening and what is important now, which issues we should think about at this very moment. Therefore it is thought, that we can look at news as the prime agenda-setter, i.e. if the media have an agenda-setting function at all. This justifies the stress on news in this project. Moreover, if news has an agenda-setting influence on people, this should be more prominent during election campaigns than at most other times, since it has been observed that people use the media more for information seeking during these periods than at other times.

Having tried to justify the exclusive focus on news, it is in order to look at the phenomenon news, how it is defined, and how and why some events and issues become news, i.e. to look at news values. Warren Breed (1956:477) has offered the following definition of news:

"News is the report of a recent event (or situation?) judged by newsmen to be worthy of publication for the interest and/or information of members of their audience,..."

Kay (1954:16) says that news must be new to someone. News is not new very long, and therefore is a "highly perishable commodity" (Fishman 1980:66).

How news is detected and selected is still another matter, and of major importance.

It is often assumed, usually by media people themselves, that they provide the man in the street with vital information about what is happening in the world, information he would not be able to acquire otherwise. In other words, the media work in the interest of the public. This, however, is not as simple as it seems at first glance.

"Is public interest something in which the public has an interest, or something in which the public should have an interest." (Pember 1968:18)

Most media people take it as given, that the public should have an interest in what is going on in the world, and indeed, that it has such an interest. So there is no dilemma in this for the media people. News is provided to inform the public about matters it should be, and is interested in.

But this does not solve the problem. What is it people (should) want to know? Hence, the "mirror on reality" notion by journalists. They give as explanations of their doings, that they simply report "events" out there, as they happen. That, however, is still not enough. It is impossible to report everything that happens in the world, and therefore there have to exist some selection mechanisms. (Sasser:1972: 280). That is where the concept news-worthiness comes into the picture. Journalists only report what is newsworthy, and use the term to justify their actions. (Pember 1968:17).

A former BBC news editor has commented on the matter (Peacock 1963:47).

"...the selection of news items has to be based on certain semi-objective principles such as importance, reliability of source, impartiality, accuracy, etc. coupled with a sincere attempt to relate these to the interests and requirements of listeners and viewers."

This, he adds, has to be done without resorting to "sensationalism or debasement of standards." It seems, that Mr. Peacock did not view the audience highly. It is as if he is saying, that people want sensationalism and "low" standards. But we (the news-room staff) know better. We can handle standards.

Let us look at the items which constitute the semi-objective principles Mr. Peacock mentions. First is importance. One can ask: for whom? Is something important for the government, the majority of the people, for some privileged groups, in terms of money or what? Second is reliability of source. Who is to judge which sources are reliable and which not? In this case it is the reporter himself. It has been found, as will be discussed further later, that sources thought to be reliable tend to be of a bureaucratic nature. Impartiality is the next item on Mr. Peacock's list. Impartiality means, that the reporter acknowledges that there are more than one side to an issue, and that he covers the views of both or all sides, without indicating his own preference. Accuracy is still one factor, and seems to be quite troublesome. People perceive things differently, and therefore reporters can cover the same story, being equally accurate (and impartial for that matter) without their stories being identical.

Other factors have also been mentioned, such as timeliness (Sasser 1972:280). This point can be related to the point of the need of an event to be of a similar frequency as the medium. (Galtung and Ruge 1973:52-8). Proximity is a factor named both by Sasser (1972) and Alistair Hetherington (1986:8). Events occurring near, are more likely to be recorded as news than those that take place 10.000 miles away. However, as pointed out by Hicks and Gordon (1974:644)

technological developments have changed the stress on physical proximity to cultural, political and economic proximity. The consequence theme is also important. How many people does the event affect (Hetherington 1986:8). Yet another point, stressed by Galtung and Ruge (1973:52-8) is negativity. The more negative an event is, the more likely it is to become news. Walter Gieber (1955:311-18), in a study of 34 American newspapers found this to be wrong. He found that editors did not choose the negative events rather than the positive ones, of those coming over the wire. It does not however tell us whether negative events are overplayed by those controlling the wire.

Other factors can be mentioned, such as the need for a mixed diet. Both newspapers and broadcast news-bulletins are known to have similar amounts of sport, crime, human interest and industrial affairs items from day to day. The news is more likely to look at known persons than unknown. Unexpected events are more often reported than others (Galtung and Ruge 1973:52-8 and Hetherington 1986:8).

It can therefore be said, after looking at the aforementioned factors, that some are to be looked for in the nature of the event itself, while others should be looked for within the medium. The medium itself, the working practices and its needs should also be considered as factors determining which events hit the headlines.

A well known feature of journalism is 'beat journalism'. Beat reporters usually have to fill in a predefined space in a paper or time in radio and television. They have to produce dependable quantities of news each day, even if "nothing" happens. "...nothing happening on the beat is simply insufficient grounds for writing no stories." (Fishman 1980:34).

Most often beats are structured to cover major public sector institutions, although sometimes certain important private sector institutions are covered as well. (Graber 1986:267).

The beat point is closely related to the point made about pack journalism, since beats are often covered in packs, and journalists cooperate in covering a beat.

It is our opinion, that the aforementioned factors go a long way in explaining why different media cover the same events.

## **XI.2. ATTITUDES**

# **OF NEWS-REPORTERS**

# **TOWARDS THEIR JOB**

As was discussed in chapter III.3. students at the University of Iceland conducted a study among Icelandic news-reporters, in April 1987, just before the general election. This will now be discussed.

First we will find out the main features of the typical Icelandic news-reporter. The typical reporter is male. Seventy five percent of the respondents (and the sample) were males. He is in his thirties. The average age turned out to be 33 years.

TABLE 12

AGE OF RESPONDENTS

(average=33 years)

20-25	16%
26-30	33%
31-31	23%
36-40	11%
41-45	5%
46-50	6%
51-69	6%
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Total number	109
Did not answer	6
Total	115

60% of all the reporters had finished a University degree. However, only 12% had professional training in Journalism or Mass Communication, while 40% had their University degrees from either the Teachers' University or the University of Iceland. Others with university degrees had acquired them abroad.

The typical reporter got between £1000 and £1500 a month. The distribution is considerable. Female reporters got around 25% less a month, on the average, than the male reporter. Although the pay seems reasonable, it should be taken into account, that working hours are often long and irregular. On the average, male reporters got £1290 a month, while women got £980.

Education does not seem to affect how reporters are paid. Reporters on the broadcasting media are, on the average, better paid than those working on the newspapers.

The reporters were asked whether they were content with their wages or not. A large majority was somewhere in between, along the neither/nor line. Then they were asked if they thought they would be working on a news-medium in 10-15 years' time. 75% thought it was rather or very likely. Only 6% thought it to be very unlikely. Wages

seem to affect this somewhat. The higher the wages, the more likely it is considered to be a reporter in 10-15 years' time ( $r=.30$ ). The correlation is lower ( $r=.24$ ) between how content respondents were with their wages, and whether they thought they'd be reporters after 10-15 years.

The reporters were asked to put themselves in categories according to the following five statements:

1. My colleagues listen to my ideas.
2. My education is useful in my work.
3. My experience from older jobs is useful in my present job.
4. I am content with the results of my work.
5. My hobbies are useful in my job.

It shows, that those that are listened to by colleagues, are more often content with the result of their work ( $r=.36$ ). They also are more likely to be reporters after 10-15 years ( $r=.34$ ).

The typical reporter did not think that political ideologies mattered when he got the job. That, however, may have been the case with his colleagues (at the same medium).

TABLE 13  
IS IT POSSIBLE THAT POLITICS MATTERED?

When you were employed in current job?	%	when other reporters were employed at your medium?	%
definitely	64	not	30
probably not	22	probably not	40
somewhat perhaps	11	somewhat perhaps	26
definitely	3	definitely	4
100		100	

Respondents were asked to estimate how the following eight factors affected their decision to become reporters. They were asked to give the factors points on a scale from 0-10, where 0 means very insignificant and 10 means very significant.

TABLE 14

How significant were the following factors in your decision to become a news reporter?

	females	males	total
I thought my abilities would be best used there.	7.3	7.0	7.0
Chance	4.1	6.0	5.6
The ideal of free and honest journalism	5.3	5.0	5.0
It was an old dream	4.2	4.3	4.2
Hope for good wages	1.9	2.9	2.6
Work hours and conditions	2.2	2.2	2.3
My political ideology	1.3	1.7	1.6
It was the only vacant job	0.4	0.9	0.8

The first, third and fourth can be said to make up an "ideology factor". This ideology factor correlates strongly ( $r=.38$ ) with the question about whether respondents thought they would be doing the same kind of work in 10-15 years' time. The correlation is stronger in this case, than with both contentment with wages, and real wages.

We now turn from the typical reporter, to his attitudes towards his job. Let us first look at which qualities were thought to be necessary for a good reporter. Twenty two qualities were given, and respondents were asked to give them points on a scale from 0 to 10. The table below shows us the qualities, ranked according to how many

points they were given on average. The highest scoring quality comes first, and so on. Since averages do not tell a whole story, standard deviation (SD) is also given.

**TABLE 15**  
**QUALITIES THOUGHT DESIRABLE FOR**  
**REPORTERS**

<u>Quality</u>	<u>points</u>	<u>Standard deviation</u>
Honesty	9.7	0.7
Reliability	9.5	0.8
Accuracy	9.4	0.9
Hunger for knowledge	9.2	1.1
Rich in ideas	9.2	1.2
Impartial	8.9	1.7
Curious	8.8	1.5
Decided	8.7	1.2
Persevering	8.6	1.5
Politeness	8.5	1.6
Not evasive	8.4	1.7
Understanding	8.1	2.0
Have a steady nerve	7.6	2.0
Ambitious	7.2	2.3
Cooperative	7.2	2.3
Aggressive	6.9	2.0
Polished manners	6.4	2.4
Well dressed	5.3	2.8
Impersonal	4.8	2.8
Sensitive	4.6	2.8
Cunning	3.8	3.0
Demanding	3.6	2.7

There seems to be a considerable consensus about the qualities that score highest. This consensus decreases as we go lower in the list (see SD).

Now reporters were given 9 statements, and asked to say whether they disagreed strongly, somewhat, agreed somewhat or agreed strongly. This is best shown in a table.

**TABLE 16**

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?  
(ranked by averages)

	disagr strongly (1) %	disagr. somewh. (2) %	agree somewh. (3) %	agree str. (4) %
A good news-medium reports the important events of the day (3.6)	1	4	27	68
Objective journalism is desirable (3.6)	3	3	29	66
The hallmark of a good reporter is not to mix their own opinions into the news coverage (3.4)	4	6	32	58
The media shape our world-view (3.1)	4	12	52	32
Objective journalism is possible (2.9)	11	15	47	27
A good news-medium is a neutral mirror on reality ((2.9)	12	24	26	38
You do not learn journalism in schools (2.8)	5	28	45	22
Invitations abroad by private firms can go with good journalism (2.7)	9	34	40	17
It is impossible to write a news-item without your own personal judgement being mixed in the coverage (2.1)	38	24	28	10

We can see, that an overwhelming majority agrees strongly with the first statement. The same can be said about the second and third statements. When we come to the fourth one, i.e. that the media shape our world-view, 84% think they do so, but the "strength" of the agreement, if we can put it like that, is not as much as with the first three statements. When we come to the fifth statement, whether objective journalism is possible, a fourth of the respondents disagree, but 74% agree. The mirror on society statement got still less support, although about two thirds of the respondents agree with it. Two thirds think you cannot learn journalism in schools. Roughly a half of the reporters think that invitations abroad do not go against the conscience of a good reporter. When the answers, in relation to this statement are looked at in terms of whether the reporters were newspaper-journalists or broadcasting-journalists, an interesting difference emerges. 25% of newspaper-journalists agreed strongly, but no one at the broadcasting media.

One question was devoted to whether Icelandic reporters are wanting in some respects. Six factors were named.

TABLE 17

Are Icelandic reporters wanting in some respects

	most %	many %	few %
Knowledge about the subjects they cover	8	84	8
Icelandic language	8	76	16
To do as the audience wants	5	41	54
Consideration for private life	2	42	56
Respect for their work	3	39	58
Consideration for their sources	1	19	80

The answers from this self-criticism can be divided into three categories. First, there seems to be considerable agreement that reporters require better knowledge, and better grips with their language. Second, reporters are divided into two almost equally large groups in their attitudes towards respect for their profession, consideration for people's private lives and to produce what the consumer wants. Third, consideration for sources is by 80% thought be about enough.

Respondents were asked to say if they thought any particular types of education were more appropriate or useful for the profession than other types. 16% named Icelandic, 14% named journalism, 9% social sciences, 9% other humanities, 7% languages, 5% university degrees (other/general). 30% did not name any particular education in this respect.

Participants in the survey were presented with seven factors, and asked if any of them had "no effects", "some effects" or "considerable effects" on their work.

TABLE 18  
EFFECTS ON THEIR WORK

	no effect %	some effect %	considerable effect %
Lack of time	6	44	50
Not enough opportunities to cover events and issues well enough	10	49	42
Financial resources of the medium	34	47	19
Technical nature of the medium	49	46	5
Advertisers' interests	66	29	5
difference of opinion between oneself and superiors on news values	67	31	2
The medium's politics	71	25	4

Time seems to have most effects and then the absence of enough opportunities to cover issues and events well enough. This is probably much the same thing, opportunities are not there, because time is scarce. This, in the case of some media has to do with scarce financial resources. That, however, does not seem to affect the work of journalists as much as time. Technical constraints do not seem to be as strong as the aforementioned. A third finds that the interests of advertisers, difference of opinion with editors and the politics of the medium constrain their work somewhat. This, i.e. politics, has probably to do with the fact, that most newspapers have close links with a political party. Other constraints are almost evenly distributed between broadcasting media and newspaper personnel.

The last question about the profession as such, was that the reporters were asked which of 11 factors would increase the quality of Icelandic journalism in future. The scale is from 0 to 10, where 0 means "would not at all increase the quality", whereas 10 means "would increase the quality very much". The standard deviation (SD) tells us the distribution of answers.

**TABLE 19**  
**EFFECTS ON ICELANDIC JOURNALISM**

	points	SD
Better access to data-banks	8.7	1.5
Better salaries for journalists	8.4	1.7
More and better organised libraries and data banks at each medium	8.4	2.1
More variety in journalists' education	8.3	1.8
Less impact of political parties	8.2	2.4
Less impact of advertisers	7.0	2.8
The establishment of a joint data-bank and press office of the Icelandic media	6.6	2.8
Decreased number of media	4.3	3.1
Abolishment of financial support from the state	3.6	3.9
Increased financial support from the state	3.6	3.2
Increased number of media	2.1	2.7

The factors that seems to be most agreement on are that reporters claim they need more and better information, both in the form of general data banks and information banks at the media themselves, better education, higher wages and decreased influence of the political parties. In all other cases the average is lower, and standard deviation higher. For instance, "abolishment of financial

support from the state" gets 3.6 points on the average. However, there is little agreement on that. 41% of respondents gave the idea the value 0, while 17% gave it 10. So there is considerable disagreement within the profession on some of the ideas put forward.

### Attitudes towards various media

Two questions were devoted to, on the one hand, how the various media scored as general news-media, and on the other, their political independence. In the case of the former question, the scale had 5 options, from very poorly to very well. In all cases, answers about one's own medium were not included. This means, that the number of answers in the case of each medium are different.

**TABLE 20**  
**ATTITUDES OF REPORTERS TOWARDS VARIOUS MEDIA**

	points	answers	did not answer
RÚV	4.5	95	0
RÚVTV	3.8	110	0
Morning Paper	3.6	90	2
Channel 2	3.4	94	14
The Daily Newspaper	3.0	93	3
The Wave	2.9	98	9
The Weekend Post	2.9	100	5
Today	2.9	81	21
The National will	2.6	99	2
The Time	2.3	99	4
The People's Paper	1.5	105	6

The answers seem to be in accordance with the media's circulation. Those with lowest circulation figures score lowest. It can also be seen, that all the broadcasting media are above the mean.

Two newspapers distinguish themselves from the others. The Independence Party's Morning Paper and the independent Daily

Newspaper fall into the same group as the broadcasting media, and the Morning Paper ranks third, only after the state media.

The second question was about whether news-coverage is constrained by party politics. The scale was from 0 "party politics is a dominant factor" to 10 "News-coverage is independent of party politics". As in the question above, the respondent's own medium is not counted.

TABLE 21  
THE ROLE OF PARTY POLITICS IN THE MEDIA

	points	answers	did not answer
RÚV	8.1	95	0
The Wave	7.5	92	15
RÚVTV	7.3	109	1
Channel 2	7.3	94	14
The Weekend Post	7.3	102	3
The Daily Newspaper	5.3	94	2
The Morning Paper	3.4	91	1
Today	3.4	78	24
The Time	2.4	102	1
The National will	1.6	101	0
The People's Paper	1.6	105	6

The State Radio is by far superior in this respect, but all the other broadcasting media come next. After that come the two independent newspapers. Lowest, i.e. "most political" are the newspapers on the left. All the newspapers that are openly tied with a political party are below the mean in this respect.

One could say, that the outcome is not far from being identical with the image each medium has tried to establish itself. The broadcasting media have always tried to present themselves as having no ties with any of the parties. The newspapers, especially those at the bottom of the table, have not tried to present themselves as independent or impartial media when it comes to party politics.

Finally, we can compare the answers from the last question with attitudes of general voters towards political bias and fairness. Although the question in the reporters' survey is not phrased in exactly the same way as in the voters' panel survey, they probably measure much the same thing.

As can be recalled, the State Radio is thought to be superior in this respect, and then the other broadcasting media follow. The newspapers are thought to be most coloured by party politics, both by reporters and general voters.

## **IX.3. INSIDE THE TV**

### **NEWS-ROOM**

As said earlier, Mr. Ingvi H. Jónsson, news-editor at RÚVTV gave his kind permission to follow the daily routines of his journalist for some time before the election. Unfortunately, these observations had not begun there when the most dramatic event of the campaign occurred, the Guðmundsson affair. However, something can be said about 'how' it happened, after seeing how the work in the news-room functioned at the time, and after discussing this particular matter with some of the news-room staff. Before going into that, it is in order to say a few words about the campaign, and how it was handled by the news-room.

Election campaigns in Iceland are far from being as ritualised as in Britain. One cannot point to an exact date and say 'this is when the campaign begins'. This was even more so in this case. The government had served a full four years term, so it was inevitable that an election was to be held. In fact, 25 April was the latest

possible date. Therefore, the parties had had time to prepare more in advance for the election. When the election drew near, the Radio Board sent a message to the news-rooms of both radio and television: try to keep coverage of the action of MPs and candidates to a minimum, 'especially if it is obvious that they are only trying to get recognition'. This, of course led to the result that few MPs were covered other than government ministers. The Radio Board has much more power over the daily routines of the news-rooms than is witnessed elsewhere, as for instance at the BBC. RÚV is much more dependent on political power, practiced through the Board. The Board also called before it the Chief news-editors, both from TV and radio, and laid before them guidelines as to how to cover the campaign. Although these guidelines were confidential, it is possible to draw some conclusions about their contents, from the content analysis to follow, from discussions with the news-editor and his staff, and from the 'general atmosphere' in the news-room. It is obvious, that the editors were told to keep the coverage of the campaign itself to a minimum, without totally ignoring it. No extra time was added to the bulletins to cover politics. In short, business as usual, not covering politics especially for the reason that there was an election campaign. If, however, something dramatic happened, it should be covered on news-values, just like any road accident. This, perhaps was not the actual message, but this was the result. The reason may have been fear in the news-room of reactions from the Board, and so some sort of self-censorship. Reporters thought they would be more 'damned if they did, than if they did not' cover the election.

Because of what was said earlier, that there was no time added to the bulletin, and TV journalists tried to bypass the campaign as they could, there was no strain on them to produce something-anything from the campaign. But, RÚV being a public service station, felt it had duties to offer 'some' reports from the campaign. These were most often introduced in a way something like this: 'The

preparations for the election are well underway at the political parties' headquarters.' Then they would go to each party's headquarters (at least the six largest ones) and speak to the parties' campaign coordinator or chairman. They would discuss the campaign in very general terms, the reporter would ask: 'how is the campaign going?'. The campaign coordinator would answer: 'well, we can feel, that over the last few days the tide has been turning, we are now getting our message to the people, and they understand that there is no other alternative than voting X'. All the interviews would be along these lines. Then a short film showing people on the phone, or putting letters in envelopes, with smiles on their faces, would follow. No one could say the campaign was totally ignored, and no one could say it was biased. It was covered almost along 'human interest' lines.

News-reporters in the tv news-room are few. Only a handful are on duty at the same time with hardly any division of labour between them. The little there is in that direction, is that two reporters cover foreign news. The ones that remain, cover all domestic news. When there is division of labour between them, it is only temporary and rotating. Because reporters are so few, it is inevitable that each of them produces more than one item a day. The same reporter may report on a traffic accident, eruption, the election and produce a human interest story speaking to children at a nursery. This can all be done in the same day, which is little short of a miracle, given the fact that there is only one mobile film crew. There is one chief news-editor, and a sub-editor. In the morning, the editor on duty would put down general lines for the day, tell each reporter, in very general terms what he (she) was supposed to cover. Then it was up to the reporters themselves to make arrangements for interviews, studio facilities, and film crews. When technical resources are poor, there are bound to be some clashes. Somehow, however, things seemed to run relatively smoothly, and reporters seemed to have learned how to handle each other and the whole situation.

There is no separate current affairs division. The programmes that are produced, are made by journalists from the news-room. As one reporter said to me: 'the pay as a news-reporter is bad, but getting a current affairs programme or two a month makes it tolerable'.

The chief news-editor at the time (he has since been sacked), was under considerable pressure. On the one hand there was the Radio Board, and on the other, there was pressure from politicians, who felt that too little time was devoted to covering (their) campaign. Furthermore, there was some pressure from the editor's subordinates, who saw in the election campaign some definite news-material. Mr. Jónsson, being an ambitious journalist, must have felt frustration at times, trying to appease the Board, his colleagues and his own consciousness and judgement about news-values.

It is of interest in this connection, to find out why the Radio Board intervened as it did, beforehand. There seem to be two explanations. One is, that the Board is politically appointed, and therefore, in principle, represents the will of the nation. It is known that the Board was afraid of the audience becoming bored and overfed with election coverage. This is, of course a somewhat supercilious attitude, since they had nothing to go by but their instincts. No surveys have been conducted to reveal this. A more plausible explanation is, that on the Board there were representatives of all parties that had MPs, the 'old' four and the Women's List. It is likely that they reached some kind of a compromise, that since there were so many rival parties, it was in their interest not to give the new parties too much coverage. This probably was never discussed in this way openly at the Board's meetings, but may have been an underlying motive for these decisions.

When analyzing how reporters reacted to a campaign situation in Britain, Blumler et al (1986:114-118) pinpointed four different strands of thought, or attitudes among journalists towards the task at hand. It is appropriate to look at the Icelandic situation with these

in mind. The first was prudential. This means that the journalists try not to take part in the process, only report what is out there. The second attitude was reactive. This gives all initiative to the parties themselves and journalists are supposed only to relay what politicians said. The third approach was conventionally journalistic, which determines what to cover from traditional news-values, while the fourth approach was more analytical by nature. This is more issue-oriented, and perhaps the one most demanding for journalists to perform. Of course, reality was in most cases a mixture of those, although different weight may have been given to these factors by different journalists.

As we have seen, the Radio Board's messages told the reporters to be prudential and conventionally journalistic. An analytical approach was found to be at work only on two separate occasions, and then from the same journalist. This reporter (an external Ph.D. student at the LSE) produced two feature items on the economy, in which he tried to analyze its state and development during the term, what part government actions had had in bringing inflation down, and what the policies of the parties would mean for the economy. Leading economists, both at the University and those consulting the government were interviewed. In short, he tried to draw attention to the danger of a new inflation boom. These items were shown at the middle of the few bulletins they appeared in, known from research to be the part of the bulletin least noticed and remembered by the audience. Moreover, when analyzing the impact different policies would have for the development of inflation, these policies were hardly ever related to specific parties, so most viewers probably did not know which policies belonged to which parties. This tactic of the reporter was undoubtedly a result of self-censorship. He knew, that if policies leading to increased inflation were attributed to specific parties, these parties would accuse him of being slanted and biased (soon after the election,

this particular reporter left the news-room, to become secretary of the 'National Security Council').

It appears, that the direction of the Radio Board prevented reporters from being reactive. This, of course, leads to the fact that there seems to be little sense among the parties of trying to affect the coverage. Perhaps it is wrong to say that it leads to few attempts at stage management on behalf of the parties, but at least these two factors seem to go hand in hand. Public relations on behalf of the parties, with the media in mind, are very poor. In the campaign two examples of 'stage-management' from a politician were detected (probably there were more attempts, but these two were successful in getting attention). In both cases it was Mr. Þorsteinn Pálsson, Minister of Finance and leader of the IP who was the major figure and 'stage-manager'. These two examples will now be discussed, however briefly. The observations had not begun when the first example took place. We do not have evidence, except as a member of the audience, and by discussing it with journalists after it had faded away. The second story however, took place during the author's stay in the news-room.

#### **example a) the Guðmundsson affair**

Mr. Pálsson called a press conference, to make public, that he had asked Mr. Guðmundsson to resign as minister of Industry, because of alleged tax fraud. Mr. Guðmundsson was abroad on official business when the meeting was held. He came home earlier than planned, and told reporters that Mr. Pálsson had never asked him to resign, and said he saw no reason to do so. There had been some mistakes when giving account of his income, but that had all been corrected. The matter developed so that within few days Mr. Guðmundsson and his supporters had left the IP and formed a new party, the Citizens' Party, a story told elsewhere. What is of interest here is Mr. Pálsson's motivation for calling press conference. The matter had

been known for some time, but the party had not done anything about it before. Why, then was it done at this stage? It seems highly likely, that Mr. Pálsson saw an opportunity to get rid of Mr. Guðmundsson, who has always been difficult for the party to handle, a man of considerable resources and personal support. The time was thought to be too close to the deadline for parties to put up and announce lists of candidates, which was something Mr. Guðmundsson's supporters have always threatened when his actions have been questioned by the party. Furthermore, this was an opportunity to establish the IP as a party with high moral standards, something that was needed after the Hafskip bankruptcy and the scandal that followed.

Of course this was a brilliant publicity stunt on Mr. Pálsson's behalf, if getting into the news was what he wanted, because that is exactly what happened. This was the kind of event every journalist dreams of, and gave ample excuse to cover politics in the news. It would have seemed awkward of the Board to tell journalists to keep away from it. They would have defied their public service duties of informing the electorate. But, if Mr. Pálsson wanted to impress the electorate as well as journalists, this was an own goal. The party lost credibility and support and split as has been discussed earlier.

#### **example b) Strikes solved**

There were widespread strikes going on in the public sector at the same time as the campaign. The unions were probably trying to use the pressure from the campaign to get their targets. The opposition blamed the government for not being willing to solve the crisis, primarily Mr. Pálsson, the minister of Finance, who was responsible for wage negotiations on the state's behalf. The opposition parties said he was preoccupied with trying to heal the wounds in his own party after the split. The government parties accused the People's Party and the People's Alliance of misusing their position in the Labour movement to advance their electoral stands. Stories about closed schools

and closing hospitals dominated the news. Then, suddenly, when the situation was becoming disastrous, just a few days before the election, Mr. Pálsson made a deal with both nurses and teachers. The deals were considerably more advantageous than the ones agreed on in the private sector a few weeks earlier. Now the opposition accused Mr. Pálsson of diverting attention from the Guðmundsson affair and problems within his party, and of buying votes. The IP's partner in the government, the Progressive Party, accused him of threatening economic goals that had been set.

Television journalist, knowing that they could get away with more aggression with a government minister than an 'ordinary politician', took the conventional journalist approach. 'This is happening, you are responsible Mr. minister, what are you going to do about it?' After the crisis had been solved, it was suddenly inflation and some prefixed economic goals that were at stake. 'You are the Minister of Finance, economists say that the new pay deals will lead to increased inflation, did not you give too much? Your opponents say you are just trying to win votes. Is that true?' After the crisis was solved, they never went back to the hospitals or schools to see how things were going there, or what those who had been on strike said about the deal. Never did they talk to students or patients, to see what they felt about the solution.

The Guðmundsson affair led to the Independence Party being covered somewhat more in news than the other parties (This is revealed by the content analysis reported on later). The other parties sometimes accused reporters of, not being biased, but of spending too much time and powder on an issue that was secondary, was only an internal matter for the IP and was being aired only as a result of the IP's publicity seeking. Otherwise there was hardly any discussion about unfair coverage in television. Never was RÚVTV accused of being unfair or biased, just that their judgement of news-worthiness may not have been right at times. As will become evident later, the

IP got by far the most coverage of the political parties. This is explained above, it was referred to when journalists were discussing that party, and also when they were discussing the Citizens' Party, for obvious reasons. The People's Party, the Progressive Party, the People's Alliance, the Women's List and the Citizen's Party all got similar coverage. There was no stopwatch principle applied, and probably this was not decided on deliberately. At least no-one would admit to that. They just said they aimed at being impartial in this sense, in the long run, and that this happened almost unconsciously. They would not have to worry much about it. The other parties got only half the coverage of the 'large' ones. When asked why, they said it was not fair that a 'small' party got as much coverage as a 'large' one. No one, however, could say exactly what made a party 'large' or 'small'. Some of the 'small' parties had not existed at the last election, and neither did one of the 'large' ones, the Citizens' Party. No-one would admit that this was decided with reference to opinion polls, and probably it was not. It may never have been specifically decided. What had to be decided, however, was the distribution of 'party introductions', that were produced by news-room staff. These have always been a feature of political 'coverage' at election time. There is one programme from each constituency. Each party, offering candidates in that constituency gets a fixed time to introduce its policies, in the form of a speech. All the parties get the same time, irrespective of their support in the previous election, or outcome in opinion polls. Although not very popular among the electorate, and broadcast outside usual broadcasting time, these programmes seem to have solved many problems for journalist, parties, and last but not least the Radio Board. No-one can accuse the Board, or the journalist of being partial or undemocratic, and the parties cannot say the campaign is not covered. The audience cannot complain that there is too much politics in the news. The news is not biased, because the campaign is hardly covered. The parties are given a free hand to say what they stand for, no intervening journal-

istic values to disturb them. So everybody is happy, except probably a few ambitious journalists and academics.

Let us conclude by drawing together what seem to be the reasons for the nature of the coverage of the election campaign. At least four factors are relevant.

1) Radio Board. It seems, that the interventions of the Board, or perhaps rather the guidelines it gave before the campaign were probably the single most important factor.

2) Frustration. Very much related to 1) is the frustration of journalists. Knowing that the Board looked over their shoulders, journalists employed self-censorship. Few of them work long in the news-room, partly because of frustration and partly because of too heavy a workload.

3) TV is new. Television has only been operated for two decades. In that time there have been six general elections prior to the 1987 election. This, in relation to 2) has led to the fact that there is not much experience in covering campaigns. It is more than possible, at the time of the next election, that there will be no-one in the news-room that has been there during a campaign before.

4) The number of parties. The participant political parties being 10, it must be difficult to cover their policies in a comprehensive manner. It is certainly impossible to crystallise opinions in a government-opposition way. Furthermore, it is not only difficult to cover the parties in a comprehensive way, it would almost certainly be impossible not to be accused of bias in such coverage.

# PART THREE

## X. THE PARTY AGENDA

1. Printed Pamphlets
2. Election Broadcasts
3. Some Conclusions About Party Propaganda

## XI. THE MEDIA AGENDA

1. Newspapers
2. Television
3. Continuity and Change over eight Weeks
4. A Summary

## XII. THE VOTER AGENDA

1. The First Wave
2. The Second Wave
3. The Third Wave
4. A Summary

## X. THE PARTY AGENDA

The issues stressed by the political parties in a campaign are of interest for several reasons: first, the contrast between parties. Second, we can, detect variance within a party: for instance, candidates in different constituencies may stress different topics. Third, we may analyse party propaganda to see if parties get their message through to the media and voters, given the appropriate data. This is what is attempted here.

The material analyzed comes from the parties themselves and is of two kinds: printed election manifestos or their equivalents; and election broadcasts and so called 'party introductions' on television.

"Manifestos and their equivalents are read by relatively few electors in most countries...they do nevertheless constitute the major indirect influence on what parties are seen as standing for. This is because they form the basis for comment in the mass media and provide the cues for questions raised with party candidates at all levels, as well as staple issues for their campaign. Not only does the manifesto-equivalent determine the main campaign themes and lines of discussion, it has usually been the subject of extensive prior debate and negotiation inside the party. So it can be singled out as a uniquely representative and authoritative characterization of party policy at a given point in time." (Budge 1987:18).

Implicit in the present study is an adherence to a so-called saliency theory approach, which implies...

"...that the most important aspect of the documents is the degree of emphasis placed on certain broad policy areas, rather than each party's support for, or opposition to, a specific policy within these areas." (Budge 1987:24).

Therefore, we did not code how each party 'stood' in relation to issues, but whether it mentioned them at all.

**a) Analysis of Party manifestos**

Only two aspects were coded in party manifestos and their printed equivalents: the party producing the material, and the issue. The unit applied was the 'statement'.<sup>1</sup>

**a) Analysis of 'Party introduction' programmes, and Party election broadcasts on television**

The unit of analysis was the 'issue', or statement. The party was coded, together with from which constituency the programme came. If the programme was countrywide, constituency took the value 9, since the constituencies are 8. Time in seconds devoted to an issue was recorded; the issue being discussed; and finally, if there were references to other parties, and the direction of such references.<sup>2</sup>

## **X.1. PRINTED** **PAMPHLETS**

Printed manifestos and similar material are likely to be a result of a debate within a party for some time before the campaign. In this case, the parties held policy conferences shortly before the campaign started. Printed pamphlets analyzed were in most cases the result of such meetings. They were usually produced at or shortly before the

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<sup>1</sup> See coding instructions in Appendix C

<sup>2</sup> See coding instructions in Appendix D

very beginning of the campaign. The issues stressed tended to be more rooted in each party's basic ideology than the result of the political weather changing daily.

In all, 1177 statements were analyzed from 34 pamphlets. They came from the six largest parties, the People's Party, the Progressive Party, the Independence Party, the People's Alliance, the Women's List and the Citizens' Party. The smaller parties did not have the financial resources to produce and distribute free pamphlets. The distribution of statements between the six parties was relatively even. The Citizens' Party produced least, 124 or 10.5%, not surprisingly, as the party was formed only a month before the election. The highest number of statements came from the Women's List, 288 or 24.5% of the total.

Table 22 shows the six party issues overall: the issues were combined into 11 'super-categories';<sup>1</sup> and the commentary takes account of both.

TABLE 22  
ISSUES MOST STRESSED IN PRINTED  
PROPAGANDA

Value Label	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
General politics	82	7.0	7.0
Foreign affairs	81	6.9	13.8
General Economics	165	14.0	27.9
Industrial relations	101	8.6	36.4
Social affairs	241	20.5	56.9
Culture and education	179	15.2	72.1
Transport and environment	113	9.6	81.7
Industrial affairs	178	15.1	96.9
Accidents, rescue work	1	.1	96.9
Crime	11	.9	97.9
Human interest/other	25	2.1	100.0
TOTAL	1177	100.0	100.0

<sup>1</sup> See recoding Rationale in Appendix F, and unrecoded tables in Appendix X

Four issue groups were stressed in two thirds of all statements: Social affairs (20.5%); Culture and education (15.2%); Industrial affairs (15.1%) and General economics (14%). Within Social affairs Housing (4.8%) and the Health service (4.3%) were the most important. In Culture and education, Education was (8.3%), followed by Culture in general (3.6%), Sporting facilities (1.7%) and the Student Loan Fund (1.5%). The most important sub-categories in Industrial Affairs were: Agriculture (4.3%); Fishing and fishbreeding (3.2%); and General industrial affairs (2.7%). Economics was fourth, including: Taxes (5.4%) Economic direction (3.0%), General economics (2.5%) and inflation (1.2%). Such detail can be misleading since some of the most stressed issues came from smaller recoded categories. The second largest category, Strikes and wage negotiations, was named in 6.4% of all statements, Environment and planning in 4.2%, Disarmament in 2.7%, Icelandic defence in 1.5%, and Pension funds in 1.9%. 5.3% of all statements were coded as general politics, referring to general ideological standpoints in politics.

Although most parties touched upon most issues, there were some considerable differences between them, as the following analysis reveals.

#### **a) People's Party**

Two issues were emphasized in printed pamphlets: Taxes (9.8% of statements) and Agriculture (also 9.8%). The party stressed the fact that tax fraud could be avoided, and that if this was done, the economy would be far better off. The party has been against subsidising agriculture, and has taken the part of consumers against farmers. Two thirds of all references to consumer affairs came from the party. Third on the list was Housing (9.2%), followed by Pension funds (6.9%); Strikes and wage negotiations (6.3%); the Health service (6.3%)

and Fishing (5.7%). The party was above the average<sup>1</sup> in all these cases. It was also above the average in the case of the following important issue categories: Inflation; Economic direction; Interest rates; Sport and Social affairs in general. The People's Party was below the average in the following categories: General politics (ideology); Disarmament; Education; the Student Loan Fund, and culture.<sup>2</sup>

### **b) Progressive Party**

The issue highest on the Progressive Party's agenda was Sport (7.9%). Second, and related was the question of Health (7.3%). Still related, and in third place came Environment and Planning (6.8%). The party also stressed the fact that the economic situation was far better in 1987, after Mr. Hermannsson's government had ruled for four years. Other significant categories were: Economics (5.2%); Economic direction (5.8%); General politics (ideology) (5.2%); Regional equality (6.8%); Industrial affairs in general (4.2%) and Foreign affairs (4.7%).

The party stressed primarily Mr. Hermannsson's ideas, that Iceland should become an international centre for peace research and negotiations, ideas that came to the fore after the Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Reykjavík, and after Mr. Hermannsson visited Moscow. In all these matters, the party was above the average. It was also above the average in the case of the following important categories: Foreign loans; Unemployment; assistance to the Physically disabled; and Fishing and fishbreeding. The Progressive Party was below the average in statements about the following important issues: Disarmament; Icelandic defence; Inflation; Taxes; Interest rates; Strikes and wage negotiations; Consumer affairs; Social affairs in general, Nurseries,

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<sup>1</sup> The average being table 22, when material from all parties was included

<sup>2</sup> See a detailed table in Appendix X (table X.2)

Housing, Education, the Loan Fund, Agriculture, Foreign trade and Culture.<sup>1</sup>

### **c) Independence Party**

General politics on an ideological basis was the most often stressed issue in written statements. 9.1% of all statements were coded into this category. Most were about the claim that the IP was the only party totally committed to private enterprise. Second came General economics (7.7%), followed by Social affairs in general (7.0%); Economic direction (6.3%) and the General election. The party stressed the importance of people not voting "reproductions", as the Citizens' Party was sometimes called. 'There is only one Independence Party' was a common slogan.

Other important categories where the party was above the average, were: Inflation; Foreign Loans; Industrial affairs and Foreign Trade. Important categories where the party was below the average included: Foreign affairs; Disarmament; Icelandic defence; Taxes; Interest rates; Strikes and wage negotiations; Sexual equality; Physically disabled; Nurseries; Housing; Education; the Loan Fund; Regional equality; Environment and planning; Fishing and Agriculture.<sup>2</sup>

### **d) People's Alliance**

The issue most often referred to in statements in written pamphlets from the People's Alliance was Strikes and wage negotiations (15.2%). Second came Education (8.9%), then General politics (ideology) (7.8%); Housing (7.0%); Disarmament (7.0%); Taxes (6.6%) and Culture (3.9%). More than half of written statements about Industrial relations, Disarmament and Icelandic defence came from

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<sup>1</sup> See table X.3 in Appendix X

<sup>2</sup> See table X.4 in Appendix X

the PA, which underlines the importance given to these matters by the party.

Other significant issue categories in which the PA was above average were: the Loan Fund and Interest rates. The PA showed most concern of all parties to these issues. 40% of all references to sexual equality came from the party, and all statements about facilities for Retarded people and Nurseries came from the PA.

Important issues where the People's Alliance was below the average were all the economic categories, except Taxes and Interest rates; Social affairs in general; the Physically disabled; the Health Service; Regional equality; Environment and planning; Industrial affairs in general; and Fishing and Agriculture, never mentioned in the written statements analyzed from the People's Alliance.<sup>1</sup>

#### **e) Women's List**

The issue most often referred to by the Women's List was Education (17.0%). Next but far behind came Environment and planning (5.6%); Agriculture (5.6%); Housing, Health and Culture (4.9%) each; Social affairs (4.5%) Aged (3.8%); facilities for the physically disabled (3.5%) Nurseries 2.8%. 50% of all statements about Sexual equality came from the WL.

Other important categories where the WL was above average were: Disarmament; Consumer affairs; Industrial affairs in general and the Loan Fund.

Important categories where the Women's List was below the average were: General politics; Icelandic defence; all the economic categories; Strikes; Regional equality and Fishing and fishbreeding.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See table X.5 in Appendix X

<sup>2</sup> See table X.6 in Appendix 6

## **f) Citizens' Party**

There was some confusion to begin with about the policies of the Citizens' Party, in the light of its very recent formation. However, to avoid being called opportunist, and to be able to say that the party was formed around political issues instead of personalities (Mr. Guðmundsson), it was important for it to form a coherent policy in as many issue areas as possible. This they managed to do in an extremely short time.<sup>1</sup>

The issue most often discussed was Agriculture (9.7%), followed by Fishing and fishbreeding (8.9%); General politics (ideology) (5.6%); Economic direction (4.8%); Social affairs in general (4.8%); Environment and planning (4.0%); Regional equality (7.2%) and Defence (4.0%). That was probably in reply to some of the prominent figures in the Independence Party, who said that the party was not committed to NATO and the Keflavík base.

Other important categories where the party was above average were: Unemployment; Manufacturing industries and Transport. The party was the only one to refer to Religion in its printed manifesto.

Important categories in which the Citizens' Party was below the average were: Disarmament; all the economics categories, except Economic direction; Strikes; Health service; Housing; Education and Culture.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See a discussion of the Guðmundsson affair in Chapter IV.9.

<sup>2</sup> See table X.7 in Appendix X

## X.2. TV BROADCASTS

Broadcast party propaganda was of a somewhat different nature from printed pamphlets. First, all the parties are taken into account. Second, different from the printed material, these broadcasts were produced after each party had found out to some extent which issues the other parties were stressing. Therefore, they were more 'polemical' than the printed material, some of what was said was in response to what the other parties had said, although the nature of some of the programmes (the constituency programmes) restricted this tendency. There were eight constituency programmes on RÚVTV, one from each constituency. In addition there was one programme in which each party was given some time to produce its own material, not unlike Party Political Broadcasts in Britain, except that all these broadcasts were sent out in just two evenings. One programme on RÚVTV involved all parties with MPs, i.e. it excluded new parties. In this programme, each Parliamentary party was given a fixed time, which was to be used for speeches. The programme was broadcast from the House of Parliament, almost three hours, all in one night. Finally, there were two programmes on Channel 2, and one on RÚVTV, in which spokesmen of the parties gave short speeches, and were presented with questions, from the director of the programme, from the audience and from each other. These last three programmes were probably the most informative ones, since they offered the only opportunities to see party spokesmen 'discussing' the issues with each other, instead of giving speeches, perhaps without discussing each other's policies, as was the case in the constituency programmes.

12 programmes lasting 26 hours of televised material were analyzed.

The unit of analysis was the statement, or the issue. All time spent on an issue, continuously, was coded as one item. 2045 such items were coded. The shortest time spent on an issue was four seconds, and the longest item was 416 seconds. The average item was almost 46 seconds long. Almost half of the time was devoted to the four countrywide programmes, and half to the eight constituency programmes<sup>1</sup>. The eight constituencies all got similar time, those with the highest number of parties, Reykjavík and the North-east constituency, got slightly more time than the others.

Six parties got between 12.2% and 13.5% of the time each: the SDP; the PP; IP; PA; WL and the BP. The Humanist Party was not far behind. These parties offered candidates in all constituencies. That the Humanist Party and the Citizens' Party got slightly less time than the other five, can be explained by the fact that they were excluded from one programme, the one broadcast from the House of Parliament, involving the parliamentary parties. The Movement for Cooperation and Equality (split from PP) put up candidates in only one constituency, the SDA in the largest two, and the National Party in five constituencies. These facts should explain their share of the time.

Table 23 shows the issues most discussed in the programmes.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See the distribution of the programmes in table X.8 in Appendix X

<sup>2</sup> See Recoding Rationale in Appendix F,

TABLE 23

ISSUE DISTRIBUTION IN TELEVISED  
PROPAGANDA

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Weighted Percent
General politics	666	32.6	33.9
Foreign affairs	97	4.7	5.0
Economics	308	15.1	13.9
Industrial relations	145	7.1	6.1
Social affairs	284	13.9	14.1
Culture and education	105	5.1	4.9
Transport and environment	189	9.2	10.5
Industrial affairs	235	11.5	10.8
Accidents, rescue work	2	.1	.1
Crime	10	.5	.4
Human Interest/other	4	.2	.1
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TOTAL	2045	100.0	100.0

The table shows, at least, when recoded into these general categories, that there was little difference in terms of length.

The general politics category was by far the largest, a third of all broadcast propaganda was coded into this category. Within it, the election itself, 'the race' was the largest sub-category (17.1%), followed by the accomplishments of the government (6.4%) and General politics, or ideology (6.4%). Only around 2% of the time was devoted to discussions about the next government. This means, of course, that the parties did not want to 'tie their hands' as to what kind of government they would like to be formed after the election. The Guðmundsson affair, was little discussed in these programmes, despite being at its height at the time. This is probably due to the fact that the parties considered it an internal matter for the IP and did not know exactly how to handle it.

In terms of weighted percentage, 'Social affairs' was the second largest super-category, (14.1%). 65 items (3.2%) were devoted to Sexual equality. However, in terms of time, the proportion was 5.3%. 4.4%,

however measured, were about Housing and 3.5% (2.6% weighted) about Social affairs in general.

Third in terms of time was the 'Economics' category. 13.9% of all time was devoted to economics in one way or another, 15.1% of all items coded. Economic direction was the most prominent, 4.3% (4.5%), followed by Taxes, 3.5% (3.0%); Inflation, 3.1% (2.6%) and economics in general, 2.5% (2.3%).

Industrial Affairs was the fourth largest recoded category, 11.5% (10.8%). The largest sub-category, not unexpectedly, was Fishing and fishbreeding, 3.8% (4.2%). Then came Agriculture 3.2% (3.3%) and Industrial affairs in general, 2.3% (1.6%).

9.2% of all coded items fell into the Transport and Environment category, (10.5%). The largest sub-category was Regional equality, 4.4% (5.4%). The closely related sub-category Rural policy was coded 60 times, 2.9% (3.6%). Transport, primarily a problem of the rural parts, and therefore also related to the two aforementioned, was 1.3% (1.1%).

Only three categories, not falling into any of the super-categories discussed above, exceeded one percent: 6.0% of all items (5.6%) were about Strikes and wage negotiations; 2.6% (2.5%) about Education; and 2.5% (3.1%) about Icelandic defence, the Nato membership and the US military base in Keflavík.

When we look at urban and rural constituencies separately, it was found that some issues are more rural and some more urban. Regional equality, rural policy, agriculture and transport 'belonged' totally to candidates in rural parts. Sexual equality and Education were also somewhat rural issues as well. Matters related to Industrial relations, the political categories, Taxes, Social affairs, Housing and Industrial affairs in general, were more the concern of candidates in urban constituencies.

Some issues 'belong' to some parties:

### **People's Party**

The party got 3 hours and 22 minutes in the separate election broadcasts. 35.5% of its time in these programmes was spent on discussing politics, 16.3% on the campaign or the race itself, 6.3% on the previous government, 6.0% on politics on an ideological basis, 4.7% on speculations about the next one, and 2.2% of the time was spent on the Guðmundsson affair.

Second came Economic direction, 11.5%. The party put forward suggestions of a radical reorganization of the state's role in the economy. The state should intervene as little as possible in industrial affairs, confining itself to making general rules. However, it should collect taxes to finance a strong welfare system. The third issue stressed by the party was Agriculture, 7.7% with Housing fourth. The party maintained that the state should take more part in financing housing costs, that the system should be more flexible, and that people ought to be able to choose between buying and letting, or a mixture of the two.

The party was above the average in discussing these four categories. It was also above the average in the following important categories: Next government; General economics; Taxes; Pension funds and the Student loan fund. The party was below average in the following important categories: Foreign affairs; Icelandic defence; Inflation; Foreign loans; Industrial relations (strikes); Sexual equality; Education; Regional equality and Fishing.<sup>1</sup>

### **Progressive Party**

In all, the PP got 3 hours and 27 minutes in the election broadcasts analyzed. Most time was spent on the Election, 14.9%. 11.3% were devoted to Housing. These were discussions about reforms in the housing financing system that the party had seen through

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<sup>1</sup> See table X.11 in Appendix X

during the term. 9.5% of the party's time went to discussions about inflation, how the government, under the premiership of the party's leader, Mr. Hermannsson, had beaten it. The party stressed the need to be aware of the danger of a new inflation boom, something that could only be secured with Mr. Hermannsson's leadership. Closely related were discussions about the accomplishments of the government, 8.7%. Here, the role of Mr. Hermannsson was further underlined. The fifth most important issue category was Fishing and fishbreeding, 7.4% and finally Agriculture, 5.5%. These two last categories, as well as housing (and general leadership in the PP-IP government), fell under Ministries run by MPs from the Progressive Party. Both the fishing industry and agriculture were presented with new tough quota systems, which according to the party were already giving positive results. So almost a third of the party's time was devoted to the accomplishments of the government.

Other important categories where the party was above average were: Foreign affairs; General economics and Sport. The party stressed the role of Mr. Hermannsson as a national leader of considerable influence in the world. He could be a principal negotiator between East and West. The Progressive Party was the only party to mention unemployment in the campaign, although it was not given prominence.

Categories where the party was below the average included: Next government; Nuclear free Scandinavia; Defence; Taxes; Foreign loans; Industrial relations; Sexual equality; Education and Regional equality.<sup>1</sup>

### **Independence Party**

The Independence Party got three hours and twenty eight minutes in televised election programmes. It devoted 18.2% of this time to discussions of the election campaign itself. 16.5% was devoted

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<sup>1</sup> See table X.13 in Appendix X

to the accomplishments of the government, 6.1% to Economic direction; Taxes (5.1%); and Inflation (4.0%). The party had ruled the Ministry for Finance during the term, and stressed the fact that the economy was in a far better shape than when the government came to power four years earlier (130% inflation, general closures in some industries and unemployment around the corner). Furthermore, the party had had the Ministry for Culture and education, and emphasised that under its supervision the state's monopoly on broadcasting had been abolished. 8.1% of the parties time was devoted to discussions of the next government. Implicit in all these discussions was the wish to continue the same coalition pattern.

Apart from the above categories, the IP was above average in discussions of the Health service and Industrial affairs.

The IP was below the average in the following categories: Industrial relations; Sexual equality; most of the Social affairs (welfare) categories; Regional equality; Agriculture and all the Foreign affairs categories, saying only that it wanted an unchanged situation.<sup>1</sup>

### **People's Alliance**

The People's Alliance had three hours and thirty one seconds of television time. 13.0% of this was devoted to the strike situation and Industrial relations. The party emphasised that it was much harder to live on salaries now than it had been before the government came to power. Most government policies were against the interests of the members of the labour movement, and that the government was responsible for lower purchasing power. Related, were discussions of the accomplishments of the government, which unlike when discussed by the coalition parties, were along negative lines. The only weapon the government had used in combatting inflation, was to cut wages and ban strikes. 9.8% of the Alliance's time was devoted to Regional

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<sup>1</sup> See table X.15 in Appendix X

equality and Rural policy, and it argued, that people living in rural parts of the country had suffered from government policies, especially poor investments. The PA spent 14.4% of its time discussing Foreign affairs, mostly NATO-membership and defence (8.6%) and the case for a Nuclear free zone in Scandinavia (2.4%). Then came General economics (4.2%); Taxes (4%) and the Fishing industry (4.7%).

Apart from the above issues, the PA was above the average in: Inflation; Education and the Hafskip bankruptcy, which was presented as an example of government corruption.

The People's Alliance was below the average in the following matters: General politics (ideology); the Election race; Economic direction; Foreign loans and Housing.<sup>1</sup>

### **Social Democratic Alliance**

This party only put up candidates in two constituencies, which explains the little time allocated in televised election programmes, one hour and two minutes. It stressed ideological matters more than the other parties, emphasising the need to change the constitution, with the aim of a more effective division between executive and legislative powers. 26.9% of the party's time was spent on this discussion. The Election was discussed in 18.2% of the time, followed by Housing (15.4%); Fishing (9.1%) and Icelandic defence (4.1%). The party is for the NATO membership, but wants to review the need for the military base. The party was the only one to discuss the judicial system separately, and was also above the average in discussing the Student Loan Fund.

The SDA was below the average in all the Economic categories; Industrial relations; Sexual equality; Regional equality; Industrial affairs and Agriculture.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See table X.17 in Appendix X

<sup>2</sup> See table X.19 in Appendix X

### **Women's List**

The Women's List got three hours and 19 minutes of television to advance its election issues. No less than 34.6% of that time was spent on one issue, Sexual equality, 82% of all time devoted to this issue in the campaign. 10.6% were devoted to the Election race, followed by Education (7.0%); Social affairs (5.1%) and Icelandic defence (6.9%). The WL has always said it is against all military manoeuvres, but has not, until in the campaign when put against the wall, declared that it was against NATO membership and the military base.

The WL was above average in: Foreign affairs; Nuclear free Scandinavia; most of the Social affairs categories; and General industrial affairs.

The WL was below average in all the political categories; all Economic categories; Industrial relations; Regional equality and Fishing.<sup>1</sup>

### **Humanist Party**

The Humanist Party got two hours and forty five minutes in televised election programmes. The reason for their total time being less than the time of the SDP, PP, IP, PA and WP is that Channel 2 did not include the HP in its programmes.

The HP devoted a fifth (20.9%) of its time to ideology, and was probably the most 'ideological' of all the parties, if the SDA is left out. Its ideology is somewhat populist in nature. All activities centre around one individual, the party's founder and leader, Mr. Guðjónsson, a Harvard graduate. Most of the election propaganda aimed at securing him a parliamentary seat. The party emphasised that it was untied by all 'institutionalised interests' such as the labour movement, capitalists, farmers and co-operatives. 'What we want, is what you

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<sup>1</sup> See table X.21 in Appendix X

want' was a common slogan from the party. 24.3% of the party's time was spent on the election race, mostly discussing the possibilities of Mr. Guðjónsson being elected, 7.4% were devoted to the government, how badly it had treated the people. The party spent 9.4% of its time on Industrial relations, 5.0% on Economic direction and 7.9% on Foreign loans, more than any other party. Mr. Guðjónsson said, that borrowing abroad, and budget deficit were the two most inflationary aspects of the economy. In fact 80% of all emphasis on foreign borrowing came from the HP.

The party was also above the average in General foreign affairs. The HP was below the average in: Sexual equality; most of the welfare categories, Regional equality and all the Industrial affairs categories.<sup>1</sup>

### **Movement for Co-operation and Equality**

The MCE took part only in one constituency. From an earlier chapter it can be recalled that it was formed around one individual, a former MP for the PP, who did not have enough support inside the PP to be put up as a candidate again. In all, the MCE only got some 24 minutes to forward its agenda. Therefore, its candidates could not cover many categories. 38.3% of its time was devoted to the Election race, how the party system was corrupted, and how the constituency and the country needed an MP like Mr. Valgeirsson. 21.7% of the time was devoted to General politics, followed by Rural policy, or rather, lack of it (20%); Housing (4.0%) and Social affairs (4.3%). No references were made to Foreign affairs; the Economy; Industrial relations or any of the Industrial affairs categories.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See table X.23 in Appendix X

<sup>2</sup> See table X.25 in Appendix X

### National Party

The NP got one hour and thirty five minutes. 60.6% of that time was used to discuss the issue the party was formed about, Regional equality. The NP said, that the government, and most recent governments, come to that, had with their investments and policies increased inequality in living standards between urban and rural parts of the country. Second most important was the election campaign, on which 23% of the party's time was spent.

Other categories where the party was above the average were Agriculture, and Transport.

The NP was below average in all other categories, did not refer to Foreign affairs, or Industrial relations at all.<sup>1</sup>

### Citizens' Party

The party's share of the election programmes was two hours and 10 minutes. The reason for it getting a little less than the other 'big' parties, is that it did not exist when the first programme was broadcast.

As can be recalled, the party was formed around one MP, because of the Guðmundsson affair. That affair, and the opinion that the IP had done wrong, was covered in 10.8% of all the party's time. 19.0% of the time was spent on the election race. The party accused the IP of threatening voters who had gone over to the BP, with the possibilities of job losses and such. Therefore, one of its slogans was 'no-one will look over your shoulder when you vote. You alone will know'. Fishing was discussed in 8.7% of the time, the party being against the quota-system. Regional equality got 8.2% and Industrial relations 7.1%.

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<sup>1</sup> See table X.27 in Appendix X

The party was above average in the following categories: Taxes; Social affairs; Transport and it was the only party to discuss Religion to a considerable extent.

The BP was below the average in the accomplishments of the government, which is understandable, Mr. Guðmundsson having been a Minister in it, but not willing to praise the party that had forced him to resign. Other 'low' categories were all the Economic categories (except Taxes); Housing and Education and Regional equality.<sup>1</sup>

### **X.3. A SUMMARY**

It has been argued, that the parties somewhat ignored each other in the campaign, that each fought the campaign on its own terms, as in a vacuum. This is further demonstrated if one looks at references to other parties in televised programmes. In all, only 440 such references were coded, almost all negative. Most of these references were to the governing parties, 114 to the Independence Party and 99 to the Progressive Party. 68 references were to the People's Party, and 67 to the People's Alliance, 52 to the Citizen's Party and 29 to the Women's List. The remaining 12 were to the four small parties. That of course indicates, that these parties were not taken seriously by the larger parties. Furthermore, the WL was treated somewhat more mildly than the other larger parties, which can indicate three things, that they were not taken seriously, that the other parties were afraid of making them angry, or that they did not know how to respond to this threat, which is probably the most plausible explanation.

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<sup>1</sup> See table X.29 in Appendix X

If we begin with the government parties, then both of them stressed the achievements of the government. Each thanked itself for what the government had accomplished. Therefore, the Progressive Party stressed issues that fell under ministries that were in their hands, such as Fishing and Agriculture, and especially Housing. Furthermore, the party argued that economic stability was the result of the leadership of Mr. Hermannsson, the Prime Minister. The party seldom referred to its opponents, most often to the PP, the PA and its coalition partner the IP. The Independence Party did not agree that the economic stability could be attributed to Mr. Hermannsson and the PP. Rather, they said, it was because the IP had had the Ministry for Finance. Matters related to the economy were the party's prime concern, taxes, inflation and industrial affairs. The party was most negative towards the SDP and the PA, but less so towards its partner, the PP and the BP and the WL. The People's Party stressed Economic matters in general and Taxes. Moreover, it emphasised Housing and the need to form one unified Pension fund for the whole nation. Of Industrial affairs, Agriculture was the party's main concern, i.e. the need for reorganisation and to stop subsidising it. The party was more negative towards its opponents than the IP and PP, and most so towards these two governing parties. Second, but somewhat far behind in this respect came the People's Alliance and the Citizen's Party. Other parties were hardly taken into account by the SDP. The same is also true for the People's Alliance. It was probably the most negative of all parties towards other parties, most so in the case of the governing parties, then towards the SDP and somewhat less towards the BP and the WL. The PA's main election issues were Industrial relations, that the government was to blame for the strike situation. It also stressed Culture and Education, and the need to spend more money in this sphere. It also stressed foreign affairs and its will to remove the military base in Keflavík. The Women's List emphasised 'soft' issues, such as Education and Culture, Health and Housing, the

Environment and welfare affairs in general. Of Industrial affairs the WL spoke most about Agriculture. Sexual equality, however, was the WL's main concern. The party was very 'positive' towards the other parties; in the sense that it hardly mentioned them. Most negative references were made to the PA and the IP, but far fewer than was the case of all the parties mentioned before. The same can be said about the Citizen's Party. Most of its negative references were towards the IP, because of that party's handling of the Guðmundsson affair. The party's election issues were Fishing and Agriculture, the Economy, matters related to the welfare system and Environmental issues.

The Social Democratic Alliance emphasised radical constitutional changes and Housing. Its negative references were evenly distributed among the 'large' parties. The National Party was formed around Regional equality and it wanted to support Agriculture and improve Transport in rural parts of the country. It is a rural party. So is the Movement for Cooperation and Equality. Its formation was not around issues, but an individual. The party hardly stressed any particular issues: it was formed to secure one man's seat in the Althing. Finally, the Humanist Party spoke most about two issues, the strike situation, for which it blamed the government. The party said that the economy could pay far better wages, and that was a matter of human rights. A second important issue that the party stressed was Foreign borrowing, which the party regarded as bad for the economy in future. The party was most negative of the 'small' parties, talking equally negatively about all the 'large' parties, except the Women's List.

On the basis of what has been said, one can put the political parties taking part in the general election in 1987, into four categories. The first would include parties based on a class foundation. Here we would put all the old four, the People's Party, the Progressive Party, the Independence Party and the People's Alliance. The second category would be 'single issue' parties. There we would put the Women's List, formed around the question of Sexual equality, and the

National Party, emphasising Regional equality. The third category is 'single individual' parties, parties that are formed around the political interests of one individual. Here would most obviously fall the Citizen's Party, formed around Mr. Guðmundsson, the Movement for Co-operation and Equality, formed around Mr. Valgeirsson, and to some extent the Humanist Party around Mr. Guðjónsson. In the fourth and final category fall parties that are formed for ideological reasons. Here would most obviously fall the Social Democratic Alliance, formed with the aim of changing the constitution. Perhaps the Humanist Party might also fall into this category, emphasising its ideology, albeit loose, of making society more humanitarian.

# XI. THE MEDIA AGENDA

This chapter reports on which issues were most stressed by the Icelandic mass media during the eight weeks prior to the election.

Most earlier agenda-setting research has only looked at news. However, there is more political information in the media than news, for instance newspaper editorials, articles and current affairs on television. This material is also taken account of here. The content analysis includes all five national newspapers and both television channels. In newspapers, all material was analyzed, while the television analysis examines main news-bulletins and current affairs programmes on both stations.

Designing a content analysis study is a dynamic process. First of all, one should try and decide "what do I want to know from the material?" Second, one should go through the material at hand, or at least parts of it, bearing in mind the purposes of the study, and look for possible units and categories, writing all ideas down. In addition, the "important issue" questions in all survey questionnaires were read through.<sup>1</sup> The third step was to write down coding instructions, based on the knowledge acquired with these 'qualitative' measures. Then these instructions were tried on parts of the material, in order to find out if they could be used, or if practical problems were involved. One has to go from the material, back to adapting instructions and back to the material again, until satisfied with the result. Then there is time to conduct reliability tests, to ensure the methods are replicable and worthwhile. If one is not satisfied with the results from these

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<sup>1</sup> 2765 in all, with up to three issues named in each

tests, there is a need to find out where the instructions went wrong (assuming the coders are not to blame).<sup>1</sup>

The main questions addressed in the chapter are the following:

- A. What were the general contents of the mass media during the eight weeks prior to the election?
- B. Were there differences between the media analyzed - and if so, which?
- C. Where there changes over time?
- D. Can any of the seven media analyzed be said to have been ahead of the others in time - and if so which, and in what ways?

The chapter is divided into four sections. The first describes the contents of newspapers over the whole period. The second treats television in the same manner. The third section examines the data after it has been broken up by time, into eight week-long parts. A close look will be taken at the relation between the various media analyzed. The fourth section summarizes the discussion, and tries to give concrete answers to the questions put forward.

## XI.1. NEWSPAPERS

Icelandic newspapers are somewhere between the British quality papers and the tabloids in most respects, perhaps nearer the qualities if anything. One would never find such headlines as are a prominent feature of the British tabloids, i.e. one bold headline, preferably short, and a sensational story underneath, with a sensational picture as well. There are 5-6 items on the front page on average. Stories in Icelandic

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<sup>1</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the methods applied, see chapter III.1. and appendices A, B and H

papers are not as personalized as in British papers, at least in the tabloids. There are no 'page three' girls in Icelandic dailies. The paper coming nearest the tabloids in these respects is the independent Daily Newspaper. However, despite being nearest, it is far from being anything like the tabloids. Beside them it would look like 'a quality paper'.

Before going into detailed analysis, it is right to describe briefly the scope of the study, and look at differences between the papers in size and content.

All in all, 15,962 items were analyzed, 1,533,834 column centimeters, roughly 15 column kilometers. Each column being around 5 centimeters wide, this amounts to almost 770 square meters. The distribution between newspapers was as follows, measured by number of items, and column centimeters.

TABLE 24  
NUMBER OF ITEMS AND TOTAL VOLUME OF  
EACH PAPER

Newspaper	Number of items	column centimeters
The People's Paper	606	55,519
The Daily Newspaper	3,793	419,325
The Morning Paper	7,154	741,977
The Time	2,361	166,178
<u>The National Will</u>	<u>2,048</u>	<u>150,835</u>
Total	15,962	1,533,834

27 recording units were coded within each item. Since the values were in some cases higher than nine, i.e. more than one digit, a total of 45 strokes were needed for each item, when the material was coded on the computer. That is a total of 718,290 strokes.

As the table above indicates, the papers were very different in size. The People's Paper was, at the time of the study, usually four pages, four days a week, while the Morning Paper was never less than 56 pages, and up to 150 pages a day, published six days a week. The

other papers were all issued six days a week, between 16 and 56 pages a day.

The analysis distinguishes between 9 types of material, each of which is treated differently. Table 25 shows the distribution of material types. Since different basic units were used for different material types, simple frequencies do not give a complete picture. Therefore, the table also gives weighted frequencies (column centimeters) and percentages of weighted distribution. The figures show both absolute and relative space allocated to each material type, within each paper.

**TABLE 25**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF MATERIAL TYPES IN EACH**  
**PAPER**

Number Total size Weighted %	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will
news-items	317 16.347 (29.4)	1903 108.956 (26.0)	3769 204.516 (27.6)	1409 56.301 (33.9)	1173 59.855 (39.7)
editorials	37 2.710 (4.9)	43 2.820 (.7)	54 2.942 (.4)	48 2.712 (1.6)	49 3.490 (2.3)
articles	44 6.889 (12.4)	450 82.926 (19.8)	1013 144.173 (19.4)	219 29.849 (18.0)	175 23.346 (15.5)
interviews	16 6.182 (11.1)	101 13.809 (3.3)	59 11.507 (1.6)	18 4.143 (2.5)	46 8.464 (5.6)
political columns	9 267 (.5)	89 5.212 (1.2)	48 5.953 (.8)	93 5.343 (3.2)	85 5.077 (3.4)
advertise- ments	180 22.684 (40.9)	886 136.346 (32.5)	1731 309.557 (41.7)	422 44.293 (26.7)	344 36.484 (24.2)
cartoons	1 195 (.4)	88 14.628 (3.5)	197 20.082 (2.7)	46 5.279 (3.2)	63 2.876 (1.9)
artistic material	1 50 (.1)	5 684 (.2)	25 2.892 (.4)	2 201 (.1)	18 2.085 (1.4)
other	1 195 (.4)	228 53.943 (12.9)	258 40.355 (5.4)	104 18.057 (10.9)	95 9.158 (6.1)

Clearly, the papers are strikingly similar, despite difference in size. More or less similar proportions of space were devoted to each material type. There were, however, some discrepancies. Proportionally, the National Will and the Time dedicated most space to news, although in absolute terms there was twice as much news-space in the Daily Newspaper and three times as much in the Morning Paper. The main explanation is of course, that both the Time and the National Will were considerably smaller papers, with considerably fewer advertisements (and therefore revenue). The reasons why editorials and political columns were larger proportionally, can be explained with the same factors, less total space and fewer advertisements.

The Morning Paper and the Daily Newspaper gave more space to cartoons and 'other' undefined material than the Time and the National Will. The former are more general daily newspapers, catering for daily needs, such as detailed media programmes, a diary and similar material. The latter are more political, spending as much space on political columns and editorials as the other two. Articles were a similar proportion in all four papers. The National Will and the Morning Paper were the most cultural of all the papers in terms of publishing artistic material.

The People's Paper distinguished itself from the other four papers in several ways. First, it was not as multifarious as the others. There were hardly any cartoons, artistic material or other undefined material. Political columns were considerably fewer, but then again, news-stories were more politically interwoven than in other papers. There were almost as many editorials in the People's Paper as in the other papers, the difference being that the paper was only published four days a week.

## A) NEWS

We now turn to a more detailed scrutiny of each of the nine material types, beginning with news: where the item was originated and what it was about. Domestic and foreign news were analyzed separately. The analysis reveals whether Icelandic news coverage, in any of the papers, was politically partisan.

The shortest news-items were found in the *Time* and the *National Will*, only two column centimeters. The longest items were in the *Morning Paper* (795 column centimeters) and the *Daily Newspaper* (780 column centimeters). The average item was between 51 and 57 column centimeters, with the exception of the *Time*, where the average news-item was less than 40 column centimetres.<sup>1</sup>

The geographical basis of a story was not coded in the case of sport and sport is left out of the following discussion.<sup>2</sup>

Table 26 summarizes the origin of news-items, after basic country has been recoded into 10 categories. The first line of each box shows the number of items falling into the category. The former figure in the second line is simple proportion, while the latter represents weighted percentage.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See a descriptive table (XI.1) in appendix XI

<sup>2</sup> This means the following number and size (in brackets) of items in the case of each paper: *People's Paper* 17 (171), *Daily Newspaper* 163 (34,233), *Morning Paper* 233 (40,803), *Time* 59 (10,354), *National Will* 85 (12,140).

<sup>3</sup> Refer to Coding instructions in appendix A and Recoding rationale in appendix F<sub>1</sub> for more detail about country coding and recoding. See also unrecoded tables in Appendix XI (tables XI.2 - XI.6)

**TABLE 26**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF NEWS BY COUNTRIES IN EACH PAPER**

Number % (weigh%)	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will
Iceland	261 84.7 (70.3)	1193 68.6 (67.1)	2625 74.2 (78.9)	869 64.4 (79.8)	776 71.3 (72.9)
Nordic countries	13 4.2 (6.1)	113 6.5 (4.7)	131 3.7 (2.7)	30 2.2 (1.4)	40 3.7 (2.7)
Western Europe	11 3.6 (5.5)	148 8.5 (10.1)	260 7.4 (6.0)	110 8.1 (5.1)	117 10.8 (10.1)
Eastern Europe	2 .6 (1.4)	25 1.4 (1.2)	130 3.7 (2.8)	52 3.9 (2.0)	38 3.5 (3.4)
Asia and Pacific	4 1.3 (4.0)	51 2.9 (2.8)	92 2.6 (1.9)	106 7.9 (3.5)	
M-East, N-Africa	1 .3 (.3)	28 1.6 (2.2)	53 1.5 (1.1)	63 4.7 (1.5)	28 2.6 (2.5)
Africa	1 .3 (1.2)	22 1.3 (1.2)	34 1.0 (.6)	31 2.3 (.9)	35 3.2 (2.4)
Northern America	11 3.6 (8.7)	128 7.4 (8.5)	157 4.4 (4.9)	72 5.3 (5.0)	40 3.7 (4.1)
Latin America	4 1.3 (2.4)	23 1.3 (1.7)	46 1.3 (1.0)	12 .9 (.6)	10 .9 (1.7)
Australia and NZ		9 .5 (.5)	8 .2 (.1)	5 .4 (.1)	4 .4 (.1)

Between 64.4% (Time) and 84.7% (People's Paper) were Icelandic. Foreign items were considerably longer in the People's Paper than domestic ones, and similar in the other papers, except the Time, where domestic items were longer than foreign ones. Around 90% of all items came from Western Europe and Northern America, except in the Time, where the proportion was 80%. In terms of space, the Time went to the same 90% as the other papers.

16 references were made to a second country or organization in the People's Paper, the Nordic council and Denmark being on top. Seven references were made to a third country.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See coding instructions (Appendix A) for discussion of second and third reference

A second reference was made to 61 countries in the Daily Newspaper, most often to the Soviet Union (26), the USA (22) and West-Germany (21). 21 countries were referred to as third country with Britain (7) most often mentioned.

The Morning Paper referred to 80 countries as second country and 47 as third. The United States came first (130), the Soviet Union second (94) and Britain third (60).

In the Time 51 countries were referred to as second, and 16 as third, the following coming most often: USA and USSR, 47 each.

Finally, 45 countries were referred to as second in the National Will, and 17 to as third. Those most often referred to were: the USA (45); USSR (30) and the Nordic Council (10).

It is obvious, that the horizon of Icelandic newspapers is not very wide. Most news originated in the NATO countries, and some continents were hardly mentioned. It is also noteworthy, that when the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc were mentioned, it was usually in items that were originated in NATO countries.

Icelandic issues are of prime importance to this study. However, before analyzing them, a brief glance will be made at foreign issues covered in newspapers. Icelandic items have totally been left out of this analysis.

Table 27 shows issue distribution, after all foreign items have been recoded into 11 categories.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Coding instructions (Appendix A), Recoding rationale (appendix F<sub>2</sub>) and unrecoded tables in appendix XI (tables XI.7 - XI.11)

**TABLE 27****DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN ITEMS BY ISSUE IN NEWSPAPERS**

Number % (Weight)	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will
General politics	14 29.8 (35.9)	104 18.9 (25.0)	200 22.0 (24.8)	118 24.2 (30.2)	118 37.7 (42.1)
Foreign affairs	5 10.6 (8.8)	112 20.4 (24.1)	284 31.2 (33.1)	207 33.8 (42.4)	68 21.7 (24.2)
General economics	1 2.1 (2.6)	11 2.0 (2.1)	49 5.4 (4.9)	24 4.9 (3.4)	9 2.9 (2.9)
Industr. relations		7 1.3 (1.0)	16 1.8 (1.3)	7 1.4 (1.3)	4 1.3 (1.9)
Social affairs	3 6.4 (7.5)	43 7.8 (5.8)	37 4.1 (3.2)	10 2.0 (2.0)	15 4.8 (6.5)
Culture, education	8 17.0 (18.8)	37 6.7 (8.2)	50 5.5 (7.4)	24 4.9 (6.0)	23 7.3 (7.5)
Transport environm.		24 4.4 (3.8)	20 2.2 (2.0)	4 .8 (1.6)	10 3.2 (2.2)
Industr. affairs	1 2.1 (1.8)	26 4.7 (3.5)	64 7.0 (5.1)	22 4.5 (4.9)	10 3.2 (1.3)
Accidents disasters	1 2.1 (1.3)	57 10.4 (10.0)	60 6.6 (6.1)	16 3.3 (1.5)	2 .6 (.5)
Crime	7 14.9 (11.6)	57 10.4 (6.7)	57 6.3 (5.9)	30 6.1 (6.3)	12 3.8 (4.8)
Human interest	7 14.9 (11.8)	72 13.1 (9.8)	74 8.1 (6.0)	26 5.3 (9.1)	42 13.4 (6.2)

Most items went into the foreign affairs category in the two largest papers, with general politics following. General politics was the largest category in all the other three papers, while foreign affairs came second. Items coded in these two categories were considerably longer than items in other categories. The same is true of the culture and education category.

The coverage of foreign news was similar in all papers. Around 90% of all foreign news came from Western Europe and Northern America and more than half of these in all papers, with minor

qualifications in the case of the People's Paper and the Daily, were about general politics and foreign affairs.

Since all subscribe to the Reuter telex, and all share the same geographical and cultural environment the similarity is not at all surprising. However, these similarities in general outlook and subject coverage allow for some variance in how subjects are treated and events interpreted. A case in point is the view of the United States and NATO. The Morning Paper is almost unconditionally supportive of the US and NATO actions, while the National Will often criticizes US actions, is against NATO and takes a more "European" position in foreign affairs.<sup>1</sup>

Turning to Icelandic news a discussion is offered of each paper's concern in some detail, and in some cases beyond the recoded categories, when it is thought that such a discussion is pertinent.<sup>2</sup>

References made to political parties and the direction of such references are also looked into.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This is rather a subjective assessment than a result of any thorough, objective content analysis.

<sup>2</sup> See recoding rationale (appendix F<sub>2</sub>), and unrecoded tables in Appendix XI (tables XI.12 - XI.16)

<sup>3</sup> When direction was analyzed, items related to the election (see coding instructions, Appendix A) were singled out. Tables of the direction of domestic news in each paper are in Appendix XI (tables XI.17 - XI.21)

**TABLE 28**  
**ICELANDIC NEWS-ITEMS BY ISSUE CATEGORIES**  
**IN ALL PAPERS<sup>1</sup>**

Number % weigh%	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will
General	61	204	205	92	126
politics	23.4 (31.8)	17.1 (25.7)	7.8 (10.3)	10.6 (15.5)	16.3 (19.9)
Foreign	12	22	68	26	35
affairs	4.6 (4.9)	1.8 (1.6)	2.6 (2.4)	3.0 (2.4)	4.5 (5.3)
General	9	50	82	14	14
economics	3.4 (3.3)	4.2 (3.0)	3.1 (2.0)	1.6 (1.6)	1.8 (1.2)
Industr.	40	136	205	123	153
relations	15.3 (13.5)	11.4 (7.6)	7.8 (6.9)	14.2 (10.2)	19.7 (17.3)
Social	25	48	140	60	66
affairs	9.6 (7.2)	4.0 (3.6)	5.3 (5.1)	6.9 (5.9)	8.5 (10.0)
Culture,	56	91	540	110	136
education	21.5 (20.2)	7.6 (10.5)	20.6 (21.0)	12.7 (14.9)	17.5 (21.9)
Transport	11	120	251	70	64
environm.	4.2 (4.9)	10.1 (8.1)	9.6 (11.9)	8.1 (7.1)	8.3 (7.1)
Industr.	35	204	632	235	96
affairs	13.4 (11.1)	17.1 (15.8)	24.1 (23.7)	27.0 (25.4)	12.4 (9.3)
Accidents	2	121	162	43	19
disasters	.8 (.2)	10.1 (7.5)	6.2 (4.2)	4.9 (4.3)	2.5 (1.4)
Crime	3	91	87	44	32
	1.1 (.9)	7.6 (7.5)	3.3 (3.0)	5.1 (3.9)	4.1 (3.5)
Human	7	106	253	52	34
interest	2.7 (1.5)	8.9 (9.2)	9.6 (9.5)	6.0 (8.6)	4.4 (3.1)

There were considerably greater differences between papers in terms of issues covered in domestic news than was the case with foreign news. This reflects two facts. First, each paper gathers its domestic news independently, while all rely on the same sources for foreign news. Second, four of the papers are directed by political parties to some extent, and therefore serve specific political interests.

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<sup>1</sup> The former line in each box represents number of items falling into that category. In the second line are, first simple frequencies and second, weighted frequencies. As before, sport is not used in the analysis.

## People's Paper

The most prominent category was general politics. A third of all space was devoted to Icelandic news. Nearly one in every four Icelandic news-stories was in this category. Culture and education was the second largest category, roughly 20%, followed by Industrial relations, Industrial affairs and Social affairs.

Inside<sup>1</sup> the largest category, General politics, coverage of the coming election played the biggest role 19.5% (26% weighted). Second was the Albert Guðmundsson affair<sup>2</sup> which occurred near the middle of the period of analysis.

In the Culture and education category, second of the recoded categories, culture and art played the largest part 10.3% (11.9%). Items on the mass media were 5.0% (4.2%), and news about education, and the school system were also 5% (3.8%).

Strikes and wage negotiations were the bulk of the coverage in the Industrial relations category.<sup>3</sup> Coverage of unemployment hardly existed, and only 2 items dealt with pension funds.

The fourth largest recoded category was Industrial affairs, evenly distributed between Fishing and fish-breeding, Agriculture, Tourism, Commerce, Foreign trade, Banks, Manufacturing industries and Energy.

If we are to single out other single issues that were fairly thoroughly covered, then the Health service was covered in 4.6% of the news, general foreign affairs and Nuclear-free Scandinavia in 2.3% each. Transport got 2.7%.

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<sup>1</sup> See unrecoded tables in Appendix XI (tables XI.12 - XI.16)

<sup>2</sup> A discussion of the Guðmundsson affair is in chapter IV.9.

<sup>3</sup> See discussion of strikes and wage negotiations in chapter IV.9.

When it comes to the direction of news in the paper<sup>1</sup>, at least three conclusions can be drawn: first the paper is unequivocally partisan. 71% of the references to the People's Party were coded as positive, and 29% neutral. Between 28% and 38% of all references to the Independence Party, the People's Alliance and the Citizen's Party were negative, and as many as 69% to the Progressive Party. All other references to political parties were neutral. The third conclusion is, that the 'old four', the SDP, the IP, the PP and the PA were more often referred to than the newer parties.

### Daily Newspaper

Ignoring the sports category, there were two categories into which items fell equally often, the General politics category, and Industrial affairs, each with 17.1%. However, when weighted, General politics rose to 15.8%. The third category was Industrial relations, with 11.4% (7.6%). Ranking fourth were Transport and environment, and Accidents and rescue work, with 10.1% (8.1% and 7.5% respectively). Then came the Human interest category, with 8.9% (9.2%), Crime with 7.6% (7.5%) and Culture and education with 7.6% (10.5%).

Within the largest category, General politics, the election was most important, 11.4% (19.2%). Second, was the Albert Guðmundsson affair, 4.3% (4.9%).

In the Industrial affairs category, the second largest recorded, Fishing and fish-breeding accounted for a third, 6.8% (6.8%), while the others divided the rest more or less evenly between them. Industrial relations consisted almost entirely of coverage of strikes and wage negotiations.

Transport and environment was dominated by two issue-types, news from rural towns and local governments, 4.5% (3.5%), and general transport, 4.2% (3.5%).

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<sup>1</sup> Table XI.17 in Appendix XI

All the items that fell into the Accidents and disasters category came from one sub-category, which covered accidents, disasters and rescue work, 10.1% (7.5%).

The Human interest and Crime categories were similar, in that they consisted almost entirely of one sub-category each.

Culture and education was broken down into Culture and art (2.9%; 3.4%), mass media (2.5%; 3.4%), and education (1.3%; 1.4%).

Other prominent single issue types in the Daily Newspaper during the campaign, can hardly be singled out, except, perhaps issues concerning the Health service, 2.7% (2.7%)<sup>1</sup>.

The Daily Newspaper's news coverage used slightly more negative references to the People's Party and the People's Alliance and more positive ones to the Independence Party and the Citizen's Party. The IP was most often referred to, the SDP, PP, PA, BP and the WL all got similar numbers of references. The smaller parties were referred to considerably less often.<sup>2</sup>

### **Morning Paper**

The general election did not play as important a role as in the other papers. The largest category was Industrial affairs, 24.1% (23.7%), supporting the view that the paper is for and about business interests. Second was the Culture and education category, with 20.6% (21.0%). In third place were Transport and environment, 9.6% (11.9%) and fourth, if the weighted figure is used, general politics. If, however, simple frequencies are used, the political category ranks sixth, with Industrial relations, following Human interest.

In the Industrial affairs category, Fishing and fish-breeding was the largest single category, 8.6% (7.6%), followed by Commerce 4.2%

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<sup>1</sup> See table XI.13 in Appendix XI

<sup>2</sup> See table XI.18 in Appendix XI

(3.6%), Agriculture, 3.5% (3.8%) and Manufacturing industries 2.4% (2.7%).

The second largest recoded category was Culture and education. Culture and art was the largest sub-category, 13.3% (13.9%). Then came Education with 3.2% (2.8%) and mass media, 2.4% (2.2%).

General transport got the largest share in the Transport and environment category, 5.0% (7.7%) and Local government 3.1% (2.6%).

In the politics category general coverage of the election accounted for 5.0% (6.3%), and the Guðmundsson affair only 1.1% (1.5%).

Of single issues, not falling into any of these largest recoded categories, Icelandic strikes was the most important at 7.5% (6.8%). Coverage was not always sympathetic to strikers.<sup>1</sup> Accidents and disasters 6.2% (4.0), and Human interest stories were also significant 6.2% (7.2%). The health service was covered in 3.0% (2.7%) of Icelandic news.

Two parties, the People's Alliance and the Citizen's Party, were most often referred to negatively. Had the split in the Independence Party occurred earlier, negative references to the Citizen's Party would probably have been still more numerous.<sup>2</sup>

Four parties were less often referred to than the other six, the Social Democratic Alliance, the split from the Progressive Party, the Humanist Party and the National Party. Almost 40% of all references to the Independence Party were positive and it was far ahead of the others in terms of total references. In 57% of all election news-items reference was made to the Independence Party.

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<sup>1</sup> For a further discussion, see the section on interviewees.

<sup>2</sup> See table XI.19 in Appendix XI

## Time

General politics did not take as much space (proportionally) in the Time as in the National Will, the Daily and the People's Paper, although it was somewhat ahead of the Morning Paper in this respect. The largest recoded category in the Time was Industrial affairs (27%; 25.4% of space). In terms of simple frequencies, Industrial relations ranked second, 14.2% (10.2% weighted). Third was Culture and education, 12.7% (10.2%); General politics was fourth (second in space), with 10.6% (15.5%).

Inside the Industrial affairs category Agriculture was the most prominent single issue type, 8.4% (7.6%). This is not very surprising. The Progressive Party has always been rurally based, with strong ties into the co-operative movement, which is more producer oriented than elsewhere. Second was Fishing and fish-breeding, 6.4% (5.2%) and third Commerce, 3.8% (5.0%). Tourism, Banks, Manufacturing industries and Energy got between 1% and 2% of the coverage of Icelandic affairs, each.

Industrial relations were almost solely focussed on strikes and wage-negotiations.

Culture and education split: Culture and art 4.7% (6.8%) Education 4.3% (3.6%) and Mass media 2.9% (2.8%).

In the General politics category, the election played the largest role, 7.6% (12.2%) with the Guðmundsson affair only 1.7% (2.2%). Of other single issue categories Human interest was 4.5% (7.4%), Accidents and rescue work 4.9% (4.3%), Crime 4.5% (2.6%), Local government 3.3% (3.0%), Transport 3.1% (3.0%) and the Health service 3.0% (1.9%).<sup>1</sup>

The Time largely ignored all the newer parties, with the exception of the Citizen's Party. The coverage of the older parties, plus the Citizen's Party was similar in the cases of all these parties, except

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<sup>1</sup> See table XI.15 in Appendix XI

the Progressives. All got their share of negative references, and few positive ones. The Progressive Party, however, was referred to in 61.1% of all references, and never negatively.<sup>1</sup>

### National Will

Items about Industrial relations appeared most often, in 19.7% of all Icelandic news (17.3% weighted) followed by Culture and education 17.5% (21.9%). Third was General politics, 16.3% (19.9%) and fourth Industrial affairs. When measured in column centimeters, Culture and education ranked first, Politics second, Industrial relations third and Social affairs fourth, taking up 10% of Icelandic news-space.

In the Industrial relations category, almost all items were about Strikes and wage negotiations.

In the Cultural category, general culture and art were 9.2% (11.8%), Education 3.7% (4.5%), Mass media 2.3% (.9%) and Juvenile affairs 1.4% (4.0%).

Within the third largest recoded category, the election was most important, 11.7% (14.5%), the Guðmundsson affair 2.2% (2.5%) and politics in general 1.8% (2.5%).

Three issue types were most important in the Industrial affairs category, Fishing and fish-breeding, 4.6% (2.9%), Agriculture 2.7% (2.8%) and Manufacturing industries 1.9% (1.5%).

In the Social affairs category items on the Health service came first, 2.5% (3.0%), Sexual equality second, 1.4% (2.4%) and Physical disability third, 1.4% (1.9%).

Other important issue types included Human interest 3.5% (2.8%); Crime 3.4% (2.9%); Local government 3.1% (2.5%); Nuclear-free Scandinavia 2.6% (3.5%); Transport 2.6% (2.5%); Accidents and disasters 2.5% (1.4%); and Icelandic defence 1.5% (1.6%). Coverage of Icelandic defence and the American naval base in Keflavík, and the

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<sup>1</sup> See table XI.20 in Appendix XI

related issue of a Nuclear-free zone in Scandinavia was more often found in the National Will than the other papers. Only the People's Alliance and the Women's List are against Icelandic membership in NATO.<sup>1</sup>

The National Will displayed a similar trend towards the newer parties as the Time.<sup>2</sup> The Social Democratic Alliance, the Humanist Party, the split from the Progressive Party, the National Party, The Women's List and the Citizens' Party got little coverage in news. Negative references and hostility towards the other parties were more the case in the National Will than the other papers. This is especially evident with the governing Progressive and Independence parties and the People's Party. Only the People's Alliance got any positive references worth mentioning. Two thirds of the party's references were favourable.

## **B) EDITORIALS**

Editorials were similar in number and size from day to day and from paper to paper. The analysis will reveal where editorials were from, what they were about, whether related to the election, and how the various political parties were treated. Usually there was only one a day, but sometimes an editorial was divided between more than one issue, under separate headings. When this happened, each part was coded as a separate item.

### **People's Paper**

37 editorials appeared in the People's Paper during the period. On two occasions the editorial was on page one, but otherwise on page 2. Their length varied from 26 column centimetres, to 90, most of them

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<sup>1</sup> See table XI.16 in Appendix XI

<sup>2</sup> Table XI.21 in Appendix XI

being between 65 and 90. All, except one, were based on Icelandic affairs, the one exception being on the United States. Only once was a second country referred to, also the United States.

17 topics were discussed in the paper's editorials. Those most often raised were the election in general (15 times) and strikes and wage negotiations (three times).

73% of the editorials were election related. The newer parties were hardly ever mentioned. Three of the four established parties were covered unfavourably but the People's Party highly favourably. The governing parties, the Progressives and the Independence Party were attacked more often than the People's Alliance, although the Alliance received little positive coverage.<sup>1</sup>

### **The Daily Newspaper**

43 editorials appeared in the paper, nearly all exactly 66 column centimeters.

Thirty nine of the 43 were based on Icelandic affairs. Two were on American issues, one on a general election in Finland and one on the Pope and the Vatican. Five countries or international organizations were referred to: Chile; New Zealand; the Soviet Union; the Nordic Council and Australia.

21 topics were discussed in editorials in the paper during the campaign. Three issues recurred: the election; the Guðmundsson affair; and agriculture. The paper is known to be strongly against all subsidies in the agricultural sector, and as somewhat hostile towards farmers. Strikes were discussed three times. Almost half, 48.8%, of the editorials were related to the election. Three parties were totally ignored, in this 'independent' newspaper, the HP, the MCE and the NP. Three parties were seldom mentioned, the Women's List, the

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<sup>1</sup> See table XI.22 in Appendix XI for detail of subject distribution and table XI.23 for detail of direction

People's Alliance and the Social Democratic Alliance although each had MPs elected in the last election. The case of the People's Alliance is the strangest, the party being one of the 'old' four. Four parties secured twice as much coverage - and favourable - as any of the aforementioned, the IP, the PP, the SDP and the BP. However, editorials in the Daily were much less about the parties than other papers' editorials, much different from news.<sup>1</sup>

### The Morning Paper

54 items were coded as editorials in the Morning Paper, varying from 12 column centimetres to 172. Most, however, were 66 column centimetres.

49 editorials were Icelandic based, two American, one on a British event (ferry disaster), one on the Finnish general election and one on Soviet politics. 8 countries and international organizations were referred to, apart from basic country.

Two issues were discussed in 9 editorials each: the general election, and strikes. Ranking third was general politics, (the Finnish, the Russian and the two American editorials fell in this category). The Guðmundsson affair ranked fourth. In all 24 issues were handled in the paper's editorials.

24, or 44.4% of the editorials were related to the election. Few references were made to the parties. Even the Independence Party, was mentioned in less than half of the editorials. Three parties got 14 of 15 negative references, the People's Alliance (6); the Citizen's Party (4) and the People's Party (4). All parties were referred to at least

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<sup>1</sup> See tables of issues covered and the direction of references to the parties in Appendix X (tables XI.24 and XI.25)

once, in most cases neutrally. The Independence Party was the only party with uniformly positive references (20).<sup>1</sup>

### **The Time**

48 editorials appeared in The Time during the period varying in length from 16 to 78 column centimetres, most being 62.

All the editorials were based on Icelandic affairs, except one on Albanian foreign policy!! Denmark was referred to once and the Soviet Union twice.

18 issues were covered. Almost half of the editorials were about the election in general, 23 out of 48, or 47.9%. Another three were about the mass media and three about the Guðmundsson affair.

Two thirds of the editorials related to the election, a much higher proportion than in the Morning Paper and the Daily Newspaper. Most of the parties got very little coverage in the Time's editorials, except the Progressive Party. The Progressive Party's partner in the governing coalition, the Independence Party got some considerable coverage, most of the references negative.<sup>2</sup>

### **The National Will**

49 editorials were coded in the National Will, varying in length from 25 to 85 column centimetres, most being around 75-80.

47 editorials were Icelandic based, one on Russian politics and one on politics in Czechoslovakia. Other countries and organizations referred to were the United States, NATO and the Nordic Council.

22 topics were touched upon in the editorials. As in the other papers, the election was the most prominent editorial issue, covered 13

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<sup>1</sup> See tables (XI.26 and XI.27) over issues and the direction of references in Appendix XI

<sup>2</sup> See tables XI.28 and XI.29 over issues and the direction of references in appendix XI

times followed by the strike situation (5); Nuclear-free Scandinavia (4) and the Guðmundsson affair and economic direction (three each).

Half of the editorials were related to the election. The Social Democratic Alliance, and the Humanist Party, the split from the Progressive Party and the National Party were very seldom referred to. Most of the references to the other parties were negative, except, of course, to the People's Alliance. The paper referred to the Independence Party in 65% of all editorials, almost always negatively.<sup>1</sup>

### **C) ARTICLES**

Articles are defined here as material sent from individuals not on the staff, and regular staff columns about fixed issues, or issue types. Different basic units were used in the analysis, depending on the subject matter.<sup>2</sup>

Here we only discuss articles dealing with Icelandic issues. Furthermore, those dealing with culture and art (mostly art critique), sport, obituaries and matters of human interest are omitted.<sup>3</sup>

Table 29 shows the subject distribution in domestic articles.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See tables XI.30 and XI.31 over issues and the direction or references in Appendix XI

<sup>2</sup> See coding instructions in Appendix A

<sup>3</sup> Table XI.32 in Appendix XI shows the distribution of those. See also unrecoded tables (XI.33-XI.37) for each paper

<sup>4</sup> See Recoding rationale in Appendix F,

TABLE 29

ICELANDIC ARTICLES BY ISSUE CATEGORIES IN ALL PAPERS

Number % (Weight%)	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will
General politics	13 46.4 (44.8)	55 24.2 (17.1)	142 27.0 (22.9)	25 27.2 (26.1)	27 26.7 (20.7)
Foreign affairs	3 10.7 (14.5)	5 2.2 (1.4)	14 2.7 (2.4)	5 5.4 (4.0)	6 5.9 (6.0)
General economics	1 3.6 (4.5)	6 2.6 (1.9)	28 5.3 (5.8)	1 1.1 (.7)	3 3.0 (3.3)
Industr. relations		14 6.2 (4.5)	21 4.0 (2.8)	3 3.3 (2.1)	11 10.9 (6.6)
Social affairs	3 10.7 (11.3)	68 30.0 (34.1)	87 16.5 (18.5)	11 12.0 (12.2)	12 11.9 (9.5)
Education culture		31 13.7 (23.3)	125 23.8 (21.4)	14 15.2 (11.5)	13 12.9 (14.8)
Transport environm.	2 7.1 (8.0)	24 10.6 (8.2)	36 6.8 (8.7)	9 9.8 (16.)	8 7.9 (12.8)
Industr. affairs	6 21.4 (17.0)	20 8.8 (8.5)	58 11.0 (14.2)	22 23.9 (26.2)	18 17.8 (22.0)
Accidents disasters		1 .4 (.2)	6 1.1 (1.4)		1 1.0 (1.3)
Crime		3 1.3 (.8)	9 1.7 (1.8)	2 2.2 (.8)	2 1.0 (2.9)

The papers were similar in issues touched upon in articles. However, there were some differences worthy of discussion. General politics was the most important category in all papers except the Daily Newspaper. The reason seems to be that supporters of each party tended to send articles about politics and the election to their party's own paper. This, however, does not mean that there were few political articles in the Daily, they were not far behind the category coming first, social affairs. Considerable space in the Morning Paper and the Daily Newspaper was given to articles of that nature, and articles about education and culture while the other papers contained more articles about industrial affairs. The National Will received more

articles (proportionally) than any other paper about industrial relations. Although most elections are about economics in some sense, few articles dealt with these matters. The same is true of foreign affairs. This indicates, that neither of these matters were high on the political agenda, unlike in most other Icelandic elections.

Now a closer look will be taken at each paper, inside the categories and at the direction of political references.<sup>1</sup>

### People's Paper

General politics was the largest category (13 articles coded, 12 about the election in general.

6 articles were about Industrial affairs, 3 of them covering Fishing and fish-breeding, 2 about Agriculture and one about Manufacturing industries.

22 or 78.6% (75.1% weighted) of the articles were related to the general election and written by supporters of the People's Party. That was the only party referred to in a positive manner. Most of the articles showing direction, were aimed against the governing parties, the Independence Party, and the Progressive Party.

### Daily Newspaper

The largest recoded category was the Social affairs category, (68 articles, or 30% (34%)). Within the category, issues related to consumers and their interests were almost half of the total, 13.2%. 13 articles were concerned with the Health service, 5.7% and 11 with Housing, 4.8%.

55 articles or 24.2% (17.2%) were about politics. 43 of those were about the election in general terms, and five about the accomplish-

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<sup>1</sup> See unrecoded tables in Appendix XI (33-37) and tables showing political direction of references (tables XI.38-XI.42). Only articles related to the election were used in the analysis of political references.

ments of the last government. 4 articles were about the Guðmundsson affair.

The third largest category was Education and culture. Within this category articles about Juvenile affairs were the largest sub-category, 4.8% (16.5%). 3.1% (2.0%) were about Education and the school system in general, and 1.8% (1.3%) were devoted to the Student's Loan Fund.

Fourth was the recoded category Transport and environment, 10.6%. 5.3% were about Regional equality and 2.6% about general transport.

No other single issue types rose high enough to mention, except strikes and wage negotiations (14 articles; 6.2%).

90, or 36.6% (24.5%) of the articles were related to the election. References to political parties in articles indicate, that the paper was used by supporters of all parties, most by those of the old four and the Women's List and the Citizen's Party. In fact, the Citizen's Party had more supporting articles in this paper than any other.

The four smallest parties were hardly mentioned, it is as if the other parties and their supporters did not take them as serious threats, this opinion probably deriving primarily from opinion polls.

### **Morning Paper**

The largest recoded category was general politics, 27% (22.9%), divided between two issues, the election in general, 20% and the Guðmundsson affair 5.1%.

The second category was Education and culture, 23.8% (21.4%). The largest single issue type was articles discussing the Mass media, 8.6%. Articles related to Religion and churches, were 6.8%. General education and the School system ranked third, 6.1%.

Articles about Social affairs numbered 87 in the paper, 16.5% (18.5%), mostly about the Health service, 5.9% and Consumer interests, 4.6%. 10 articles, 1.9% were about Housing.

The fourth largest recoded category was Industrial affairs, in which 58 articles were coded, 11% (14.2%). 16 of these, 3.0% were about Agriculture, and 11.2% about Fishing and fish-breeding. 10 articles, 1.9% were about Commerce, while other issue types inside the Industrial affairs category were less prominent.

17 articles, 3.2% were about the strike situation, and 10, 1.9% about general economics, and taxes, each issue.

210, or 38.5% (32.3%) of the articles in the Morning Paper related to the election. One party, the Independence Party, was far ahead of the others in terms of favourable references. 89 articles seem to have been written in support of the party, and 'only' 25 in support of the second, Citizen's Party. That party, as well as the SDP, PP and PA received a considerable number of negative references, as was the case, although to a lesser extent, of the Women's List. As in the other papers, the four smallest parties were hardly mentioned.

### Time

25 items, 27.2% (26.1%) fell into the general politics category. Almost all were about the election in general, closely followed by Industrial affairs (22, 23.9 (26.2%)). Half, or 12% were about Agriculture, 4 about Commerce and 5 about Fishing and fish-breeding.

Articles about Education and Culture ranked third (14, 15.2% (11.5%)). 5 were about Religion and churches, 4 about Education, 3 about the Mass media and one about the Student's Loan Fund and Juvenile affairs, each.

Ranking fourth were Social affairs (11 articles). 6 of them were about Consumer interests, three about the Health service. Other important single issue categories were Transport (7); and Foreign affairs in general (4).

38, or 37.3% (29.6% weighted) of Icelandic articles in the Time related to the election. One party was ignored, the split from the Progressive Party. Positive references indicate that all but 4 articles

were written in support of the Progressive Party. Most negative references were to the Progressive Party's coalition partner, the Independence Party.

It is noteworthy, since the new small parties were hardly ever mentioned in the other papers, how often the National Party was referred to negatively in articles in the Time. The reason is probably, that the National Party was formed around an issue that has always been thought to 'belong' to the Progressive Party, Regional equality.

### **National Will**

27 articles, 26.7% (20.7%) were about general politics. 19 of those were about the election, 5 about Icelandic politics in general, two about corruption in the administration and government and only one about the Guðmundsson affair.

Industrial affairs ranked second. 18 articles, 17.8% (22.0%) when recoded. 12 were about Agriculture, 5 about Fishing and fish-breeding and one about Manufacturing industries.

Third came the Culture and education category, with 13 articles, 12.9% (14.8%). Four were about the Education system and Mass media, each type and three about Churches and religion. 12 articles fell into the Social affairs category, 11.9% (9.5%) fairly evenly divided between the sub-categories.

Finally, 11 articles were about Industrial relations, all about strikes and wage negotiations.

No other single issues can be taken out as being a prominent part of articles in the National Will.

35, or a third (29.0% weighted) related to the election in the paper. As suspected, most were in favour of the People's Alliance, condemning the other parties. The only surprise, is that there were not more positive references to the People's Alliance in its own paper.

## **D) POLITICAL COLUMNS**

Political columns are written by journalists. The material is usually political by nature, i.e. related to the parties, and often includes attacks on political opponents of the paper in question, or of its 'owning' party. These items often include personal gossip about political personalities. The best description is probably that journalists use them to write what they cannot present as news.<sup>1</sup>

Table 30 shows the distribution of items in recoded categories.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See coding instructions in Appendix A

<sup>2</sup> See Recoding rationale (Appendix F<sub>2</sub>), and unrecoded tables in Appendix XI (tables 43-47). See also tables in Appendix XI showing political direction of references to political parties (tables 48-52)

TABLE 30

POLITICAL COLUMNS BY ISSUE CATEGORIES IN ALL PAPERS

Number % (weigh%)	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will
General politics	7 71.8 (85.8)	51 58.0 (65.7)	34 70.8 (80.6)	43 47.3 (57.6)	61 74.4 (82.7)
Foreign affairs		2 2.3 (1.3)	2 4.2 (2.4)	2 2.2 (1.2)	1 1.2 (1.9)
General economics			2 4.2 (2.3)		
Industr. relations			1 2.1 (1.2)	10 11.8 (7.6)	1 1.2 (1.8)
Social affairs		5 5.7 (4.6)	1 2.1 (.2)	3 3.3 (2.4)	2 2.4 (.3)
Culture, education		6 6.8 (5.4)	3 6.3 (3.4)	9 9.9 (12.5)	9 11.0 (10.1)
Transport environm.		1 1.1 (1.7)	2 4.2 (2.7)	4 .8 (4.1)	2 2.4 (.5)
Industr. affairs	1 11.1 (6.7)	1 1.1 (.1)	3 6.3 (7.2)	8 8.8 (11.0)	1 1.2 (1.8)
Accidents disasters		1 1.1 (.1)			
Crime	1 11.1 (7.5)	3 3.4 (2.8)		2 2.2 (1.2)	2 2.4 (.4)
Human interest		18 20.5 (18.2)		2 2.2 (2.4)	3 3.7 (.5)

All papers were alike in that general politics was the largest category. They were also quite similar in the distribution of items in other categories, except that human interest items were around 20% in the Daily Newspaper's case, but hardly existed in the other papers.

**People's Paper**

Only nine items of this variant appeared in the People's Paper during the election campaign. Suffice to say, that all items were Icelandic, and no references were made to other countries. Only four issue types were discussed, the election in general (6) the Guðmunds-

son affair, commerce and crime in one each. 7 of the items related to the election. Four parties were never referred to, the Social Democratic Alliance, the MCE, the Humanist Party, and the Women's List. The National Party and the Citizen's Party were both referred to once, negatively, and the People's Party once also, but positively. The People's Alliance was referred to three times negatively. The governing parties were most often referred to, the Independence Party four times negatively and twice neutrally, and the Progressive Party four times, in all cases negative references.

### **The Daily Newspaper**

89 political columns appeared in the Daily Newspaper, all but one based on Icelandic affairs, the exception being the United States. The Soviet Union and the Nordic Council were referred to, once each. 18 issue types were covered.

The largest single issue was the election, 32.6%, followed by the Guðmundsson affair, 21.3% and Human interest, 20.2%.

58% (67.3% weighted) of the items related to the election. Half of the parties were hardly mentioned: the SDA, the MCE, the HP and the NP. Those getting most attention were the Independence Party and the Citizen's Party. The figures do not indicate partisanship.

### **The Morning Paper**

Only 48 items were coded as political columns in the Morning Paper, all about Iceland. Five other countries and organizations were referred to: the United States; Faroe Islands; the Soviet Union; the Nordic Council and Chile.

21, or 43.8% were about the election in general; 6, 12.5% about politics in general and 5, 10.4% about the Guðmundsson affair. In all 70.8% were about political issues, 80.6% weighted. 79.2% (73.3% weighted) related to the election in a direct manner. Four parties were hardly mentioned. It is surprising, that the People's Alliance got most

coverage of all the parties, almost always negative. Being furthest to the left of the parties, and the Independence Party furthest on the right, one would have assumed that the Independence Party's paper would attack the parties it found itself in a more direct competition with about votes, i.e. those closer ideologically. The columns demonstrate, that the paper supports the Independence Party, without reservations.

### **The Time**

As many as 93 items were coded in the Time during the period. All except one were Icelandic, the exception being from the United States. Nigeria was once referred to, and the Nordic Council once. The 93 items distributed between 24 categories. 28 covered the general election, 30.1%; 11.8% the Guðmundsson affair and 10.8% the strike situation.

55.9% (74.5% weighted) related to the election. Only one party, the Progressive Party, got positive references, and they were the bulk of the references made to the party. Five parties were never or almost never mentioned in the columns, including the MCE, which was totally ignored. The SDP, the IP, the PA and the BP all got a relatively unfavourable coverage, and the Progressive Party's coalition partner most so.

### **The National Will**

85 items were coded as political columns. 82 were Icelandic, two from the Soviet Union and one from the United States. 4 countries were referred to, the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and Nicaragua. The 85 items fell into 15 categories. The three most important were all about politics, the election, 35.3%, general politics 27.1% and the Guðmundsson affair 12.9%. The three were 75.3% (83.9%) of the whole.

56.5% (61.4%) of the items related directly to the election. It is somewhat surprising how seldom the People's Alliance was referred to. In this respect it ranked only fifth. Most references to the other parties were negative, and most so in the case of three parties, the governing parties and the Citizen's Party.

## E) ADVERTISEMENTS

Although the ratio of advertisements was similar in the People's Paper and the Morning Paper<sup>1</sup>, there were great differences, perhaps best shown when figures are converted into pages. A page in an Icelandic newspaper is 195 column centimeters. There were 549,364 column centimeters of advertisements in the national dailies during the period. That is a total of 2817 pages. Table 31 shows how these divided between the papers. Furthermore, it shows the part of advertisements related to the election in each paper.

TABLE 31

### ADVERTISEMENTS IN NEWSPAPERS

Newspaper	Column centim.	Pages	% of total	Related to election	Pages	% of el. rel. ads
People's Paper	22,684	116	4.1	6,454	33	8.5
Daily Newspaper	136,346	699	24.8	18,198	93	23.8
Morning Paper	309,557	1588	56.4	27,450	141	36.2
Time	44,293	227	8.1	12,251	63	16.1
National Will	36,484	187	6.6	11,685	60	15.4
Total	549,364	2817	100.0	76,038	390	100.0

Two papers, the Morning Paper and the Daily Newspaper got 81.2% of the total share. The three remaining papers divided 18.8% between them.

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<sup>1</sup> See table 25

Not much of the total space devoted to advertisements went under political advertisements. However, since they are of special interest here, they were singled out for analysis.<sup>1</sup>

The fact that the proportion of election related advertisements was considerably lower in the Morning Paper and the Daily, does not mean that fewer such advertisements appeared in those papers. The reason is, that those two papers are the most commercial papers, getting more than a fair share of other advertisements, as table 31 reveals. When everything is taken into account, more than a third of political advertisements was in the the Morning Paper, and almost a fourth in the Daily Newspaper. Only about 15% were in the Time and the National Will each, and less than 10% in the People's Paper.

To a large extent political advertising was new, that is, this kind of 'American-style' advertising, where a party, or an individual bought space for information or simply a picture of a candidate or candidates. Over the last decade or so, this has been present to some extent during primaries in the Independence Party, but never in a general election campaign until now. There has been mutual understanding that this would be too expensive, and besides, it was not by many thought to be desirable, or even effective, come to that.

The four 'old' parties advertised most:<sup>2</sup> the Independence Party most, and the People's Party least, with the other two in between. In fact, each party's share of the total of political advertising is quite similar to the parties' share of the vote in 1983.

Four of the parties did not advertise at all in the dailies. Only one got an MP elected, the splinter group from the Progressive Party in the North-east constituency. Two parties getting MPs elected advertised considerably less than the 'old' four. The Citizen's Party with

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<sup>1</sup> The proportion of advertisements related to the election in each of the papers was as follows: People's Paper 18.5%, Daily 13.3%, Morning Paper 8.9%, Time 27.7% and the National Will 32%

<sup>2</sup> See table XI.53 in appendix XI

4.8% of the total and the Women's List with only 1.2%. This is probably more than anything else related to the fact that these parties do not have their 'own' newspaper, as do the old four. Most of the advertisements in each paper were from the paper's 'owning party'. Almost 80% of advertisements in the People's Paper were from the People's Party; 64.5% in the Morning Paper from the Independence Party; 82.2% in the Time from the Progressive Party and 79.6% in the National Will from the People's Alliance. The distribution in the Daily Newspaper was much more even, and does not indicate that the paper is any party's paper.

That the 'old' parties advertised most in their own papers may be somewhat inflated by the fact that each party has a 'party advertising column' in its own paper, where gatherings and events are advertised. Such advertisements and those designed solely for wooing voters were not treated differently in the study. This however, does not change the overall picture, since these are not extensive.

The People's Party bought 49.3% of its advertisements from the People's Paper, 26.2% from the Daily Newspaper, almost 20% from the Morning Paper, but very little from the Time and the National Will. The Progressive Party, on the other hand, bought 59.9% of its advertising space from the Time, less than 3% from the National Will and 21.0% and 16.6% from the Daily Newspaper and the Morning Paper respectively. The Independence Party bought almost all its advertisements from two papers, almost 80% from the Morning Paper and almost 19% from the Daily Newspaper. The remaining 1.2% were evenly distributed between the other papers. The People's Alliance bought 62.4% from its own paper, 7% from the Morning Paper, and more than 30% from the Daily Newspaper. The Party was thus the largest political advertiser in that paper, buying a fourth of all political advertisements in the paper during the campaign. The Citizen's Party advertised most in the Morning Paper, 39.9% and the Daily Newspaper, 36.9%. 11.4% of its advertisements were in the Time and 5.9%

in the People's Paper and National Will each. The Women's List bought only a handful of advertisements, and only from three newspapers, the Daily Newspaper, the Morning Paper and the Time. The Women's List did not advertise in the People's Paper or the National Will. That is somewhat surprising, since it is known that the bulk of the party's support comes from the People's Alliance.<sup>1</sup> It may be, that since the WL has often, especially by the IP, been accused of following the PA in its position on issues, that the WL wanted to distance itself from that party in the eyes of the electorate.

There are probably two factors that go a long way in explaining why the parties choose to advertise a) in their own paper; b) in the Daily and the Morning Paper.

a) The parties most certainly got considerable discounts on advertisements in their own papers, which were distributed free to large parts of the country on the days the largest commercials appeared.

b) Although the Morning Paper is the paper of the IP, it is by far the largest paper, covering all interest aspects and read by a very large majority of the nation. The Daily comes second in this respect, is the only 'popular' paper, and not known to be read more by voters of any party rather than others.

## **F) INTERVIEWS**

Interviews were coded in two ways, as a separate material type and in news-items, when a named individual was spoken to, and what he/she said was printed in quotation marks. Here, both are treated together.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See chapter IV.10 on voter volatility

<sup>2</sup> See coding instructions in Appendix A, and tables for each paper showing number of interviews and interviewees names of those most often interviewed, sex and status and whether they were interviewed in relation to the election. (Tables XI.54 -XI.78)

**TABLE 32**

**INTERVIEWS IN NEWSPAPERS**

Newspaper	Number of Interviews	Number of Individuals	% of interviews related to election
People's Paper	112	82	31.4%
Daily Newspaper	537	384	26.8%
Morning Paper	892	641	7.9%
Time	218	171	17.6%
National Will	438	264	19.0%

All the party papers spoke most often to their party's chairmen. The Daily spoke most often to Mr. Pálsson, leader of the IP, Mr. Guðmundsson and the PM Mr. Hermannsson. Department managers<sup>1</sup> and trade-unionists were often interviewed in all papers, trade unionists more often in the People's Paper and the National Will than other papers. The Daily and the Morning Paper spoke more often to entrepreneurs than the other papers.

Men were considerably more often interviewed than women, ranging from 84.8% in the People's Paper to 87.6% in the Morning Paper, with the notable exception of the National Will in which 73.5% of interviewees were men.

**G) OTHER MATERIAL**

Three other material types were coded, artistic material, cartoons and 'other'. These are discussed very briefly.<sup>2</sup>

The Morning Paper is the only one that prints original cartoons related to the issues on the agenda each time. In many cases, these related to the politics of the day.

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<sup>1</sup> Mostly in government institutions, ministries and such

<sup>2</sup> See Coding instructions in Appendix A and descriptive tables for each of these material types in Appendix XI (Tables XI.79-XI.81)

Artistic material does not seem to be very popular among Icelandic journalists and editors, except perhaps in the case of the Morning Paper and the National Will. One of the three editors of the Morning Paper is a highly respected poet himself, and one of three at the National Will is an author and a University teacher in literature. A second (at the time) is a film producer and author of novels. Although it cannot be stated with certainty, these facts have probably actuated this tendency.

Other material is what could not easily be coded into any of the other categories. The bulk of this is the so-called 'Diary', in all papers except the People's Paper. This includes information about churches, hospital visiting hours, emergency services, programmes of television and radio, information about public meetings and so forth. For obvious reasons, little of this material related to the election, with the exception of 'election handbooks', information about where to vote, election results in each constituency in 1983, and space for new election figures. Election handbooks were in the papers on polling day.

## XI.2. ANALYSIS OF TELEVISION CONTENT

News bulletins on Icelandic television are to a great extent similar to the Nine o'clock news on BBC1 or News at Ten on ITV. If one is to name differences, there is probably more coverage of foreign and international news on Icelandic television than on British television. Icelandic bulletins are not as sensational and personalized. They would never contain an interview with a woman whose husband has just been shot by burglars. Nevertheless, news on Icelandic television seems to be moving in that direction, so it may only be a

matter of time. The trend has intensified after the inception of Channel 2.

The content analysis of television material is similar to the newspaper analysis in that it uses the same categories for issues, countries etc.<sup>1</sup>

The analysis covers all news-bulletins and all current affairs programmes on both television channels. A total 46:32 hours of news material were analyzed. To analyze this material thoroughly, each item was watched at least twice, bringing the total number of hours spent before the screen (excluding current affairs and party propaganda) to somewhere between 90 and 100 hours.<sup>2</sup>

104 bulletins were analyzed. Of those, 48 were on the state owned RÚVTV, while 56 were on the privately owned Channel 2. The difference is due to the fact that RÚVTV did not broadcast on Thursdays.<sup>3</sup>

In all, 1355 news-stories appeared during the time analyzed, 659 on RÚVTV and 696 on Channel 2. Table 33 shows the lowest and highest number of items in a bulletin on each channel, divided by months. It also shows shortest and longest bulletins on each channel.

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<sup>1</sup> See detailed coding instructions in appendix B

<sup>2</sup> Twenty six recording units were coded in the case of each item. Because some of the units contain higher values than 9, i.e. more than one digit, 45 strokes were needed to code each unit on the computer. That is a total of 60.975 strokes.

<sup>3</sup> This has since been changed, i.e. after the election

**TABLE 33**  
**NUMBER AND LENGTH OF NEWS-BULLETINS**

RÚVTV	MARCH	APRIL
lowest number of items	9	9
shortest bulletin (mins)	20:08	18:35
highest number of items	18	17
longest bulletin (mins)	45:20	41:27
CHANNEL 2		
lowest number of items	7	9
shortest bulletin (mins)	22:19	20:03
highest number of items	17	18
longest bulletin (mins)	32:03	31:34

The shortest bulletins were shorter on RÚVTV than on Channel 2. Paradoxically, the longest bulletins were much longer on RÚVTV, so there was much more range on RÚVTV in this respect. There was only approximately a 10 minutes difference between shortest and longest bulletins on Channel 2 each month, while the difference was around 25 minutes on RÚVTV.

The number of items in each bulletin varied from seven to eighteen. There was no considerable difference between channels in this respect. Table 34 describes the items on each channel after they have been weighted by length (in seconds).

**TABLE 34**  
**DESCRIPTION OF NEWS-ITEMS**

CHANNEL	Mean	Std Dev	Minimum	Maximum	N
RÚVTV	189.49	149.44	12	841	81928
CHANNEL 2	207.95	177.16	11	993	84821
BOTH CHANNELS	198.88	164.38	11	993	166749

Items on Channel 2 were slightly longer than on RÚVTV, the longest item being 993 seconds long, and a mean length of almost three and a half minutes. There was considerable consistency in this

respect, if the data is divided by months. For obvious reasons, there was a greater number of items on both channels in March. Items were slightly longer in March than in April, on both channels.<sup>1</sup>

In the following analysis, each coding theme is discussed separately, beginning with origins of news-item. Table 35 shows origins of items on both channels.<sup>2</sup>

**TABLE 35**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF NEWS BY COUNTRIES ON**  
**TELEVISION**

Number % (weight)	RÚVTV	CHANNEL 2
Iceland	426 67.9 (75.0)	395 57.9 (74.6)
Nordic countries	16 2.6 (1.9)	16 2.3 (1.0)
Western Europe	58 9.3 (7.2)	71 10.4 (6.8)
Eastern Europe	20 3.2 (2.6)	25 3.7 (2.0)
Asia and Pacific	15 2.4 (1.6)	33 4.8 (2.6)
M-East, N-Africa	15 2.4 (1.7)	30 4.4 (2.7)
Africa	8 1.3 (1.2)	18 2.6 (1.6)
North America	56 8.9 (7.3)	69 10.1 (7.0)
Latin America	13 2.1 (1.6)	22 3.2 (1.6)
Australia and NZ		3 .4 (.2)

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<sup>1</sup> This is probably due to the fact that the Albert Guðmundsson affair 'took place' in March.

<sup>2</sup> Sport is left out of the analysis. 32 items were sport on RÚVTV, 4.8% (3.6% weighted). On Channel 2, 14 items were sport. That is 2% (1.6% weighted). For details of coding, see instructions in Appendix B and Recoding rationale in Appendix F1. The table shows number, percent and percent weighted by seconds. See also unrecoded tables in Appendix XI (tables XI.82-XI.83)

## RÚVTV

Some trends can be read from the table. First, Icelandic items were longer on the average, than items originated elsewhere. No items came from Australia and New-Zealand. 2.1% of the news came from Latin America, still less from black Africa, 1.3%, only 2.4% from Asia and the Pacific, the most populated area of those in the table. Only 20 items, (3.2%) came from the Soviet Union or the Eastern block. Almost 10% came from North America, and another 10% from Western-Europe. If recoded still further, 88.5% of the news during the period came from the Western world, West Europe and North America. When weighted, the proportion was even higher, 91.3%. Of course, Iceland was the bulk of these 90%. If Iceland is left out, 63.7% of what remains, came from West Europe and North America.

A second country was referred to in approximately a fourth of all news during the period. Forty countries were referred to in this manner, most often the United States, 28 times, (4.5%); the Soviet Union 34 times, (5.4%); and Norway 12 times, (1.9%).

A reference was made to a third country or organization in only 55 news-stories. On 8 occasions these references were to the United States, 5 times to NATO and Britain, each.

It is often thought, that the rankorder of items within a bulletin tells something about how important an event is in the eyes of the reporters. The first item is thought to be the most important. Research has also shown, that the viewers remember best the first and the last few items, while what is in the middle tends to be forgotten. 71.3% of the first five items in bulletins on RÚVTV, were from Iceland, followed by the United States, 6.7% (16 items); Britain (7); Finland and USSR (6 each) and Argentina (5).

Of the first three items, domestic news was even more prominent. In 110 of the 144, or 76.4% of the items were Icelandic. Eight stories were from the United States and three from the Soviet Union and Argentina, each country.

If the first item in a bulletin is singled out, only 4 countries were covered in the 48 bulletins. Almost 90% were Icelandic, three from the United States, and one each from Britain and Finland.

It can be concluded, therefore, that the proportion of Icelandic items went up as fewer of the first items were singled out for analysis. This indicates, further than simple frequency tables, the importance of domestic news on RÚVTV.

## CHANNEL 2

50 countries were coded as basic country in news on Channel 2. Iceland was the basic country in 395 of the items (57.9%). That is a considerably lower proportion than was the case on RÚVTV. When, however, the figures were weighted, Icelandic items took up almost exactly the same proportion of the bulletin, 74.6%. The United States came second, 69 (10.1%), followed by Britain, 41 (6%) and the Soviet Union, 24 (3.5%). If Iceland is left out of this analysis, 54.4% of all items were from West Europe and North America, which is a considerably lower figure than in the case of RÚVTV. This indicates, that Channel 2 covered other parts than Western Europe and North America somewhat more thoroughly than RÚVTV.

46 countries were referred to as second country. Of those, the United States were referred to 38 times, or in 5.6% of all news-items. Second came the Soviet Union, 19 (2.8%); Britain and Iran, 13 (1.9%) each country. Most of what was said about RÚVTV, is valid in this case too. The news was centred around Western Europe and North America. However, it seems as if Channel 2 covered the rest of the world somewhat more thoroughly than RÚVTV. A part of the explanation may lie in the fact, that Channel 2 sent out 7 bulletins a week, while RÚVTV had only 6. That might explain why there is a higher number of items altogether, and why somewhat more references were made to second (and third country, see below) than on RÚVTV.

Thirty five references were made to a third country or international organization. 12 of these referred to the United States of America, followed by the Soviet Union (5). There were slightly more often references to a third country on Channel 2 than on RÚVTV, but the reasons can be the same as before.

If the five first items are looked at in news bulletins on Channel 2, 179 of the 280 (63.9%) were from Iceland, followed by The United States (22); the Soviet Union (13) and Britain (12).

When the first three items were singled out, Iceland rose to 69.6%, the USA were 7.1%, Britain 3.6% and the Soviet Union and Italy 3% each country.

When first items were singled out, all but three items were Icelandic. This indicates the stress laid on domestic news by the newsroom staff on Channel 2.

## **Foreign news**

Table 36 shows distribution of foreign news, after items have been recoded into 11 categories.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Recoding rationale in Appendix F, and unrecoded tables in Appendix XI (tables XI.84-XI.85)

**TABLE 36**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN NEWS BY ISSUE**

Number % (weigh%)	RÚVTV	CHANNEL 2
General politics	53 26.4 (25.8)	47 16.4 (15.3)
Foreign affairs	89 44.3 (46.3)	130 45.3 (46.1)
General economics	4 2.0 (1.7)	4 1.4 (1.8)
Industr. relations	3 1.5 (1.5)	3 1.0 (.7)
Social affairs	4 2.0 (2.0)	4 1.4 (1.7)
Culture, education	12 6.0 (4.8)	10 3.5 (2.4)
Transport environm.	1 .5 (.3)	4 1.4 (1.2)
Industr. affairs	8 4.0 (3.6)	3 1.0 (1.4)
Accidents disasters	12 6.0 (6.4)	35 12.2 (13.5)
Crime	5 2.5 (2.5)	8 2.8 (2.5)
Human interest	10 5.0 (5.2)	39 13.6 (13.5)

The channels were extremely similar in the news they chose from abroad. The main differences were, that RÚVTV offered more items about politics and was perhaps a little more cultural, while Channel 2 showed more items related to accidents and disasters and human interest stories. The reason for the similarities is probably the same as in the case of newspapers. Both channels subscribe to the same foreign news-agencies, and neither has any news-gathering apparatus abroad.

### RÚVTV

There was hardly any difference between categories in terms of length. Foreign affairs took almost half of all time allotted to foreign

news on RÚVTV. General politics were a quarter. These two categories were more than two thirds of all foreign news. The two categories coming next, were Accidents and rescue work, and Human interest.

There is not much to be said about the General Politics category. It consisted only of one sub-category, general politics. The Foreign affairs category, however, consisted of a few sub-categories. The most heavily covered issue-types within this recoded category were: Foreign affairs in general, 15.4% (16.6% weighted); Military affairs and wars 10% of all foreign news (9.0%); Disarmament, 8.0% (10.8%); Terrorism, 6.0% (4.3%) and Arms trade, 5.0% (5.7%).

Within the Economics category, items were only coded into two sub-categories. 0.5% (0.5%) of all foreign stories were coded as General economics, while Exchange rates were 1.5% of foreign news-items (1.3%).

1.5% of all foreign items (1.5%), were general stories about strikes and wage negotiations, with no sub-categories.

Only four stories fell into the recoded Social Affairs category, all about matters related to health services.

The Education category divided between five categories, almost evenly: Education in general; Culture and art; Mass media; Science and Religion and churches.

In all, eight items fell into the Industrial Affairs category. 4 were about Foreign trade, 3 about Fishing and fish-breeding, and one about Agriculture.

If looked at foreign news items in terms of where they ranked, few issues got in among first items. Among first five items on RÚVTV, 69 were foreign. 25 of those were about general politics, ten about Foreign affairs in general and Disarmament, each issue type, and nine about Military manoeuvres. Four stories were about Accidents and disasters and three about Arms trade.

When the first three items were singled out, 34 of the 144 were foreign. 10 were about politics, seven about Disarmament, six about

Foreign affairs in general, five about Wars, three about Accidents and disasters, one about Crime, Foreign trade and Arms trade, each.

Only in five news bulletins of 48 was a foreign item number one. In two cases they were about general politics, twice about Accidents or disasters and once about Foreign affairs.

It is quite obvious, then, that not many issue types 'qualified' as important enough to be discussed among first items in a bulletin.

## CHANNEL 2

There were no considerable differences between simple frequencies and weighted, which indicates, that foreign news items were equally long on the average, irrespective of content.

Foreign affairs were 45%, and general politics 15%. These two categories took approximately 60% of all time devoted to foreign news on Channel 2. 12.2% were about Accidents and rescue work, and as many as 39 of the total 287 stories, or 13.6% were Human Interest stories. What remains, was divided between other categories, more or less evenly.

Within the Foreign affairs category, 15.7% of all foreign items were coded as general Foreign affairs, followed by Military affairs and wars (12.2%); Terrorism (8.7%); Disarmament (5.2%) and Arms trade (3.5%).

Three items fell into the strike category, and four into the Social affairs category, all about health services. In the Culture and Education category, 4 items were about Art, 4 about Churches and Religion, one about Education and one about Science.

In the Transport and environment category one item was about Transport and three about green issues. All three items in the Industrial affairs category were about Foreign trade. What remains to be discussed of the recoded categories, was not divided between sub-categories.

101 of the 280 news-items that were among the first five in a bulletin, were foreign. All fell into 12 categories. 22 items were about Foreign affairs, followed by General politics (18); Military manoeuvres (14); Disarmament (12); Terrorism (12) and Accidents and disasters (12); Arms trade (5); Exchange rates (2), and Foreign trade, Crime, Culture and Art and Human interest, one each.

When the first three items were singled out, 51 of 168 items were foreign, thus divided: General politics (11); Foreign affairs (10); Disarmament (9); Military matters and wars (8); Accidents and disasters (6) and Terrorism (4). One item was about Arms trade, Exchange rates and Culture and Art, each.

On only three occasions was a foreign item number one, in 56 bulletins on Channel 2. One was about General politics, one about foreign affairs, and one about accidents and disasters.

## Domestic news

Each channel is discussed separately. The recoded table shows issue distribution.<sup>1</sup>

**TABLE 37**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF DOMESTIC NEWS BY ISSUE**

Number % ( weigh%)	RÚVTV	CHANNEL 2
General politics	63 14.8 (21.1)	61 15.4 (23.2)
Foreign affairs	12 2.8 (4.2)	9 2.3 (2.4)
General economics	21 4.9 (5.5)	6 1.5 (1.3)
Industr. relations	64 15.0 (13.8)	71 18.0 (17.5)
Social affairs	25 5.9 (5.5)	23 5.8 (5.4)
Culture, education	59 13.9 (13.5)	53 13.4 (12.9)
Transport environm.	26 6.1 (5.5)	23 5.8 (5.7)
Industr. affairs	75 17.6 (18.7)	72 18.2 (15.7)
Accidents disasters	27 6.3 (3.9)	17 4.3 (3.5)
Crime	18 4.2 (3.6)	20 5.1 (5.1)
Human interest	36 8.5 (6.8)	40 10.1 (7.2)

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<sup>1</sup> See Recoding rationale in Appendix F2 and unrecoded tables in Appendix XI (tables XI.86-XI.87)

The main differences between the channels in their coverage of Icelandic news were, that the state channel covered economics somewhat more thoroughly, but Channel 2 paid more attention to strikes and wage negotiations.

### RÚVTV

If the item count is looked at, Industrial affairs was the largest recoded category. However, in terms of weighted frequency, this category came second, after General politics. This means, that items about politics were considerably longer on the average than those on Industrial affairs. The second largest category, when counted, was Industrial relations, and General politics was third by that measure. The fourth category exceeding 10% (both in terms of simple and weighted frequencies), was Culture and education. Domestic Human interest stories were 8.5% (6.8%) of all Icelandic news-items.

Within the recoded categories, beginning with General politics, items divided between three sub-categories. The first, and largest one, was the election in general. 43 or 10.1% (12.4%) of all domestic items fell into that category. The Guðmundsson affair was covered in ten items, 2.3% (6.5%) and 10 items, 2.3% (2.3%) were too general to be coded otherwise than 'General politics'. It is noteworthy, that the 2.3% of items coded as the Guðmundsson affair, got 6.5% of all the time devoted to Icelandic news during the period.

In the Foreign affairs category, the discussion of a Nuclear-free zone in the Nordic countries scored highest, being covered in 6 items, 1.4% (2.1%) of all domestic news, followed by Icelandic foreign affairs (4) and Icelandic defence (2).

In the Economics category, Interest rates and the loan market were discussed 7 times, Taxes and customs five times, Inflation four times, and Economic direction twice. Three items were too general for any of the sub-categories.

In the Industrial relations category 62 items, 14.6% (13.3%) were about Strikes and wage negotiations, while one item was about Unemployment and one about Pension funds.

In the Social affairs category, which has by far the highest number of sub-categories, items about the Health service were most numerous (10), followed by Consumer affairs (6); the Physically disabled (3); Sexual equality (2) and one to affairs related to the Retarded, Aged, Single parents and Housing, each.

The Culture and education category divided: Art (30); Mass media (14); Churches and religion (8); Education (4) and Science (3).

In the Transport and environment category, 16 were about Transport, 7 about Green issues, 2 about Local government and one about Environment and planning.

In the Industrial affairs category, 8.0% of the total were about Fishing and fish-breeding. Then came Agriculture (13); Manufacturing industries (8); Banks (6); Foreign trade (4); Commerce, Tourism, and Energy 3 times each and one item was general.

Two of the 18 Crime items were about the Hafskip bankruptcy.

171 domestic items were among the 240 items that were the 5 first items in each bulletin. These fell into 26 categories. 32.2%, or 55 items were about Strikes and wage negotiations, 19 about the Election, 18 about Fishing and fish-breeding and 12 about Accidents and rescue work. The Guðmundsson affair was covered in 9 items.

110 of the 144 items that were among the first three items in a bulletin were Icelandic. They fell into 21 categories. 48 were about the strike situation, nine about the Election, Fishing and Accidents, each issue. Eight were about the Guðmundsson affair.

Of the 48 items that were first in each bulletin, 43 were Icelandic. 23 were about Strikes and wage negotiations, four about the Election and four about the Guðmundsson affair. What remains was divided between 8 categories.

There was no occasion where reference to a party could be coded as either negative or positive. Both channels were extremely impartial in this respect. Some would say, however, that unequal number of references to one party, or some parties being covered more than others, was also a form of bias. The worst fate of a political party in a campaign is not being mentioned, not to be feared, in other words, not to be taken seriously. It is far better to get unfavourable coverage than none. It is quite simple to determine whether this was the case, whether some parties got more coverage in the news than others.

69 items on RÚVTV, 16.2% (22.6% weighted) related to the election. Political items, therefore, were somewhat longer than others. There were only neutral references, since no other references were detected.<sup>1</sup> The parties doing well in opinion polls before the election were covered much more than those doing poorly, although the difference is by no means the same as in the polls. Six parties were covered considerably more than four. The 'old four', the Women's List and the Citizen's Party all got similar coverage, with one exception. The Independence Party was covered to a considerable extent more than the others. There are simple explanations. The party held its conference five weeks before the election, an event that is always covered by the media, and more important, it split four weeks before the election, and the Citizen's Party was formed. It is probably easy for the newsroom staff to justify why the MCE, the SDA and the NP were not covered as much as the others, one being confined to only one constituency, another to two constituencies, and the third to five out of eight, excluding the most populated areas. It would be, however, more difficult to pinpoint reasons why the Humanist Party was less prominent in the news than the six other parties putting up candidates in all constituencies. A viable reason can be that opinion polls

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<sup>1</sup> See table XI.88 in Appendix XI

were used as some sort of measuring standard as to how much the parties were to be covered.

## CHANNEL 2

Two categories were almost equal in terms of frequency, Industrial affairs and Industrial relations, the latter being larger in terms of weighted frequencies. However, the third most frequently scored category, General politics, was largest in terms of time. Almost a fourth of all time taken up by Icelandic news was devoted to politics during the 8 weeks. Other categories with more than 10% were Culture and education and Human interest.

In the politics category, coverage of the election was most prominent. 34 items were about the election in one way or another, 8.6% (9.7% weighted) of all Icelandic items. The Guðmundsson affair was covered on 18 occasions (4.6%). However, if looked at in terms of time, 10.6% of all time devoted to Icelandic news was about the Guðmundsson affair. On one occasion there were discussions about the next government, and 8 items were too general to fall into any of the sub-categories.

The Foreign affairs category divided between three subcategories: A Nuclear-free zone in the Nordic countries (4); Icelandic defence (2) and Foreign affairs (3).

Similarly, the Economics category divided between three sub-categories: Inflation (3); Interest rates and the loan market (2) and Taxes and customs (1).

There was only one sub-category coded in the Industrial relations category on Channel 2, Strikes and wage negotiations, which no less than 71 news-stories covered, 18.0% of all Icelandic items.

Within the Social affairs category items about the Health service were most prominent (17), followed by Physically disabled people's facilities (3); Housing (2) and Consumer affairs (1).

In the Culture and education category three issue-types were most common. First, 22 items, 5.6% were about Art, 12 about Churches and religion and 10 items about the Mass media. Four news-stories were devoted to Education, two were about Juvenile affairs and three about Science.

Within the Transport and environment category, stories about Transport were most prominent (14), followed by Environment and planning (3); Green issues (3); Local government (2) and Regional equality (1).

In the Industrial affairs category Fishing and fish-breeding were most spacious. 23 news-items were about events or issues related to this branch of industry. Next came Manufacturing industries (12); Agriculture (11); Commerce (7); Banks (7); Tourism (3) and Energy (2). One item was too general to fall into any of the sub-categories.

In the Crime category, 5 of 20 items were about the 'Hafskip bankruptcy', and the remainder were general 'crime'.

Of the 280 items that were 'five first' in each bulletin on Channel 2, 179 were domestic. They fell into 32 categories. The Strikes and wage negotiations category was by far the most prominent of those, (52, 29.1%) followed by the election (20, 11.2%); the Guðmundsson affair, (17, 9.5%); Fishing and fish-breeding (13); Accidents and disasters (11); Crime (7); Icelandic politics in general (6); Agriculture (6); Transport (5) the Health service and the 'Hafskip bankruptcy' 4 times each.

Of the 168 that were first three items, 117 were domestic. These fell into 24 categories. 40 items were about the strike situation, 34.2%. Then came the Guðmundsson affair, (16, 13.7%); the Election (11); Fishing and fish-breeding (9); Accidents and disasters (7); Crime (4); the 'Hafskip bankruptcy' (4); Agriculture (3) and two about Foreign affairs, Inflation, the Health service, Transport, Green issues, Banks and Manufacturing industries, each issue type. One item was devoted

to politics in general, Interest rates, Local government, Foreign trade, Energy, Culture and art, Sport, Religion and Human interest, each.

53 of the 56 items ranking number one on Channel 2 were about domestic issues. 17, or 32.1% were about strikes, 8 about the Guðmundsson affair, 4 about Fishing and fish-breeding and 3 about the election, the 'Hafskip bankruptcy' and Accidents and disasters. Two items covered Foreign affairs, Inflation, the Preservation of nature and Agriculture, each issue. One item was devoted to Interest rates, Transport, Manufacturing industries, Energy, Crime, Religion and Human interest, each issue.

64, or 16.3% (22.0%) of Icelandic news-items on Channel 2 related to the election, almost the same proportion as on the other channel. Four parties were much less referred to than the others.<sup>1</sup> These were, as before, the ones that did not get MPs elected. One of the remaining six, the Women's List was referred to twice as often as the aforementioned, but not nearly as often as the other five. Four parties, the People's Party, the Progressive Party, the People's Alliance and the Citizen's Party got similar coverage, but one, the Independence Party was covered nearly twice as often as they were. Plausible reasons are, of course, the same as those offered in the case of the RÚVTV. Two questions remain, however. Why did the Humanist Party and the Women's List not receive as much coverage as the other parties offering candidates in all constituencies?

## **Interviews**

When named individuals were interviewed in a news-item, it was recorded separately. Up to two individual interviewees could be coded within each item.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See table XI.89 in Appendix XI

<sup>2</sup> See coding instructions in Appendix B

## RÚVTV

280 named individuals were interviewed on 355 occasions. Mr. Pálsson, leader of the IP was interviewed 14 times, Mr. Þorláksson, the state's leading wage negotiator 11 times and the PM, Mr. Hermannsson, leader of the PP and Mr. Thorlacíus leader of the Teachers' Union seven times each. 87.4% of all interviewees on RÚVTV were men. Almost a fourth of those spoken to were department managers, 14.5% MPs, 10.4% entrepreneurs and 9.3% trade-unionists.<sup>1</sup>

## CHANNEL 2

233 individuals were interviewed, in 289 interviews on Channel 2. It is notable, that Channel 2 spoke most often to exactly the same individuals as RÚVTV. Mr. Pálsson and Mr. Þorláksson were spoken to on eight occasions each, Mr. Hermannsson 6 times and Mr. Thorlacíus 5 times. 84.8% of those interviewed were men, almost 20% were department managers, 14.8% were MPs, 10.4% entrepreneurs and 8.2% trade-unionist.<sup>2</sup>

## Current affairs programmes

30 current affairs programmes were analyzed during the period. 20 of those had only one issue covered, while 7 covered two or three issues. The shortest item was 252 seconds long and the longest was 3111 seconds, roughly 50 minutes. The total length of the analyzed current affairs programmes was more than 16 hours.

18 of the 30 programmes were on RÚVTV, and 12 on Channel 2. All the programmes on Channel 2 were single item programmes. The programmes are discussed briefly, the issues they covered and which individuals were interviewed.

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<sup>1</sup> See tables XI.90-XI.93 in Appendix XI

<sup>2</sup> See tables XI.94-XI.97 in Appendix XI

## RÚVTV

Since some of the 18 programmes appearing covered more than one issue, the total number of items analyzed was 28. They came from 6 countries, 22 from Iceland, two from the Soviet Union, and one each from Afghanistan, the United States, Surinam and Sweden. Apart from that, 8 countries were referred to as second or third country: Iran, Cuba the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan, Iraq and the Netherlands.

It is somewhat surprising, that there were much more often current affairs programmes in March than in April, 15 (22 items) in March, and only 3 (6 items) in April. One would have assumed, that their number would increase as the election drew nearer.

Six of the twenty eight items coded were of foreign origin. Two were about internal politics in the Soviet Union, one from Sweden about arms trade, one about politics in the US, one about the Afghan war and one about disturbances in Surinam.

Most coverage was given to the election, and related matters, i.e. the Guðmundsson affair. More than half of the time devoted to Icelandic matters was spent on election related matters. No biased references could be found to any of the parties. How often each of them was referred to was unequal as before, the same parties covered, and the same almost ignored as in the news.<sup>1</sup>

Up to seven individual interviewees could be coded in each item. In all, 53 individuals were interviewed in current affairs programmes on RÚVTV, in 56 interviews. Mr. Ólafur Harðarson, Lecturer at the University was interviewed twice, and Mr. Ellert B. Schram, editor of the Daily Newspaper three times. Both were interviewed in relation to the election.

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<sup>1</sup> See tables XI.98-XI.99 in Appendix XI

44.6% of those interviewed belonged to two occupational groups, department managers (26.8%) and artists (17.8%).<sup>1</sup> If the two groups coming next are taken into account, that is MPs and leaders of interest groups, two thirds of all interviewees fall into these four categories. 89.3% of those spoken to were men.

## CHANNEL 2

12 current affairs programmes appeared on Channel 2, each covering one issue. All items were Icelandic, and no other countries or organizations were referred to. Five of the programmes were in March, but seven in April.

Seven of the twelve items either covered the election, or the related Guðmundsson affair. Other parties than the Independence Party, and Mr. Guðmundsson's Citizen's Party were hardly referred to.

24 individuals were interviewed, in 27 interviews. Three individuals were interviewed twice each, the Prime Minister, Mr. Steingrímur Hermannsson, the leader of the Independence Party, Mr. Þorsteinn Pálsson and Mr. Halldór Halldórsson, editor of the weekly 'Weekend-Post'. 81.5% of the interviewees were men, 48.2% were MPs and 22.2% artists.

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<sup>1</sup> Editors of newspapers, and other media personnel (excluding technical staff) were coded as artists. That explains why so many fall into this group, since it is a common practice, at least in Iceland, to interview media people about politics.

# XI.3 CONTINUITY AND

## CHANGE OVER

### EIGHT WEEKS

So far, each medium's coverage has been looked at as a whole. Here it is looked at differently. The data is broken up into eight week-long parts. This analysis does not discuss which issues were the most prominent in each of the eight weeks as was done before. Rather, we try to find out three things. First, whether there were dramatic changes over time in each medium's coverage, or relative stability. The second question is to what extent the media's agendas were similar and related in each of the eight weeks. Third, their relation over time is looked at. Were some media quicker to cover issues than others? In other words, were some of the media ahead of the others and therefore leading the discussion?

All the discussion in this section is based on the application of Spearman's rho.<sup>1</sup> A total of 1540 correlations were computed manually, all media against all, both in each week and all weeks against all weeks. For these purposes, some considerable recoding had to be performed. The main purpose of the recoding was to reduce the data to as few categories as possible, without losing important details of the campaign agenda.<sup>2</sup>

There can be more than one way to look at continuity and stability in each medium's coverage. For instance, one can look at

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<sup>1</sup> See a short description and discussion of the method in Appendix G

<sup>2</sup> See Recoding rationale in Appendix F,

correlations between first and second weeks, second and third weeks etc. Another approach is to pick out an early week and see how it correlates with all the weeks coming later. The higher the correlation coefficients, the more stable the coverage.

In the cases of all the media, except Channel 2, the lowest correlation was between coverage in fourth and fifth weeks. Correlations between these weeks were as follows: the People's Paper (.37); the Daily Newspaper (.47); the Morning Paper (.81); the Time (.62); the National Will (.29); and RÚVTV (.55). The lowest correlation between weeks on Channel 2 was between third and fourth weeks (.37). The highest between-weeks correlations were between first and second weeks in three of the media: the Time (.93); the National Will (.86); and Channel 2 (.84). The highest correlations in the People's Paper (.88) and RÚVTV (.90) were between seventh and eighth weeks. The highest correlation in the Daily Newspaper was between fifth and sixth weeks (.91), and the Morning Paper between sixth and seventh (.94).

The table below perhaps shows further the differences in stability between the seven media. The first week analyzed has been picked out and correlated with all other weeks.

**TABLE 38**  
**CORRELATIONS BETWEEN COVERAGE IN FIRST**  
**WEEK AND ALL OTHER WEEKS**

	People's Paper	Daily Newspaper	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	RÚVTV	Channel 2
week 2	.54	.87	.91	.93	.86	.79	.84
week 3	.56	.52	.87	.88	.65	.63	.54
week 4	.37	.15	.83	.57	.44	.60	.21
week 5	.79	.78	.84	.67	.72	.79	.65
week 6	.87	.85	.90	.87	.57	.73	.73
week 7	.80	.76	.84	.92	.56	.64	.37
week 8	.65	.63	.90	.79	.37	.76	.62
average	.65	.76	.87	.80	.60	.71	.57

Some trends can be read from the table. First, that the Morning Paper's coverage was more stable than any other medium's. Channel 2 was on the other extreme with lowest stability. The Time came second to the Morning Paper and then the Daily Newspaper. The opposition paper's coverage was less stable than the other papers'. A

higher degree of sensationalism can probably be read into the figures where correlations are lower. The fourth week correlated much lower with the first week than other weeks in the case of all media except the National Will. This can be explained by the Guðmundsson affair. The lowest correlation in the National Will's case was between the first week and the last. Moreover, although somewhat affected, the Morning Paper did not cover this particular event as much as other media. In the sixth week, it is as if things went back to normal, or even more than that, since it correlates higher with the first one than is true with most other weeks. The media somewhat went back, picked up the thread where it had been left when the Guðmundsson affair blew up.

We now look at correlations between all media at each point in time. Each medium is treated separately, and looked at which media it was closest to.

### **People's Paper**

The lowest correlation was between news in the Paper and on RÚVTV in the second week (.33). The paper correlated highest with Channel 2's news in the sixth week (.96). On the average, the paper correlated lowest with the Morning Paper. Then came the National Will and RÚVTV. The paper correlated generally highest with Channel 2.

### **The Daily Newspaper**

The Daily was closest to the Morning Paper in three weeks, the first two and the last week (.86-.90). It was twice closest to RÚVTV (.90-.93) and the National Will (.84-.89). The Daily was once closest to Channel 2 (.89). It was furthest from the People's Paper in four weeks (.47-.58), and the National Will in three weeks. It was furthest from Channel 2 once (.69) The paper's news correlated generally best with news in RÚVTV and the Morning Paper, but worst with the People's

Paper and the National Will. The Time and Channel 2 were in between.

### **The Morning Paper**

The paper was closest to the Time in seven weeks (.85-.94). It correlated closest with the Daily in the fourth week. The paper's news coverage correlated least with the People's Paper's in four weeks, the first three and the seventh, the National Will in the sixth and eighth weeks, RÚVTV in the fifth and Channel 2 in the fourth. The paper was on the average closest to the Time and then the Daily. It was furthest from the People's Paper, the National Will and Channel 2. RÚVTV was in between.

### **The Time**

The Time correlated highest with the Morning Paper in four of the eight weeks (.90-.94). It correlated highest with the National Will in three weeks, the Daily once and Channel 2 once. It was furthest from the People's Paper in three weeks, the National Will and RÚVTV twice each and Channel 2 once. The paper was on the average closest to the Morning Paper. Then came the National Will, the Daily, Channel 2 and RÚVTV, in that order. It correlated by far worst with the People's Paper.

### **The National Will**

The National Will's coverage correlated highest with the Time in six weeks, (.24-.90). RÚVTV was closest once (.85), Channel 2 once (.78), and the Daily once (.89). The paper's coverage was furthest from Channel 2 in three weeks (.61-.67), RÚVTV and the People's Paper twice each and the Morning Paper once. On the average, the paper was closest to the Time and furthest from the People's Paper. Other media were in between.

## RÚVTV

The state owned RÚVTV was closest to the other TV channel in three weeks of eight (.92-.96) and the Daily in three weeks (.83 -.90), the People's Paper once (.96) and the Time once (.84). It was furthest from the People's Paper in four weeks (.51-.73), Channel 2 twice the National Will and the Morning Paper once each.

## Channel 2

Channel 2 was closest to RÚVTV (.84-.97) in three weeks, the People's Paper twice and all other media once. It was furthest from the Morning Paper and the People's Paper in three weeks each and the National Will twice. On the average it was furthest from the People's Paper and closest to the Daily and RÚVTV. The other three media were in the middle in this respect.

Now the focus is turned to the third and final task of this section, that is to try and find out if some of the media were ahead of the others and can therefore be said to have led the discussion. Each medium was correlated with all others, all weeks against all weeks. This means, that 56 correlation coefficients are used to look at the relation between every two media. If two media, A and B are taken out, and weeks one and two, and B in the first week yields a much higher correlation with A in the second week than the other way around, it might indicate that B's in the first week has affected A's in the second. Of course one has to treat statistics of this kind with the utmost caution. However, if medium B in earlier weeks correlates high with medium A in latter weeks in an overwhelming majority of the 28 combinations possible, at least some conclusions can be drawn. Each medium is treated separately and focused on how it related to the other six.

### **People's Paper**

The paper was almost equally often ahead of all other newspapers as it was behind them. However, it was on 18 of the 28 combinations of correlations ahead of Channel 2, and behind RÚVTV on 16 combinations and ahead only in 11.<sup>1</sup>

### **The Daily Newspaper**

The Daily was ahead of two media, the Morning Paper (18 <-> 10) and Channel 2 (17 <-> 9). It was slightly behind the remaining party papers, the People's Paper (11 <-> 15), the Time (12 <-> 16) and the National Will (11 <-> 17). There was total balance when it came to RÚVTV.

### **The Morning Paper**

The Morning Paper was equally often ahead of the People's Paper as behind. It was slightly more often behind the other papers, the Daily (10 <-> 12), the Time (11 <-> 15) and the National Will (11 <-> 17). However, it was ahead of both the broadcasting media, Channel 2 (15 <-> 13) and RÚVTV (19 <-> 8).

### **The Time**

The Time was slightly behind the opposition papers, the People's Paper (12 <-> 15) and the National Will (12 <-> 15). It was ahead of both the Daily (16 <-> 12) and the Morning Paper (15 <-> 11). It was also slightly ahead of the TV stations, RÚVTV (16 <-> 12) and Channel 2 (15 <-> 12).

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<sup>1</sup> When figures do not add up to 28, the difference is due to ties

### The National Will

The paper was slightly ahead of four media: the Daily (17 <-> 11); the Morning Paper (17 <-> 11); the Time (15 <-> 12) and Channel 2 (15 <-> 13). It was behind RÚVTV (12 <-> 15), but there was complete balance in the case of the People's Paper.

### RÚVTV

RÚVTV was slightly ahead of the opposition papers, the People's Paper (16 <-> 11) and the National Will (15 <-> 12) and Channel 2 as well (16 <-> 12). There was balance when it came to the Daily, but it was behind the Time (12 <-> 16) and to a greater extent the Morning Paper (8 <-> 19).

### CHANNEL 2

Channel 2 seems to have been dependent on all other media, and have been later to pick up issues in the campaign. The balances of the correlation combinations were as follows: the People's Paper (10 <-> 16); the Daily (9 <-> 17); the Morning Paper (13 <-> 15); the Time (12 <-> 15); the National Will (13 <-> 15) and RÚVTV (12 <-> 16).

As said earlier, these figures should be treated cautiously, but might indicate some differences in the media's ability to define the discussion in Icelandic society before the '87 election.

## XI.4 A SUMMARY

In this section an attempt is made to answer the four questions put forward at the beginning of the chapter.

The analysis revealed, that the Morning Paper is by far the largest paper, almost twice as spacious as the one coming second, the

Daily Newspaper. Then, considerably smaller, were the Time, the National Will and the People's Paper, in that order. The last of those was again much smaller than all the aforementioned.

Despite the vast differences in size, the 9 material types coded were extremely similar in terms of proportional size, from paper to paper. For instance, articles, advertisements, comic strips and other material were similar ratios in all papers. In the case of news, the distribution was almost the same, with the exception of the National Will being ahead of the Time. The same is true of political columns. The National Will came second to the Morning Paper in terms of artistic material. Editorials were similar in all papers, and therefore the only material type not in relative proportional accordance with the total material distribution within the papers.

When it comes to the two TV channels, there was more flexibility on Channel 2 in terms of number of items within a bulletin as well of length of items. However, there was more range on RÚVTV in terms of overall bulletin-length.

Current affairs programmes were both longer and more variegated on RÚVTV than Channel 2. On RÚVTV they contained both domestic and foreign material, and some programmes covered more than one issue, while Channel 2 discussed only one issue at a time, all domestic.

Between 65% and 85% of the news in all papers were of Icelandic origin. Between 80% and 90% were from Western-Europe, and North-America. The remaining 10-20% were distributed more or less evenly between the rest of the world, with one exception. The Time covered affairs in Asia to a considerably greater extent than all the other papers.

Approximately 75% of all news (in terms of time) on both TV channels came from Iceland. Around 90% came from Western-Europe and North-America.

There was hardly any coverage of foreign affairs in the People's Paper. The other party papers covered politics more extensively than the Daily, which was above the other papers when it came to crime, accidents and human interest. The Morning Paper covered all other aspects more than all the other papers.

Almost half of foreign news on both TV channels was devoted to Foreign affairs. RÚVTV covered general politics, Industrial affairs and Culture more than Channel 2, which gave more attention to Accidents and human interest.

When it comes to domestic items, proportions were in most cases similar to paper size, except that the National Will came second to the Morning Paper in three categories: Industrial relations, Foreign affairs and Social affairs. Proportionally, the paper was highest in these three categories. The Time was above all other papers in its coverage of Industrial affairs (proportionally). Again, the Daily Newspaper paid more attention to Accidents and crime than the other papers.

The TV channels were remarkably similar to each other. RÚVTV covered Economics, Culture and Industrial affairs somewhat more than Channel 2, which on the other hand focused more on General politics, Industrial relations and Crime. These differences were minimal, however.

All the newspapers covered the election campaign considerably, in news, editorials, political columns and articles sent from outside the papers. All the papers, except the Daily Newspaper, are openly related to political parties, and there is therefore no doubt about them being partisan, as is evident from the data. Table 39, shows the extent of election coverage in the papers.

**TABLE 39**  
**COVERAGE OF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN**  
**NEWSPAPERS**

	People's Paper	Daily Newspaper	Morning Paper	Time	National Will
Number of editorials related to the election from March 1st to April 25th. (% in brackets)	27 (73.0)	21 (48.8)	24 (44.4)	32 (66.7)	26 (53.1)
Icelandic news items, frequency, % and weighted % <sup>1</sup>	261 84.7 70.3	1193 68.6 67.1	2625 74.2 78.9	869 64.4 79.8	776 71.3 72.9
Icelandic news items related to the election frequency, % and weighted %	66 25.3 33.3	206 17.3 26.7	199 7.6 10.2	105 12.1 20.4	137 17.7 22.0
Icelandic articles, frequency, % and weighted % <sup>2</sup>	28 100.0 100.0	227 92.3 88.0	526 96.5 93.4	92 90.2 85.6	101 96.2 94.9
Articles related to election, frequency % and weighted %	22 78.6 75.1	90 36.6 24.5	210 38.5 32.3	38 37.3 29.6	35 33.3 29.0
Political columns related to the election, frequency and proportion	7 77.0	52 58.4	34 70.8	53 55.9	45 56.5

The main election-related issues covered in the papers, at least in the four party-linked papers, were in some accordance with their parties' positions and issue emphases. Thus the People's Paper stressed the need for new blood and the need to get rid of the Progressive Party from government. The PP had been a coalition partner for too long, since 1971, continuously. The People's Party, and the paper made it clear, that it had no objections to replacing the Progressive Party as the Independence Party's coalition partner.

The Progressive Party's Time stressed the achievements of the government. Under the Prime Ministership of the Party's leader, Mr.

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<sup>1</sup> Sport is left out

<sup>2</sup> Leaving out sport, obituaries, human interest, culture and art

Hermannsson, inflation had been taken down from 130% to less than 20%. Direction of fisheries and agriculture had been successfully implemented. Furthermore, it was stressed, that the party was the only one that could tame right-wing extremists in the Independence Party, as well as left-wingers in other parties.

The Independence Party's Morning Paper, as the *Time*, emphasized stability and the government's record in matters of the economy. It pointed out, that increased economic freedom had been achieved under its direction of financial affairs, the monopoly of the State radio had been broken by the party's initiative, and major steps had been taken with changes in taxation. As before, the paper stressed the party's role as a guardian of stability in Iceland's foreign policy, and defence.

The People's Alliance's National Will emphasized the party's sympathy towards the cause of trade unions fighting for higher wages, said that the economic situation allowed considerable rises. The paper, however, faced a dilemma in its attitudes towards industrial relations and wage disputes. The Federation of Labour is governed by a coalition of trade-unionists from the People's Alliance, the People's Party and the Independence Party. The president of the Federation, Mr. Ásmundur Stefánsson, was the People's Alliance's third candidate in Reykjavík, normally a safe seat. He had been instrumental in agreeing wage restraint deals with the government and maintaining peaceful industrial relations. The party, and even more so the paper, had difficulties in accepting the policies of the Federation, policies that were the result of negotiations between trade-unionists from different political parties. At this time, important groups within the public sector, e.g. teachers and nurses were on strike, and the Federation was not willing to back them, and said, after these groups achieved considerable wage rises, that inflation would rise again, the same arguments as came from the governing parties. This was even more difficult for the paper, since it is known, that most of the party's

support, in later years, comes from white collar workers in the public sector, not from members of the Federation of Labour.

Furthermore, the paper criticized the government on its record in regional development and agricultural policy. New emphases in foreign policy were offered, the stress being laid on a nuclear-free zone in the Nordic countries, rather than the question of the US military base in Keflavík and NATO membership. The paper maintained, that the People's Alliance was the only alternative for voters on the left, wanting a change in government.

The only paper with a free hand, was the Daily Newspaper. Although the paper has sometimes been related to the Independence Party, or a part of it, direct partisanship could not be detected through content analysis. The paper appears to have dissociated itself from the party in recent years. Contrary to what could have been expected, the paper not being openly partisan, and being the most sensational of Icelandic newspapers, the Daily Newspaper was the one that followed the campaign most thoroughly through news-coverage. Also, having said that the paper is furthest from being a "quality" paper of the Icelandic papers, this is different from Britain, where quality papers cover campaigns more intensively than the tabloids.

Because of the paper's free hand, it could cover the election more from traditional news-value standards in popular journalism, than the line of any other paper permitted. Therefore, the paper covered the only "hot" issue of the campaign much more thoroughly than the other papers, which were all (i.e. their owning parties) caught up in the middle of this affair, to some extent at least.<sup>1</sup> The stream of events was covered much more thoroughly on newspages in the Daily than in the other papers. Three possible reasons can be mentioned.

1. The events fell into the paper's diet of dramatic, personal events more than was true of the other papers.

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<sup>1</sup> See a discussion of the Guðmundsson affair in chapter IV.9

2. The paper has often been said to follow Mr. Guðmundsson's fraction of the Independence Party, and was therefore more interested in his case.

3. The affair was related to another financial scandal case, the Hafskip bankruptcy. Hafskip was the second largest shipping company in Iceland. In 1986 it went bankrupt, and took with it a state owned bank, which had both loaned the firm substantial sums of money, and guaranteed foreign loans for Hafskip. For some time, before the bankruptcy, Mr. Guðmundsson had been chairman of Hafskip's governing board, as well as chairman of the bank's board of directors, appointed by the Independence Party. The reason for the other parties being shy to mention this case in the campaign, was probably that they were all tied up in it. They all had, i.e. the old four, appointed deputies to the bank's board of directors. (Even the IP's leader's father-in-law was one of the bank's managers when the most critical decisions were made). The party papers may therefore have been afraid of opening not so old wounds.

Both TV channels covered the election campaign considerably, in news-bulletins and current affairs programmes. In addition there were 'Party introductions' and Party election broadcasts.

It would be normal, if there had been a rising tension in the campaign, as the election drew nearer. Therefore there should have been more election coverage in April than in March. If we break up the data by months, this does not seem to have happened. Table 40 shows three figures in each box, number of items related to the election, percent of Icelandic items, and weighted percent.

**TABLE 40**  
**ELECTION COVERAGE IN TELEVISION**  
**BY MONTHS**

MONTH	BOTH CHANNELS		RÚVTV		CHANNEL 2	
March	81	16.4 (24.6)	43	16.3 (24.5)	38	16.5 (24.7)
April	52	14.0 (17.3)	26	13.5 (17.7)	26	14.5 (16.9)

One can even conclude, that the tension decreased in April, as compared to March. At least the overall coverage was more extensive in March than in April, the election month. One should bear in mind though, that April was a shorter month, in that fewer bulletins were analyzed, the election day being the 25th. Moreover, April was the Easter month, and as said earlier, the news-room tends to ignore politics, at least some of the days. The table indicates, that election related material was longer on the average than other Icelandic news items. This is even more apparent in March than April. The channels were almost completely identical in this respect.

It is more informative to break the material further up, into weeks. The period analyzed was exactly eight weeks. Table 41 shows the number of election related items on each channel in each week, as well as their proportion and weighted percent in brackets.

**TABLE 41**  
**ELECTION COVERAGE ON TELEVISION BY WEEKS**

WEEK OF CAMPAIGN	BOTH CHANNELS		RÚVTV		CHANNEL 2	
First	11	9.3 (10.5)	6	9.8 (10.1)	5	8.8 (11.0)
Second	12	11.3 (13.6)	8	14.0 (15.3)	4	8.2 (11.7)
Third	17	14.5 (20.5)	9	14.3 (22.2)	8	14.8 (19.0)
Fourth	29	28.4 (45.7)	14	26.9 (44.4)	15	30.0 (46.7)
Fifth	21	21.4 (27.5)	10	18.2 (23.4)	11	25.6 (32.2)
Sixth	8	7.7 ( 7.4)	5	8.6 ( 8.9)	3	6.5 ( 5.6)
Seventh	9	9.9 (10.9)	3	7.0 ( 8.5)	6	12.5 (12.8)
Eighth	26	23.9 (38.1)	14	24.1 (39.6)	12	23.5 (36.2)

Here the picture is completely different. It is as if there was a climax in the fourth week, when nearly 30% of all Icelandic items related to the election, almost a half in terms of time. Then the coverage went down again, and hit the bottom in the sixth week, when there was less coverage than in the first week. Then it rose a little in the seventh week, and considerably in the last week, when the time spent on election coverage was nearly 40% of all time devoted to Icelandic events and issues.

What this indicates, is that newsmen did not work along a previously set time-standard. They did not lengthen the bulletin and then look for something - anything - to fill this extra time with, as seems to be the case in Britain. Rather, they covered the election according to news-values, when something important happened, it was covered, otherwise the election got little attention. This explains why the fourth, and to an extent the fifth weeks had as much election related material as they did. The Guðmundsson affair exploded at the beginning of the fourth week, and something new happened in relation to it for almost two weeks.

It is said above, that television handled the election on the basis of news-values. There are no such rules giving the parties a ratio as in Britain, where time is allocated to party coverage on 5:5:4 ratio or some other fixed standard. The only rules that seem to have been applied, were that if a party had an MP, it could expect some coverage, but if it had no MPs (or was not to expect any, according to surveys), it should not expect much coverage. Having MPs did not, however, guarantee much coverage, its amount seems to have been decided by news-values. Nevertheless, it must be much easier for MPs to draw the media's attention to them, than for unknown, first time candidates.

All references to political parties were neutral, on both channels. The parties, however, were referred to disproportionately. By far, the most references were to the Independence Party, or in 42% of all

election related material on RÚVTV, and almost 60% on Channel 2. Next came the People's Party, the Progressive Party, the People's Alliance, the Citizen's Party and the Women's List, all referred to in between 22% and 26% of election related items on RÚVTV. The Women's List was referred to in 23.4% of items on Channel 2, whereas the other four were referred to in between 33% and 36% of election related items. The other four parties were considerably less often referred to between 10% and 15% of items on RÚVTV and between 9% and 13% of election related material on Channel 2.

The main single issue in the campaign, by the measuring standards of television, was the strike situation. This is true of both channels. The second was the Guðmundsson affair. This was covered much more thoroughly on Channel 2 than RÚVTV, probably because it was a delicate, political matter.

An important feature of the coverage of politics in the campaign is how it was all centred around the capital, Reykjavík. This, of course, is understandable from the point of view of the newsroom staff. Reykjavík is where the action was, and besides, it would cost considerable resources to cover all constituencies to the same extent. Some attempts were made by RÚVTV to present constituency reports, but they were few and not powerful.

## **Editorials**

The Time produced the highest number of editorials on the election of all the papers, but the People's Paper was the winner if looked at proportionally. These papers, and the National Will and the Morning Paper all supported their parties unconditionally in editorials.

The Daily Newspaper can not be said to have preferred any of the parties openly in editorials. Contrary to its part in news coverage of the election, the paper produced fewer editorials related to the election than any of the other papers.

## **Political columns**

These columns were in most cases used to praise the party that owns each paper, and denigrate opponents. The Daily Newspaper cannot be said to have been partisan in these columns. The nature of this material, and this is true of all papers, was that persons were covered rather than issues. Never did they offer any analysis of issues or events. The best description is probably, that these columns printed what journalists could not present as news. For that reason, the Guðmundsson affair was discussed most in these columns by the party-papers.

## **Articles**

The main feature of articles sent to the papers is how much more open the party-papers were to articles from supporters of other parties than has been the case in earlier election campaigns. Before, the papers were not open to articles of the wrong colour, in election campaigns they were completely shut for such material. This new feature in a campaign, i.e. supporters of the parties writing articles in other than their own paper was found with all the papers, but more as their circulation was higher. Therefore, the Morning Paper contained most of the 'wrongly coloured' articles of all papers.

The Daily Newspaper, however, was unique in this respect, getting articles from all over the political spectrum.

## **Leadership**

During recent years and decades there has been a tendency in the media to presidentialize election campaigns. By this is meant, that the focus has been on the leaders of the parties rather than their policies. This has happened in Iceland as well as in other Western countries, although not to the same extent, and not as much in the case of all parties. This was most evident in the case of two parties - and

their papers. The Progressive Party and the Time presented the PM, Mr. Hermannsson as the nation's leader. Under his direction inflation had been reduced and photographs of him discussing international affairs with Mr. Gorbachew were highly prominent in the paper, not to demonstrate Soviet sympathy, but that he was being listened to by international leaders. (He went to Moscow shortly before the election.)

The People's Paper also displayed its leader prominently, as the man who would fight corruption once in government, the man untied by large interest groups, the man who dared.

Neither the Morning Paper nor the National Will placed their leaders as prominently as the other two party papers, that is with large colour-photographs. That however does not mean that they did not value their opinions, as can be seen when those who were interviewed by the papers were considered.

Forty five politicians were interviewed in news bulletins on television, in 125 interviews. Eight of the forty five politicians were party leaders. They were spoken to in 62 interviews, while the remaining thirty seven politicians got the remaining 63 interviews. If the five leaders most often spoken to are considered, they got 57 of the 62 interviews. This, of course, confirms that television talks far more often to leaders of parties than any other politicians, and therefore tends to presidentialize the campaign.

## **Interviews**

Three things become most apparent when examined which individuals were interviewed most often by the papers.

First, men are much more often spoken to than women. This ranges from the ratio of women being 12.4% in the Morning Paper, to 26.5% in the National Will. All the other papers were much nearer the Morning Paper than the National Will in this respect.

Second, each paper consulted its leader more often than anyone else. In this respect, the independence of the Daily Newspaper is

further demonstrated, since it spoke to them all, relatively frequently, that is if the party got some coverage at all.

Third, leaving aside plain party politics, all the papers interviewed the same few individuals, the state arbitrator, Mr. Guðlaugur Þorvaldsson and the leader of the Teachers' union, Mr. Thorlacíus to name only two.

## **Opinion Polls**

Only two of the newspapers sponsored opinion polls. The Daily Newspaper has for a long time conducted its own polls regularly, and the Morning paper sometimes sponsors polls conducted by the Social Science Institute at the University of Iceland. During the campaign, it sponsored both the survey waves conducted by this author before the election, and covered them heavily. The other papers, however, (and the broadcasting media as well) reported on the polls published in these two aforementioned papers.

Both TV channels covered the opinion polls performed during the campaign. Channel 2 sponsored one or two such polls, but RÚVTV only covered the polls in the manner that they reported on news about polls in other media, especially the Morning Paper and the Daily Newspaper. A delicate situation came up on election day, when Channel 2 announced, that it was going to conduct its own poll, outside polling sites, and report on it before they were closed in the evening. Two things were thought to be critical in this conduct: they were going to ask people on their way home from voting; and were going to report on it before the election was over. It was decided by authorities to take legal action, and not let them report on the survey until after election sites had been closed.

## **Political advertising**

All four of the old parties advertised considerably in the campaign. As could have been expected, each party advertised by far most in its own paper, and all bought advertising space in the Daily Newspaper. In most cases the advertisements were directed at the advertising party, i.e. the advertisements told how solid the party was and its policies (and leaders in the cases of the Progressive Party and the People's Party). The Independence Party and the Progressive Party pointed out the achievements of the government, the Progressive Party assigning most of them to the PM, the party's chairman. The opposition parties emphasized their policies, promised to increase welfare services and so on.

The 1987 election was the first election that political parties bought advertising time on television, especially on Channel 2. The Progressive Party did by far the most of this. There was hardly an evening when one could not see the Party's government ministers talking about their achievements in commercials. The one most often presented was the Prime Minister, Mr. Hermannsson. He was given the credit for bringing inflation down, as well as being the host for the Reykjavík Summit. The Independence Party, the People's Party, The People's Alliance and the Citizen's Party all bought some commercials, but not to an extent near the Progressive Party.

The two latter questions put forward at the beginning of the chapter can be discussed together, i.e. whether there were changes over time, and if any of the media led the agenda-setting process.

The Morning Paper was by far the most stable of all media, while the National Will was least so. The other media were between these two. Most changes occurred in the fourth and fifth weeks, when the Guðmundsson affair blew up. In the sixth week the thread from the first weeks was picked up again.

In the eight weeks analyzed, it can be said that the coverage in the Morning Paper, the Time, the Daily Newspaper and RÚVTV was

closest together. The People's Paper, the National Will and Channel 2 formed another group.

If one is to draw conclusions related to the question whether some media led the others, three facts are most obvious. First, generally, the opposition papers were slightly ahead of the government papers and the Daily. Second, Channel 2 seems to have been dependent on the other media. Third, RÚVTV was obviously dependent on the Morning Paper in its coverage of events in the campaign.

## **XII. THE VOTER**

### **AGENDA**

Now it is time to discuss the voter agenda, which issues were thought to be the most important, at the time the three survey waves were conducted. Two waves were conducted before the election, and one after, using the same sample. The first took place between 27 March and 3 April, the second between 18 and 21 April. Following the election on 25 April the first interviews in the third wave were taken on the 27, and the last ones on 2 May.

### **XII.1. THE FIRST WAVE**

It has been widespread in agenda-setting research, to ask people closed-ended questions about the most important issues, or to give them a list of issues to choose from. The present author has always been sceptical about this practice, and thought that this might lead to an 'agenda-setting effect' within the questionnaire, meaning that 1) people are more willing to name an issue if given it as a possibility, and 2) people tend to name the issues prompted to them, rather than naming other issues. Having nothing to go by but instinct, we decided to try to find out if this was right. Moreover, effects of wording questions and the construction of questionnaires was the concern of my collaborator. We decided to use three different question types, when asking about the most important issues. In two thirds of the questionnaires we 'prompted' respondents with two issues. Half of these were prompted with the Guðmundsson affair and Nuclear free Scandinavia, and the other half with Wage negotiations and Inflation. A third of the respondents were not prompted with any issues.

All in all 160 of the 1041 individuals, that answered in the first survey wave, did not mention any issues at all. That is 15.4%. Most of those, 64, were from the group that was prompted with Wage negotiations and Inflation, 62 from the group that was not prompted, and only 34 came from the group that was prompted with the Guðmundsson affair, and Nuclear free Scandinavia. We cannot see what lessons can be drawn from that. We would have thought, that the dropout ought to have been highest in the group that was not prompted with issues. When looked at proportionally, in relation to how many questionnaires were in each group, the hypothesis that people are reluctant to name issues if not prompted is further disconfirmed. If the distribution had been normal, 347 questionnaires would have come to each of the three groups. However, 314 or 30.1% came from the group that was prompted with the Guðmundsson affair and Nuclear free Scandinavia and 331 (31.8%) from the group that was prompted with Wage negotiations and Inflation. 397, (38.1%) of the answers came from the group that was not prompted at all.

The Guðmundsson affair and Nuclear free Scandinavia were both hot political issues at the time. Wage negotiations and Inflation are both of a different nature. Both are 'old', ongoing matters. Whether this is part of the reason for the difference, is not certain, although it seems highly probable. But even if so, how are we to explain the fact, that those not prompted at all, tended to answer 'better' than those prompted with an issue. Furthermore, this does not tell us anything about the second hypothesis, whether those prompted with issues tended to name those particular issues rather than naming their own. For that, we have to look at the answers from each list-type separately.

We begin with a frequency table showing the answers from those prompted with the Guðmundsson affair and Nuclear free Scandinavia.

**TABLE 42**  
**MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE (LIST 1)**

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
The general election	5	1.6	1.8
Next government	1	.3	.4
The Guðmundsson affair	184	58.6	65.7
Nuclear free Scandinavia	58	18.5	20.7
General economics	1	.3	.4
Inflation	1	.3	.4
Taxes/customs	2	.6	.7
Interest rates/loans	1	.3	.4
Strikes/wage negotiations	17	5.4	6.1
Pension funds	1	.3	.4
Health service	1	.3	.4
Housing	2	.6	.7
Transport	1	.3	.4
Agriculture	3	1.0	1.1
Energy	1	.3	.4
Crime	1	.3	.4
Did not name an issue	34	10.8	MISSING
TOTAL	314	100.0	100.0

It is quite clear, which issues were most often named in this case. The two used for prompting were named as first issue in more than 85% of all valid answers. Up to three issues could be named. However, most respondents only named one.

If we add second and third issues to what is apparent from table 42<sup>1</sup>, then 27 (8.6%) named the Guðmundsson affair as second most important, and 1 named it as third. That is a total of 211, or 67.5% of all the 314 naming the Guðmundsson affair as one of three most important issues of the day. 58 named Nuclear free Scandinavia as issue number one. 130 named it as issue number 2 and 7 as issue number 3. That is a total of 62.5% of the total. The issue coming third, not prompted, was Wage negotiations. 17 named it as the most important issue, 11 put it in second place and 15 in third place. That

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<sup>1</sup> See tables in Appendix XII

is a total of 13.7% naming this issue as one of three most important issues at the time.

Let us then look at a table showing the most important issue when prompted with Wage negotiations and Inflation.

**TABLE 43**  
**MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE (LIST 2)**

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
The general election	4	1.2	1.5
Next government	1	.3	.4
The Guðmundsson affair	6	1.8	2.2
General economics	2	.6	.7
Inflation	33	10.0	12.4
Taxes/customs	2	.6	.7
Strikes/wage negotiations	210	63.4	78.7
Sexual equality	1	.3	.4
Aged	1	.3	.4
Housing	1	.3	.4
Education	2	.6	.7
Regional equality	3	.9	1.1
Foreign trade	1	.3	.4
Did not name an issue	64	19.3	MISSING
TOTAL	----- 331	----- 100.0	----- 100.0

Here, approximately 90% of the valid answers named the prompted issues as the most important ones. 117 individuals named a second issue, and 43 named a third issue.<sup>1</sup> If we add issues two and three, it is found that 226, or 68% of all prompted with Wage negotiations and Inflation named the first of these as one of three most important issues. 103, or 31.1% named Inflation, and 19, or 5.7% named the Guðmundsson affair.

It should be very clear that prompting does have considerable effects on which issues people name, although it does not seem to affect whether an issue is named or not. Therefore, the next group, i.e.

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<sup>1</sup> See tables in Appendix XII

those not prompted at all, gives the best indication of which issues were most prominent in the minds of Icelandic voters during the period from 27 March, to 3 April.

TABLE 44  
MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE (LIST 3)

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
General politics	1	.3	.3
The general election	38	9.6	11.3
Next government	1	.3	.3
The Guðmundsson affair	58	14.6	17.3
Foreign affairs	1	.3	.3
General economics	26	6.5	7.8
Inflation	9	2.3	2.7
Taxes/customs	3	.8	.9
Strikes/wage negotiations	83	20.9	24.8
Pension funds	2	.5	.6
Sexual equality	2	.5	.6
Aged	3	.8	.9
Physically disabled	3	.8	.9
Health service	7	1.8	2.1
Housing	2	.5	.6
Education	3	.8	.9
Regional equality	60	15.2	17.9
Transport	5	1.3	1.5
Local government	1	.3	.3
Industrial affairs	9	2.3	2.7
Fishing/fishbreeding	5	1.3	1.5
Agriculture	12	3.0	3.6
Mass media	1	.3	.3
Did not name an issue	62	15.6	MISSING
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	397	100.0	100.0

The first thing that emerges from the table is that the number of issues named is somewhat higher than in the other two tables, when respondents were prompted. There is also a higher number of issues with a considerable number of mentions. The issue most often mentioned was Wage negotiations, named by 83, or 20.9% as the most important issue at the time. The second one, not surprisingly, was the

Guðmundsson affair named by 58, or 14.6% as the most important issue. Regional equality was also named by 58. The General election was named by 38, or 9.6%, General economics by 26, or 6.5% and Agriculture by 12, or 3%. Inflation was only named by 9 (2.3%) respondents as the most important issue of the day.

If we look at which issues were named as second most important, then 34 named Wage negotiations. That is 8.6%. 18, or 4.5% named the Guðmundsson affair, 12, or 3.0% named the Election, 10 named Regional equality, or 2.6%. 7 individuals, or 1.8% named Agriculture, while 4, or 1.0% named General economics. In all, 136 individuals named a second issue. Only 29 named a third issue. Three each named Wage negotiations, Regional equality and Agriculture.<sup>1</sup>

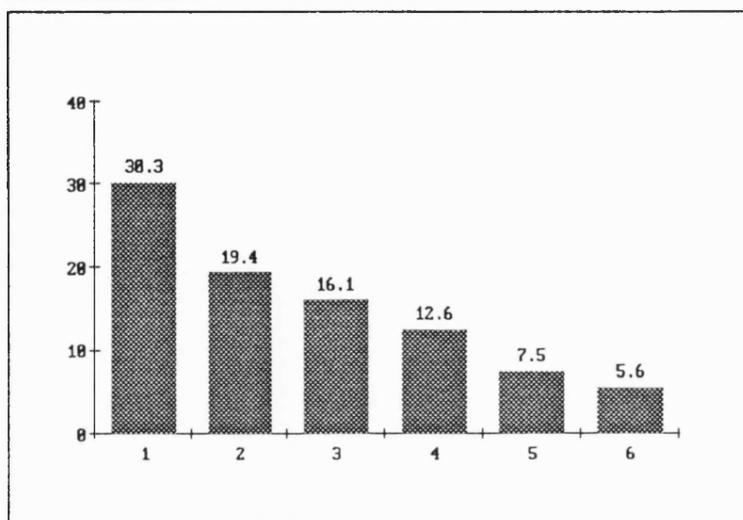
If all three ranks are combined, we ought to be able to establish which issues were most important among the electorate between 27 March and 3 April. Frequencies from the three variables have been added together, and by dividing by 397 (the number of respondents) we get the proportion.

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<sup>1</sup> See tables in Appendix XII

GRAPH 48  
MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE IN FIRST  
WAVE - %

1=wage negotiations  
 2=Guðmundsson affair  
 3=Regional equality  
 4=Election  
 5=Economics  
 6=Agriculture



Although these issues, are to some extent the same as named in the two first variations (when prompted) the picture there is probably exaggerated. This becomes more obvious when we look at the association between the variables List-type and Concern1. Chi-square=858.89, significance level .0000 (C=.67). A similar picture emerges when we look at Concern2 (chi-square=545.31 sign.=.0000 (C=.59)).

What has been said above, seems to justify the opinion that it can be dangerous to prompt people with certain issues, when you are trying to find which issues they think are of most importance. Therefore, the last list-type was primarily used when establishing the 'voter agenda' during the aforementioned period. Furthermore, although not analyzing the data statistically after the first survey wave, we had this impression, by inspecting a few questionnaires, as well as from the interviewers, and so decided therefore not to use this method in the two remaining survey waves. In those, we did not prompt, asked all the same open question. Before analyzing the information gained

in those waves, the data above is discussed in terms of sex, constituency and age.

### **SEX**

If we single out list 1, where we prompted with the Guðmundsson affair, and Nuclear free Scandinavia, a similar proportion of the sexes named an issue. However, 65% of the men named the Guðmundsson affair as one of three most important issues compared with 51.9% for women. On the other hand, 25.3% of women named Nuclear free Scandinavia as one of three most important, but only 11.9% of the men. 7.8% of women named the strike situation (which was not prompted in the case of list 1), while 3.1% of the men did.

In list 2, we prompted with the strike situation and inflation. 63.1% of the men named the strikes as one of three most important, while 63.9% of the women named this issue, the same proportion. 15.3% of the men named inflation, but only 3.9% of women. 14.2% of the men did not name an issue, and 25.2% of the women.

List 3 had no prompts. There, 12.4% of the men did not name an issue and 18.7% of women. 18.5% of the men named regional equality and 11.9% of women. 11.9% of the men named the strikes. Women seemed to be even more concerned about the situation, since 29.6% of them named this issue. 17.5% of the men named the Guðmundsson affair and 11.8% of the women. 10.8% of the men named general economics, while this was only named by 2.5% of the women. The chi-square, when sex and issue were associated and list-type 3 was singled out was 68.96, sign.=.0000 (C=.38).

### **CONSTITUENCY**

There are eight constituencies in Iceland. They are different in that two of them are almost totally urban, while the other six are more rural in nature. Below we examine if this affected what respondents thought to be most important. When we measure simple

correlation between concern and constituency,  $\chi^2=102.62$ ,  $\text{sign.}=.0000$  ( $C=.29$ ). When we break the data by list type, it appears, that the explanation stems primarily from list 3, where there were no prompts. For this list type,  $\chi^2=.80.06$ ,  $\text{sign.}=.0000$  ( $C=.41$ ), while there is no significant correlation in the case of the other list types.

When we recode constituency into two groups, urban and rural, and single out list-type 1, that is prompt with the Guðmundsson affair and Nuclear free Scandinavia, 62.2% of those living in urban constituencies mentioned the Guðmundsson affair as one of three most important. The same figure for those living in rural constituencies is 51.4%. Of urban respondents 16.3% mentioned Nuclear free Scandinavia. The same figure from rural parts was 22.9%. 6.7% of urban respondents named strikes, while 2.9% of rural respondents named this issue. 9.1% of those living in the two urban areas did not name any issues. The same figure for rural voters was 14.3%.

When respondents were prompted with Strikes/wage negotiations and inflation, the picture was: of urban residents, 66.8% named strikes; of those from rural areas 58.1% named this particular issue. Of urban voters, 9.9% named inflation, and 10.1% of rural voters. 15.8% of urban voters did not name an issue but 24.8% of those from rural areas named none.

If we finally look at those that were not prompted the issue most often mentioned by urban voters as one of three most important was strikes, mentioned by 25.7% but 15.1% of those living in rural areas. The issue most often named by the latter was regional equality and policy, named by 28%. This seems to have been a 'rural' issue, since it was only mentioned by 4.6% of urban voters. The Guðmundsson affair was mentioned by 17.9% of urban respondents, and 10.6% of those living in rural areas. The general election was named by 10.1% of urban voters, and 8.9% of rural voters. Of urban respondents 17.9%

did not name any issues, while the figures for the rural group was 12.8%.

### AGE

Age was recoded into five groups, those 18-30, 31-40, 41-50, 51-60 and 61-70 years old. If broken up, as before, by list-type, it is found, that there is most difference between age groups when it comes to the unprompted list. Chi-square=131.77, sign.=.0091 (C=.50).

When we single out those who were prompted with the Guðmundsson affair, and Nuclear free Scandinavia, it appears that the youngest groups were more reluctant to name any issues than the older groups (16.5% and 3%). The younger groups, however, named a broader range of issues. The oldest group hardly named any other than the ones prompted. Almost the same percentage named the Guðmundsson affair in all age groups, but Nuclear free Scandinavia seems to have been much more a concern of the older than the younger. 28.3% of those aged 51-60 named it, and 36.4% of the oldest named it. Only around 12% from the two youngest age groups named this issue.

When list 2 is selected, the same happens as above. The oldest group hardly names any but the prompted issues, but agrees on them, while the younger groups have a richer tendency, although by no means a strong one, to name other issues than those named. The strikes were more the concern of those in the middle groups than those from the oldest, and the youngest. Almost 70% of those aged 41-50 named strikes, while the figure was around 60% for both the oldest, and the youngest. Inflation was the concern of almost 20% of those from the oldest group, but only around 7% of those youngest, people that have hardly come to know any alternative in their lives.

As with most of this discussion, list type 3 probably gives the most important information. The youngest and the oldest groups were most reluctant to name issues. Strikes were the most important issue for all groups. The Guðmundsson affair was much more important for

the younger than the older, named by almost 30% of the youngest, but only 5.5% of the oldest. General economics, and the related issue of inflation were much more important among older voters. Regional equality was thought highly important by all age groups, but considerably less so though, among the youngest groups.

Before going into the other survey waves, there are three other questions from the first wave, in which we asked which news-items respondents remembered best from last week's news-coverage, in newspapers, television and radio, respectively. This data can, be supportive in drawing conclusions about the 'voter agenda'.

### **ITEMS REMEMBERED FROM THE MEDIA**

Let us then turn attention to the questions in which we asked which news-items respondents remembered best from the media from the last week.

We gave three possibilities for each of the media types, newspapers, television and radio.

As was to be suspected, the issues remembered from the media and the issues thought to be of most importance, were more or less the same. The chi-square in the case of newspapers was 1956.80, sign.=.0000 (C=.81). In the case of television chi-square was 1424.96, sign.=.0000 (C=.76) and in the case of radio, chi-square=506.80, sign.=.0005 (C=.57). This being the case and bearing in mind the effects prompting has on the outcome, we only use the third list-type for this analysis.

### **NEWS IN NEWSPAPERS**

The table shows which categories were named as the item best remembered from the previous week in newspapers.

**TABLE 45**  
**FIRST ITEM REMEMBERED FROM NEWSPAPERS**

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Nothing	62	15.6	15.6
The general election	2	.5	.5
Next government	1	.3	.3
The Guðmundsson affair	293	73.8	73.8
Nuclear free Scandinavia	1	.3	.3
General economics	2	.5	.5
Strikes/wage negotiations	18	4.5	4.5
Physically disabled	1	.3	.3
Agriculture	2	.5	.5
Accidents and disasters	8	2.0	2.0
Crime	2	.5	.5
Sport	3	.8	.8
Mass media	1	.3	.3
Science	1	.3	.3
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	397	100.0	100.0
Valid Cases	397	Missing Cases	0

The table shows the issues that were most often remembered as news items in newspapers the week before. 15.6% said they did not remember any such items. The rest is distributed between 13 issues, by no means evenly. In the case of only three issues, did more than 10, or 1% remember from newspaper coverage. Almost 74% of the total mentioned the Guðmundsson affair, 4.5% named the strikes, and 2% named accidents and disasters, as the table reveals.

Only 94 individuals remembered a second issue from the daily newspapers in the previous week, and only 10 named a third issue. If we add to the above figures the issues most often mentioned as second and third, 5% in addition to the 73.8% in the table above remembered the Guðmundsson affair, bringing it to a total of 78.8% naming it as one of three remembered from the newspapers. 10.9% named strike

stories as second and third, bringing the total to 15.4%. The third most mentioned item was accident and disaster stories, which 3.6% named as second or third. When that is added to the 2% from the table, it gives a total of 5.6% of all respondents remembering such stories from the newspapers. A fourth issue gained prominence, when looked at second and third item, i.e. Nuclear free Scandinavia. Only .3% named it as first remembered issue, but the proportion rose to 2.6% when second and third issue are added.

### REMEMBERED ITEMS FROM TELEVISION

As was done with news from newspapers, we asked, which issues were best remembered from the television news the preceding week.

**TABLE 46**  
**FIRST ITEM REMEMBERED FROM TELEVISION**

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Nothing	66	16.6	16.6
The general election	5	1.3	1.3
The Gudmundsson affair	290	73.0	73.0
Foreign affairs	3	.8	.8
Nuclear free Scandinavia	1	.3	.3
General economics	1	.3	.3
Strikes/wage negotiations	24	6.0	6.0
Health service	1	.3	.3
Natural conservation	1	.3	.3
Accidents and disasters	4	1.0	1.0
Mass media	1	.3	.3
TOTAL	397	100.0	100.0

Valid Cases      397      Missing Cases      0

The first striking thing is how similar this table is to the table about newspapers. Almost exactly the same number of individuals did not remember news-items from television, as in the case of newspapers.

66 individuals said they did not remember any news-items from TV. The rest was distributed between 10 categories. 73% remembered the Guðmundsson affair, 6% named strike stories, 1.3% named the election in general and 1% named accidents and disasters. The remaining issues in the table were remembered by less than 1% of the respondents.

84 individuals mentioned a second item, and only 11 remembered a third one. If we go on and add these items to the results from the table above, then 77.5% of all remembered the Guðmundsson affair from television, 18.3% remembered strike stories, 3.6% Nuclear free Scandinavia, 2.5% stories about accidents and 2.1% the election in general.

### REMEMBERED ITEMS FROM RADIO

As before, there is a table showing the item remembered first from radio.

TABLE 47  
FIRST ITEM REMEMBERED FROM RADIO

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Nothing	90	22.7	22.7
General politics	2	.5	.5
The general election	6	1.5	1.5
The Guðmundsson affair	255	64.2	64.2
Foreign affairs	3	.8	.8
Nuclear free Scandinavia	2	.5	.5
General economics	1	.3	.3
Strikes/wage negotiations	29	7.3	7.3
Natural conservation	1	.3	.3
Fishing/fishbreeding	2	.5	.5
Agriculture	1	.3	.3
Accidents and disasters	5	1.3	1.3
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	397	100.0	100.0
Valid Cases	397	Missing Cases	0

What is first of all noticeable, is how many did not mention any items at all, almost a quarter of all respondents. The 75% remembering something from radio mentioned 11 item types. 64.2% remembered the Guðmundsson affair first, 7.3% strike stories, 1.5% named the general election and 1.3% mentioned accident stories. 101 individuals named a second item, and only 12 named a third. If those are added to the highest scoring categories in the table, items related to the Guðmundsson affair were remembered by 69.5%, strike stories by 23.2%, and accidents and disasters by 3.1%.

## **XII.2. THE SECOND**

### **WAVE**

The second wave in the panel survey was carried out between 18 and 21 April, that is, over four days in the last week before the election.

As should be evident from the beginnings of this chapter, a somewhat different practice was conducted here than in the first wave, in that now we did not prompt with any particular issues. We simply asked 'Which issues of national importance are most important to you at this moment?', a completely open ended question. Two possibilities were given. In table 48 we can see which issues were most often named.

**TABLE 48**  
**MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE IN SECOND WAVE**

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Nothing	140	15.7	15.7
General politics	1	.1	.1
The general election	364	40.9	40.9
Next government	1	.1	.1
The Guðmundsson affair	19	2.1	2.1
Foreign affairs	6	.7	.7
Nuclear free Scandinavia	15	1.7	1.7
General economics	65	7.3	7.3
Inflation	27	3.0	3.0
Taxes/customs	8	.9	.9
Foreign loans	3	.3	.3
Interest rates/loans	2	.2	.2
Strikes/wage negotiations	105	11.8	11.8
Pension funds	2	.2	.2
Sexual equality	4	.4	.4
Social affairs	1	.1	.1
Aged	4	.4	.4
Physically disabled	2	.2	.2
Health service	9	1.0	1.0
Housing	12	1.3	1.3
Education	8	.9	.9
Regional equality	47	5.3	5.3
Transport	5	.6	.6
Environment and planning	2	.2	.2
Industrial affairs	10	1.1	1.1
Fishing/fishbreeding	7	.8	.8
Agriculture	15	1.7	1.7
Hafskip bankruptcy	5	.6	.6
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	889	100.0	100.0

140 individuals, or 15.7% did not mention any issues. In total, 28 issues were named, considerably more than in the first wave. The most often mentioned 'issue' is the general election itself, mentioned by 40.9% of all respondents. The strike situation is evidently still important, since 11.8% name it as issue number one. Third is general economics, named by 7.3%, rising to 10.3% if inflation is counted as well. 5.3% mention regional equality. It is noticeable, that the Guðmundsson affair, which was of so much importance in the first

wave has faded away, being mentioned by only 2.1% of all respondents.

183 individuals named a second issue. If those answers are added to the table above, the election itself goes to 43%, strikes to 16.1%, economics and inflation to 12.9%, regional equality 6.5%. The Guðmundsson affair is named by only 3% as one of two most important national issues of the day, the same as agriculture.<sup>1</sup>

What we have here, is a considerably different agenda from the one found in the first wave.

## **XII.3. THE THIRD WAVE**

We began interviews two days after the election on 27 April, ending on 2 May. The question asked here was a little different from the one asked in the other waves. This time we asked 'which issues do you think were of most importance in the election campaign?'. This does therefore not measure the same thing as the questions in the first two waves, i.e. most salient issues at a certain timepoint. Rather, it was designed to get people to reflect on the campaign as a whole in retrospect. Three issues could be mentioned.

Table 49 shows 'Most important issue in the campaign'.

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<sup>1</sup> See table 5 in Appendix XII

**TABLE 49**  
**MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE OF THE CAMPAIGN**

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Nothing	210	25.1	25.1
Inflation	10	1.2	1.2
Taxes/customs	6	.7	.7
Interest rates/loans	6	.7	.7
Strikes/wage negotiations	146	17.5	17.5
Pension funds	2	.2	.2
Sexual equality	22	2.6	2.6
Social affairs	1	.1	.1
Aged	4	.5	.5
Physically disabled	13	1.6	1.6
Health service	51	6.1	6.1
Housing	243	29.1	29.1
Education	29	3.5	3.5
Regional equality	71	8.5	8.5
Transport	2	.2	.2
Environment and planning	1	.1	.1
Industrial affairs	5	.6	.6
Fishing/fishbreeding	6	.7	.7
Agriculture	7	.8	.8
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	835	100.0	100.0

A quarter of the total could not think of any important election issue. The Guðmundsson affair seems to be totally forgotten, and so is Nuclear free Scandinavia. All of a sudden, Housing issues seem to be the most important, although hardly any named them in the first two waves. Housing was named as most important by 29.1%. Second is the strike and wage negotiations category, which seems to be the only issue that was thought important all through the campaign. Now we have the health service, education, and regional equality as important issues. The health service and education were hardly named by anyone in the first two waves.

243 individuals, or almost 30% named a second item, and 65, a little less than 8% named a third. If we add these to the table above,

then 35.3% named Housing as one of three most important issues of the campaign. 24.8% named strikes and wage negotiations. 10.8% thought the matters of the Health service were among most important issues, and 7% thought so of Education. 11.3% thought that Regional equality was important.<sup>1</sup>

All the issues that were thought to be of importance after the campaign, were different from the ones named in the first waves, save for strikes. Here, people talk more about matters that can be termed as 'long-term policy matters', while in the other waves they talked more about 'short-term matters' or 'events'.

## XII.4 A SUMMARY

At the beginning of the chapter two hypotheses were put forward. 1) People are more willing to name an issue if given possibilities. 2) People tend to name the issues listed, rather than naming other issues.

The first hypothesis was disconfirmed, while the second is supported by the data. We spoke about an 'agenda-setting effect' within the questionnaire. Two points can be made. 1) The data shows, that if people are given a list of issues, they tend to pick from it rather than name other issues. 2) How are we to trust that the list given is the correct one? How does the researcher pick issues to prompt with? Does he analyze the media's content? If so, he 'prompts' with the media agenda and produces, at least a part of the 'agenda-setting effect' he is searching for.

The conclusion is, therefore, that if one does not want to inflate findings, one uses open questions when assessing the voters' concerns.

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<sup>1</sup> See tables 6 and 7 in Appendix XII

Although there was considerable overlapping between what people remembered from the various media, there were remarkable differences as well. The items remembered from radio and television were more identical than when newspapers were compared with either radio or television.

The chapter has been an attempt to establish the voter agenda at three different time-points in the campaign. It is noticeable, how different these three timepoints are. It should be noted, however, that the last wave probably measures the voter agenda over the whole campaign, as seen in retrospect, rather than the issues the voters were most concerned about at that particular time.

# PART FOUR

## XIII. THE RELATION OF THE THREE 'AGENDAS'

1. Party Agenda vs. Media Agenda
2. Media Agenda vs. Voter Agenda
3. Party Agenda vs. Voter Agenda
4. Media, Parties and Party Supporters
5. A Summary

## XIV. CONCLUSION

1. General Conclusions
2. Agenda-Setting in the Icelandic General Election Campaign of April 1987

## XV. APPENDICES

1. Appendices dealing with method:

APPENDIX A: Instructions for coding newspaper material

APPENDIX B: Instructions for coding television news  
and current affairs programmes

APPENDIX C: Instructions for coding printed propaganda

APPENDIX D: Instructions for coding televised  
propaganda

APPENDIX E: Questionnaires

APPENDIX F: Recoding Rationale

$F_1$  : Countries

$F_2$  : Issues

$F_3$  : Issues for correlational statistics

$F_4$  : Age

$F_5$  : Constituency

APPENDIX G: Spearman's rho

APPENDIX H: Reliability tests

APPENDIX I: Individuals interviewed in the media

2. Appendices containing tables:

APPENDIX X

APPENDIX XI

APPENDIX XII

APPENDIX XIII

## XVI. BIBLIOGRAPHY

# XIII. THE THREE

## AGENDAS

This final data-based chapter is centered around three main questions:

- I. How well did the political parties manage to control the media agenda?
- II. How well did the media manage to determine public concerns?
- III. How well did the political parties perform in affecting the voter agenda?

The chapter is divided into five main sections, dealing with the above questions. The first section discusses the relationship between party agendas and media agendas. A distinction is made between printed propaganda and televised party introductions.

The second section focuses on the relation between each medium's agenda and voter agendas in the three survey waves. The media data is broken into eight week-long parts. Differences according to sex, age and residence are sought after.

The third section examines the relationship between the party agendas and the three voter agendas, both generally and in terms of demographic differences.

The fourth section deals with voter agendas in terms of party support, and the final section is a summary, in which the questions put forward at the beginning of the chapter are answered.

Most of the discussion is based on Spearman's rho. Issues have been recoded into 13 categories.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See a discussion of Spearman's rho in Appendix G and Recoding Rationale in Appendix F.

# XIII.1. PARTY AGENDA

## VS. MEDIA AGENDA

Chapter X showed how different the parties' lists of preferences were between printed pamphlets and televised programmes. It was also argued, that this was due to at least two factors: a) The content of the pamphlets was determined before the campaign started, and they should therefore be looked at as election manifestos to a certain degree. The televised broadcasts, however, were spread over the whole campaign period, and often contained responses to what others had said earlier; b) because of (a), printed pamphlets were more in the style of official documents with ideological undertones, while the televised programmes offered their day-to-day policies and responses to political stimuli.

In this analysis, each party is looked at separately and first at printed material, if that was available, and then at televised programmes. Each medium's agenda is looked at as a whole, all eight weeks taken together.<sup>1</sup>

Care should be taken not to interpret the correlations as causal, because of the classical chicken and egg problem. No time-factor is taken into account in the analysis, and correlations may be by chance and not because of some causal relationship. However, the figures may indicate that some of the parties were more successful in building the agenda than others.

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<sup>1</sup> Tables XIII.1 and XIII.2 in Appendix XIII show the correlations between each party's propaganda material and each medium's agenda

### **The People's Party (SDP)**

The issues discussed in the party's manifesto and its printed propaganda material were most discussed in the independent media. The highest correlation was with news on RÚVTV (.41), followed by Channel 2 (.24) and the Daily (.24). The correlation was lower with all party papers, highest with the Morning Paper (.23), but lowest with the party's own People's Paper (.01).

The SDP's televised agenda fared better. Highest, again, were correlations between the party and RÚVTV (.46) and the Daily (.42), the People's Paper and the Time (.33) and the Morning Paper (.30). The Party's agenda was least put across in Channel 2 (.26) and the National Will (.25).

The only issue from the SDP's agenda to be covered extensively in all media was industrial relations. All papers covered it, both in news and editorials. The only other election issue to be discussed to some considerable extent was agriculture, which the Time covered both in news and editorials, and the Daily discussed on several occasions in editorials. The SDP and the Daily are known to agree on agricultural policy, cut subsidies and make the industry more market oriented. The Time on the other hand supports farmers and the subsidy system.

### **The Progressive Party (PP)**

The PP got through its message considerably better than the SDP, both from printed pamphlets and television.

The printed material correlated highest with the Morning Paper (.54), followed by RÚVTV (.35). The National Will's news correlated lowest (.25).

RÚVTV's news-coverage was closest to the party's televised agenda (.58). The Daily (.48), the Morning Paper (.41) and the PP's Time (.36) came next. The party's preferences corresponded least with

the National Will's news (.15), with the People's Paper and Channel 2 in between.

The Progressive Party did not, as the SDP, discuss industrial relations much. Its election issues were the accomplishments of government, both generally and in terms of the economy, education, the health service, fishing and agriculture. None of these were particularly high on any of the media's agendas, except fishing, which was high on all media agendas except the People's Paper's and the National Will's, and agriculture in the Time and the Daily as discussed earlier.

### **The Independence Party (IP)**

The IP's printed material probably got more evenly distributed coverage than any other party's. The highest correlation was between the party's printed material and its own paper, the Morning Paper (.68) Second came RÚVTV (.55) and the Daily Newspaper (.49). Channel 2 appears to have been furthest from the party in this respect (.38), with the other media in between.

Similar results are found for the televised party agenda. Correlations are higher than in the case of most other parties, except perhaps the Citizen's Party. The Morning Paper's (.72) RÚVTV's (.70) and the Daily's news (.70) corresponded closest to the party's issue preferences. The Time came third, (.62). Lowest was the National Will (.32) and the other media were all above (.40).

The IP got its general message across, but did not manage to get its main election issues high on all the media's agendas, that is, the accomplishments of the government and matters related to the economy. Two other issues discussed much by the party, however, were prominent in some of the media. Fishing was frequently discussed in all the media except the People's Paper and the National Will; and the Guðmundsson affair was covered extensively in all the media's news except the government papers. The accomplishments of

the government especially the economy, were discussed somewhat favourably in the Daily Newspaper.

### **The People's Alliance (PA)**

The party's printed message got through best in its own medium, the National Will (.46), but worst in Channel 2 (.05) and the Daily Newspaper (.08). All the other media were between (.15) and (.33) in this respect.

The party's televised propaganda fared worst on Channel 2 and then in its own paper (.47), but best in RÚVTV (.72). The other media were evenly spread between the two.

The party fought the election on three main issues: industrial relations; the economy; and disarmament and Icelandic defence. Other issues high on its agenda were: education; housing and regional policy. As said earlier, industrial relations were high on all media's agendas. The economy was not prominent in any medium's news, but discussed in the Daily's editorials. That however was different from the PA's discussion which related the government's record negatively. Education was somewhat prominent in the National Will's news. Disarmament and defence were discussed often in editorials, both in the Morning Paper and the National Will, but with different emphases. The Morning Paper said that Iceland should continue her membership in NATO and keep the American naval base in Keflavík. The related issue of Nuclear free Scandinavia often popped up as well, the paper saying that it was not a fruitful discussion, as the world situation did not allow for it and so on. The National Will took a completely different view on all these matters. Iceland should leave NATO, close the base and take full part in declaring a nuclear free Scandinavia.

### **The Social Democratic Alliance (SDA)**

The party did not distribute any printed material that could be analyzed.

In the case of its televised propaganda, it fared somewhat worse than all the above, but worst on Channel 2 (.07) and the People's Paper (.07), which party had only recently recruited three of the SDA's four MPs. News in the Daily (.32) and the Time (.30) corresponded best with the party's preferences.

The party hardly mentioned the hottest media issues, industrial relations and the Guðmundsson affair. It stressed constitutional changes, not discussed in any of the media. The second most important issue was housing, not high on any medium's agenda. The only election issues covered in the media were fishing and defence, discussed both in editorials in the Morning Paper and the National Will as discussed above. The SDA's position can be regarded as between the IP's and the PA's on this matter, the SDA wanting to review the position of the naval base, but staying a member of NATO.

### **The Women's List (WL)**

The WL's agenda was treated worst of all the parties' in the media. This is true both of printed and televised propaganda material.

The party's printed agenda correlated negatively with news in three media, (-.18) in the case of the Daily, (-.14) with Channel 2 and (-.05) with the People's Paper. The party's printed agenda got by far best coverage through in the National Will (.34).

The same is true of the WL's televised agenda. It fared best in the National Will (.35) but worst on Channel 2 (-.17). The other media were closer to Channel 2 than the National Will in this respect.

The WL fought the election primarily on two issues, sexual equality and education. Other issues high on its agenda were social issues, those related to nurseries, facilities for the aged, the health service and such. Suffice to say, that none of these issues were high

on the media's agendas. The only one to be covered to some extent was education, in one medium, the National Will.

### **The Humanist Party (HP)**

There was no printed material available from the HP.

HP's televised party agenda got through best on RÚVTV (.54), the National Will (.45) and the People's Paper (.44), but worst in the Morning Paper (.22).

The three most prominent issues in the Humanist Party's agenda were: industrial relations; foreign borrowing and the government's record, which the party said was bad. The only one of those to be covered in news was industrial relations. Foreign borrowing was hardly mentioned at all.

### **Movement for Co-operation and Equality (MCE)**

No printed material was available.

The party's televised issue preferences got considerable coverage in all media. The correlation was highest with the National Will (.45), the Time (.36) and the Morning Paper (.34) but lowest with RÚVTV (.11) and Channel 2 (.07).

The party's election issues were regional policy, social services and education. Social services were somewhat covered in all the media, and education was third on the National Will's agenda.

### **The National Party (NP)**

No printed material was available from the National Party.

The NP's agenda got through similarly or even better than the MCE's. This is not surprising, if it is kept in mind how alike the parties were in their issue preferences.<sup>1</sup> However, the party got

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<sup>1</sup> There are discussions of a merger between the parties (May 1989)

through worst in the National Will (.10), but best in the Time (.55) and Morning Paper (.51).

The party's main issue was regional equality which was not covered extensively in any of the media. The second issue, agriculture, was covered in the Time's news and in editorials in both the Time and the Daily.

### **The Citizens' Party (BP)**

The BP's printed message was closest to news in the Morning Paper (.71), the Time (.61) and RÚVTV (.60). It was furthest from the People's Paper (.20) and the National Will (.33).

The party's televised propaganda material correlated (.80) with news in the Daily Newspaper, and (.75) with RÚVTV. It did worst in the National Will, where the correlation was (.34).

Industrial relations and industrial affairs, fishing and agriculture were the Citizen's Party's main concerns in the campaign, apart from the Guðmundsson affair. Industrial relations, fishing and the Guðmundsson affair were high on most media's agendas.

## **XIII.2. MEDIA AGENDA** **VS. VOTER AGENDA**

We have seen through the discussion in chapters XI and XII the relative instability of both media agendas and voter agendas. There appears to have been a very rapid turnover of concerns, both in the media and among voters. These themes will now be related, by looking

at correlations between various media's agendas and voter agendas. One of the main concerns of this section is the time factor.<sup>1</sup>

First there is a general discussion of the relations and then a more detailed analysis, in which demographic and political factors are taken into account.

When looking at relations between individual media and main concerns of voters at each point in time, one should be careful not to translate strong correlations into causal relationships, at least not at face value. Several things have to be taken into consideration before any such interpretations are given. First, is the time factor. Obviously one has to ensure that the media material being correlated comes before the interview answers in time. Not as transparent perhaps, is the requirement that those whose answers are being correlated with a certain medium, use that particular medium regularly. For instance, if the People's Paper's news and voters' concerns correlated highly, it would be naive to say that this was because the paper's coverage had "affected" voters' concerns. It is difficult to see how people become affected by a paper they do not read. If such a correlation was to be interpreted in terms of effects, one would have to talk about indirect effects and offer justifications and explanations, with reference to factual evidence. The correlations might even be due to a third factor, which affected both the paper in question and the voters' concerns. To begin with, however, the correlations will only be looked at face value. Interpretation will follow later.

Table 50 shows correlations (Spearman's rho) between each of the campaign's first four weeks of news coverage in each medium and the voters' concerns in the first survey wave.

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<sup>1</sup> The media agendas were split into eight week-long parts, and each wave in the survey panel constitutes a separate voter agenda

**TABLE 50**  
**CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA COVERAGE IN**  
**THE FIRST FOUR WEEKS AND VOTERS'**  
**CONCERNS IN THE FIRST SURVEY WAVE**

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúvttv	Channel 2
Week 1	.21	.14	.15	.15	.06	.41	.11
Week 2	.42	.24	.45	.18	.21	.34	.29
Week 3	.78	.65	.27	.33	.37	.58	.58
Week 4	.81	.73	.47	.65	.76	.77	.74

At least five main general conclusions can be drawn from the table. First, there is a strong trend over time. With only two exceptions, correlations rise as it comes nearer the survey.

The second main conclusion is that media coverage in the fourth week, that is the week before the survey was performed, correlated highest with voters' concerns.

Third, the People's Paper's coverage correlated on the whole best with voters' concerns, with RÚVTV, the Daily Newspaper and Channel 2 not far behind. Next in this respect was the National Will and finally the Time and the Morning Paper.

Fourth, there do not appear to be any systematic differences between newspapers on the one hand, and broadcasting media on the other.

Fifth, the voters' agenda correlated highest with news coverage in the "independent" media, i.e. the ones that do not have any formal ties with any of the political parties, with the notable exception of the People's Paper.

Industrial relations, the Guðmundsson affair and the election race were very much covered in all media in March. These three issues were among the five most important in all the media. This was most apparent in the case of television. The six most important issues among voters in the first wave were, as will be recalled, industrial relations, the Guðmundsson affair, regional equality, the election race, economics, and agriculture, in that order.

Industrial relations was the most important issue on both television channels and close to the top in all newspapers. The Guðmundsson affair was second on Channel 2 and third on RÚVTV. It was second in all newspapers except the Morning Paper. If we select out the five first news-items in March, then these two issues get even more prominence. 36.4% of first five items on RÚVTV were about industrial relations and 30% on Channel 2. 9.1% on RÚVTV were about the Guðmundsson affair and 15% on Channel 2. This is even further inflated if we select out the first three items. Then 46.8% on RÚVTV were about industrial relations and 12.9% the Guðmundsson affair. Corresponding figures for Channel 2 were 33.8% and 23.1%. More than half of first items in March on RÚVTV were about industrial relations and more than a quarter on Channel 2. The Guðmundsson affair ranked 4 times number one on RÚVTV but 8 times on Channel 2. The Guðmundsson affair was discussed 3 times in current affairs programmes on RÚVTV in March and twice on Channel 2. Industrial relations were the subject of two such programmes on RÚVTV. The third issue, however, was not prominent in news in any of the media. On the other hand, it was discussed in several newspaper articles in March, 1 in the People's Paper, 6 in the Daily, 1 in the Time and 2 in the Morning Paper. The fourth issue on the voter agenda, although hardly a separate issue, was the election race. It was the most important news in all newspapers in March, second on RÚVTV and fifth on Channel 2. It was usually not among first three issues, but one of five issues most often covered among the first five Icelandic items in a bulletin. Although the election race is too general to be considered an 'issue' it is difficult to see how people are supposed to know much about elections without the media.

It was found, that people who relied little on the media and used them seldom, were far less likely to name any issues. For instance, more than a third of those seldom watching news on RÚVTV did not name an issue. The issues thought most important by the respondents

that used the media a lot and relied on them were in most cases the same as were prominent in the media. Industrial relations, the Guðmundsson affair, the election, economics, fishing and agriculture were all issues thought far more important by those who relied heavily on newspapers and read them daily or almost daily. The same is true of those who relied much on television, except that people from both groups, i.e. those who relied much and those who used it much thought industrial relations and the Guðmundsson affair were most important. However, when asked how often they watched news on RÚVTV, industrial relations was thought much more important by heavy than light viewers. The Guðmundsson affair on the other hand was more important for those who watched news on RÚVTV seldom. When it comes to Channel 2, those naming the Guðmundsson affair were heavy viewers of its news and the same is true of those naming industrial relations. Those naming regional equality, hardly watched Channel 2, indicating once more, that it was a rural issue.

There were some considerable differences in this respect in terms of sex, age and residence.<sup>1</sup> If we look first at sex, all the general conclusions above are valid for both sexes, but there are several interesting differences. All except five correlations were considerably higher among men than women. Differences between the third and fourth weeks were greater in the case of women than men. Correlations between media coverage were much more stable, albeit rising consistently, among men rather than women. The last week and women's concerns correlated even higher with the last week than men's, but considerably lower in all earlier weeks, with only two exceptions. Correlations between the men's agendas and the party paper's coverages were more similar from paper to paper. With women, however, the governing parties' papers correlated notably worse.

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<sup>1</sup> Tables showing these correlations are in Appendix XIII. (tables XIII.3 - XIII.9)

Industrial relations, as will be recalled, were more the concern of women than men. Although being prominent in all media, it was much higher on the TV channels' agenda than the newspapers'. TV was the single most important medium for women. The Guðmundsson affair was more a men's issue than women's. Although very important in TV, it was probably more important in newspapers, in editorials, and political columns. Men said more often they relied on newspapers than did women. Matters related to the economy were almost exclusively the concern of men. Such matters were much more often dealt with in newspapers than on television, especially the government papers. Regional equality was more an issue of concern to men, but this was hardly discussed in the media, except for a few newspaper articles.

The population was divided into three age groups.<sup>1</sup> The two older groups followed the general patterns in most respects. The independent media, RÚVTV, Channel 2 and the Daily correlated somewhat higher with the oldest group than the average. The youngest group was significantly different from the other two. First, almost all correlations were lower than was the case with the other groups. Second, the difference between the fourth week and earlier weeks was considerably greater with this group than the other two. Finally, the two opposition papers correlated considerably higher than the two government papers.

The Guðmundsson affair was more the concern of the youngest age group than others. This was more discussed in the opposition papers than the government papers. The economy was more discussed by the government papers than others. It was the concern of older voters more than younger. Both the Time and the Morning Paper were referred to favourably by older respondents.

The most obvious differences were between people living in Reykjavík and the surrounding urban area, and those from rural

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<sup>1</sup> Oldest born 1917 to 1934; medium born 1935 to 1952; youngest born 1953 to 1969

areas.<sup>1</sup> Correlations were much lower in the case of urban residents. RÚVTV, Channel 2 and the People's Paper's news correlated highest with voter concerns. Then came the National Will, but the government papers were noticeably lower than all other media. The Daily Newspaper and RÚVTV correlated highest with rural residents' concerns. Then came the party papers, with the government papers much higher than was the case with urban dwellers. Of the two, the 'rural based' Time was somewhat higher, and higher than the National Will. Finally, differences between the fourth week and earlier weeks were much more apparent with urban voters than rural. Regional equality was a rural issue. It was little covered in the media, except in a few articles, most of them in the Daily. The Guðmundsson affair was an urban affair. It was covered in all media, but by far the most on Channel 2, which was at the time mainly reached by urban residents.

The two issues that were most often remembered by respondents in the first survey wave, the Guðmundsson affair and industrial relations, were among the most important issues in all the media in March. Furthermore, they were among the first items on television and front page press material more often than any other issues.

## **THE SECOND WAVE**

Table 51 shows correlations between media coverage in the seven weeks prior to the second survey wave.

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<sup>1</sup> The two constituencies almost completely urban, Reykjavík and Reykjanes are taken together and the rest of the country constitutes another group

TABLE 51  
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA COVERAGE IN  
THE FIRST SEVEN WEEKS AND VOTERS'  
CONCERNS IN THE SECOND SURVEY WAVE

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúvttv	Channel 2
Week 1	.37	.39	.35	.30	.16	.59	.22
Week 2	.42	.49	.35	.35	.32	.60	.39
Week 3	.68	.69	.41	.36	.35	.61	.59
Week 4	.70	.56	.42	.55	.65	.67	.47
Week 5	.22	.54	.44	.43	.44	.45	.46
Week 6	.43	.43	.30	.29	.24	.54	.41
Week 7	.49	.68	.55	.51	.75	.54	.70

Over the seven weeks, RÚVTV and the Daily Newspaper correlated in general highest with the voter agenda in the second survey wave. Correlations in the case of these two media were somewhat more stable over the whole period than is true with the other media. Channel 2 and the opposition papers came second, and the lowest correlations were with the government parties' papers. The third, fourth and the seventh weeks correlated highest. The reason for the high correlations in the third and fourth weeks is probably that this is when the Guðmundsson affair took place. This sparked off a series of election related news items, which were important in the second survey.

The most important issues according to the respondents were the election race, industrial relations, economics, regional equality, inflation and the Guðmundsson affair. The two first were among the two most important issues in the three first weeks of April in all the media, although in reverse order. News of the economy were somewhat more prominent in the media during these weeks than in March, and especially inflation. Both TV channels covered inflation several times, among first three items, and RÚVTV ran a few items early in the bulletin about the economy. The Guðmundsson affair was covered to some extent in the media, but was not frontpage material or among the first in TV bulletins. Regional equality was not a media issue, but all media covered the related matters of transport. All the media

covered the fishing industry as before. The health service was fairly prominent in all the media except the Time and education was covered considerably in all newspapers except the Daily.

The main differences<sup>1</sup> between sexes were that correlations between media news and the women's agenda in the second wave were more stable than the men's, and generally somewhat higher. There were more fluctuations with men, and differences between sixth week and the seventh much higher in their case.

18% of the women did not name any issues; the corresponding figure for men was 13.7%. Men were more concerned about regional equality, the economy and inflation than were women. Women, on the other hand, were noticeably more worried about industrial relations than the men. Neither general economics nor inflation can be said to have been media issues. Some stories, however, were run on TV, especially RÚVTV, and economics were fairly prominent in newspapers, particularly the government papers, which men were more favourable towards than women. Industrial relations were more on the opposition papers' agenda than the government papers'; and on both television channels it was the single most important issue. This is the more evident as one selects out fewer of the first Icelandic issues in a bulletin. It will be recalled, that television was the most important medium for women and of the newspapers, they were more favourable towards the opposition papers than men, as well as being more hostile towards the government papers.

The most noticeable difference between the three age groups was that correlations were lower between media data and young voters' concerns than was evident with the other age groups (and the average). There was considerably more stability in correlations with the middle group than the others and this was least so in the case of

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<sup>1</sup> See tables over correlations in terms of sex, age and residence in Appendix XIII (tables XIII.10 - XIII.16)

the youngest age group. Television, especially RÚVTV correlated highest with the oldest group. The government papers correlated considerably lower with the youngest group's agenda than the other age groups. So did the Daily's and RÚVTV's.

18.2% of the youngest group named no issues, while the same figure for the oldest was 13.2%. One "issue" was named by more than half of the youngest group, the election race compared with 41% of the middle aged group and 30.5% of the oldest. The election race was the most prominent issue in two newspapers, the People's Paper and the Daily, during the first three weeks of April. It was the second most prominent in news in all other media, except the Morning Paper, where it was fourth. Younger people rely less on newspapers and use them less than their elders. Older respondents were more favourable towards the government papers, which concentrated less on the race as did the opposition papers, the Daily and television. Concern about the economy and inflation seems to have grown with age. These issues were most covered on television. Although not as stark as the differences between age groups, industrial relations were more the concern of the older.

There were sharp differences in terms of residence. First, almost all correlations were considerably higher in the case of rural residents. Second, they were somewhat more stable over time among rural voters. Third, the opposition papers correlated higher than government papers with urban voters' concerns, while such differences were hardly detected with rural voters. The independent media and the People's Paper's correlated highest in the case of urban residents.

There were no differences between urban and rural respondents as regards naming issues. Although both groups were extremely concerned about the election race, this was notably more so with urban residents. Other differences on separate issues were not great enough to allow for discussion, with the very important exception of regional equality, which was the second most important issue for rural respon-

dents, named by 15.2%, while only 1.0% of urban voters named it. As has been discussed several times, this was not a media issue.

### **THE THIRD WAVE**

As shown in the chapter on the voter agenda, the "concern" question in the third survey measured different things than the "concern" questions in the first and second waves.<sup>1</sup> The main difference was that respondents were asked to reflect on the whole campaign and name the issues they thought most important, whereas the first and second waves were intended to measure which issues were most salient at that particular time. The first and second waves are therefore better suited for agenda-setting interpretations. People did not, in the third wave, name issues such as the election race itself, or those closely related to it such as the Guðmundsson affair. People did not include such campaign detail in their answers as was evident in the former two survey waves. However, if one chooses to look at these answers in agenda-setting terms, it is likely that they are a result of a much longer process of relationships between media coverage and voter perception than the eight weeks analyzed. Furthermore, these issue preferences reflect more than just relations between media agendas and voter agendas. Many more factors are at work: party preferences; the parties' campaigns; personal relationships; interests and general ideological stands. These explanations are thought to contribute to the fact that correlations were very much lower than those reported on hitherto. All but one were negative. If the media material that was explicitly and exclusively related to the campaign had been omitted, correlations would have been considerably higher. See table 52.

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<sup>1</sup> See chapter XII and questionnaires in Appendix E

TABLE 52  
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA COVERAGE IN  
THE CAMPAIGN AND VOTERS' CONCERNS IN THE  
THIRD SURVEY WAVE

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúvtv	Channel 2
Voters	-.16	-.20	.0	-.19	-.08	-.13	-.18

When looked at from this point of view, the Morning Paper correlated highest with voters' concerns, the only medium not below zero.

The main issues were: Housing; industrial relations; regional equality; the health service; education and sexual equality. None of these were very prominent in the media during the campaign, except industrial relations, which dominated the scene most of the time. Housing was not among the major media issues: it was discussed several times in April in the Time and the National Will but hardly ever on television. News about the health service were never among the first stories in the media, but there were always some news about it, especially in newspapers. The same can be said about education. It was never among the most important news, but covered to some degree over time in the newspapers. Sexual equality was not a media issue.

No other patterns could be detected in this respect when all respondents were treated together. However, when men were singled out, the Morning Paper's correlation rose even higher. The Morning Paper's agenda also correlated highest with women, closely followed by the National Will. In general, there was no difference between men and women, except that men were generally closer to the media.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See table over correlations in terms of sex, age and constituency in appendix XIII (table 17)

It can be recalled that men used newspapers more than women. 22.0% of the men did not name any issue. The corresponding figure for women was 28.6%. Industrial relations was more the concern of women. This issue was heavily covered in all media, but most extensively on television, which was the single most important medium for women. Sexual equality was also a women's issue, but hardly named at all in the media. Education was also much more the concern of women than men. The most notable men's issue was housing, which was not a media issue during the campaign.

When it comes to age, the National Will corresponded closest to the oldest group's concerns. The Morning Paper and the National Will correlated highest with the youngest age group.

The middle aged group was somewhat different from the other two. This group was more concerned about industrial relations, sexual equality and regional equality. Of the three age groups, this one was least concerned about education and housing, the last being most the concern of the oldest group. So was the health service.

The concerns of those living in rural areas correlated much higher with media coverage, the Morning Paper on top, than was the case with urban respondents.

26.8% of those living in the most urban areas did not name issues, while 22.6% of rural residents did not. The most obvious differences in terms of issues were that industrial relations were considerably more an urban issue and regional equality almost entirely a rural one.

## XIII.3. PARTY AGENDA

### VS. VOTER AGENDA

This section deals with the relations between party propaganda and voters' concerns in the three survey waves. As already demonstrated, there were some considerable differences between printed and televised propaganda from the parties. This is a function of the difference in nature of these two forms, and especially the difference in timing.<sup>1</sup>

Looking at the printed material, the six largest parties' material was analyzed.<sup>2</sup> First to emerge is how differently the parties' concerns correlate with the three survey waves and to which wave they were closest. The PP, the IP, the BP and the PA correlated highest with the second survey, but the SDP and WL with the third survey. This probably says more about the different contents of the pamphlets than anything else. The four that correlated highest with the second survey contained more election race-related material than the SDP's and the WL's pamphlets. The SDP's and the WL's pamphlets were more oriented towards social problems and these parties's solutions to them than was the case with the other parties.

There were not many differences in terms of sex in the first survey, except that men's concerns correlated much higher with the Citizen's Party's and the IP's agendas than women, which correlated much higher with the WL's than did men. Women correlated higher than men in the second survey with the WL, the PA, the PP and the IP. Men correlated higher than women in the third survey wave with all parties agendas' except the WL's.

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<sup>1</sup> See chapter X on the Party agendas

<sup>2</sup> See tables of correlations in Appendix XIII, (tables 18 - 20)

The youngest age group correlated notably higher with the SDP in the first wave than the other two age groups, while the reverse was true about other parties' agendas. The PA's and the WL's agendas correlated highest with the middle aged group. In the second survey, the oldest correlated highest, and the youngest lowest with all parties, except that the middle aged group correlated highest with both the IP and the PA, but lowest in the case of the SDP. The general trend in the third wave was that the oldest group correlated highest, and the youngest lowest.

In terms of residence, the Progressive Party correlated higher with rural residents in all waves. The same is true of the Citizen's Party. The PA's, the WL's and less the IP's material correlated higher with urban voters in all three waves.

When it comes to televised propaganda a somewhat different picture appears.<sup>1</sup> Almost all the programmes were broadcast before the second survey. The highest correlations were between televised propaganda and voters's concerns in the second survey, except with the MCE, which correlated highest with the last survey.

Men correlated higher with televised party propaganda, with few exceptions. Women correlated higher with the WL's and the MCE's material in all surveys, with the SDP in the third, and the IP in the second.

The middle aged group correlated highest in the second and third waves, especially with the parties that managed to get MPs elected.

Rural residents' concerns correlated higher with party televised material in almost all cases, with the notable exception of the Humanist Party, which correlated higher with urban residents' concerns.

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<sup>1</sup> See tables in Appendix XIII (tables XIII.21 - XIII.23)

## XIII.4. MEDIA, PARTIES, AND PARTY SUPPORTERS

This section examines the relation between parties, media and supporters of the various parties.

In the first survey we asked respondents for which party they thought they would vote if polling day were tomorrow. The voters are divided into six groups according to voting intentions.<sup>1</sup> These supporters' agendas were correlated with media agendas in the first four weeks.<sup>2</sup>

Those who said they would support the SDP correlated in general slightly higher than the average, with all the media except two, the SDP's own People's Paper and the Daily.

The Progressive Party's supporters correlated generally higher with the media than the average, except for the People's Paper.

The IP's supporters correlated somewhat lower with media agendas than the average voter, except with the Daily and RÚVTV, in which cases the correlations were slightly higher than the average.

Those who reported that they would vote for the People's Alliance correlated considerably lower with all media agendas except the People's Paper's, which they corresponded notably better with than the average in the first three weeks. The correlations were identical in the fourth week.

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<sup>1</sup> Only the parties receiving most support are taken into account, the SDP, PP, IP, PA, WL and BP

<sup>2</sup> See tables in Appendix XIII (tables XIII.24 - XIII.29)

The WL's supporters correlated lower than the average with all media. The highest correlations over all the period were with the People's Paper and RÚVTV. Another noticeable feature was, that differences were much greater between third and fourth weeks than with other parties' supporters.

Finally, those who said they were going to vote for the brand new Citizen's Party correlated higher than average with all four party papers, but lower with the three independent media.

Party supporters' agendas in the second survey and media news in the seven first weeks were also correlated.<sup>1</sup>

The SDP's supporters correlated slightly lower with all media (seven weeks) than the average, except Channel 2, in which case correlations were a little higher.

The Progressive Party's supporters correlated much higher with all media agendas than the average. Furthermore, these correlations were more stable over time than with the average voter, i.e. differences were not great between weeks.

The IP's supporters correlated slightly lower with all media than the average voter. Differences, however, were not great.

Those who gave the People's Alliance as their party in the second survey correlated lower with the media than the average, except their correlation with the People's Paper was slightly higher.

The Women's List's supporters correlated much lower with all media than the average voter. It is noteworthy, that the party's supporters correlated by far the highest with media news in the fourth week.

The Citizen's Party's supporters in the second survey correlated much higher with all media's coverage than the average voter.

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<sup>1</sup> See tables in Appendix XIII (tables XIII.30 - XIII.35)

Finally, we correlated media coverage over all eight weeks and supporters of each of the six parties in the election.<sup>1</sup>

Those who supported the SDP correlated lower than the average with the National Will, but much higher with all other media. The differences were greatest in the case of the Daily, the Morning Paper and the TV-channels.

The Progressive Party's supporters correlated higher than the average with all media, except the People's Paper and the Morning Paper, which were close to the average.

Those who voted the Independence Party correlated slightly lower with media coverage than the average. The difference, however, was negligible.

Those who supported the People's Alliance in the election correlated higher than the average voter with media coverage, with the exception of the party's own paper, where the correlation was the same as the average.

The WL's supporters' concerns correlated considerably worse than the average with media coverage, except with the National Will, where the correlation was identical to the average.

Correlations between supporters of the Citizens' Party and media coverage over the whole period were lower than average in all cases except for RÚVTV.

This section is concluded by looking at correlations between party propaganda and concerns of supporters of the six largest parties. We begin with the first survey.<sup>2</sup>

Supporters of the People's Party correlated about average with printed material from the SDP and the PA, but lower than the

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<sup>1</sup> See table XIII.36 in Appendix XIII

<sup>2</sup> See tables over correlations between printed and televised propaganda material and concerns of supporters of the parties in Appendix XIII (tables XIII.37 and XIII.38)

average with the other four parties' agendas. The party's supporters were close to the average to all ten parties' televised material.

The respondents that said they would support the PP in the first survey were on the average in the case of the SDP, the PP and the IP printed material, somewhat lower with the PA and the WL, but higher with the Citizens' Party's material. The PP's supporters were close to average in the case of the SDP, the SDA, the WL and the MCE, slightly lower with the Humanist Party, but somewhat higher with the IP's, the NP's, the BP's, the PA's and the Progressive Party's material.

The IP's supporters were close to the average in correlations with all the parties' printed material, except that they were slightly higher than the average with the BP. The party's supporters were close to the average with all parties' TV propaganda, except somewhat higher with the Independence Party's.

The PA's supporters were considerably lower than the average with printed material from the PP, the IP, the WL and the BP, slightly lower with the PA's, but correlated as the average with the SDP's. The party's supporters correlated higher than the average with the SDA TV's material, average with the IP's material, but lower with all other parties.

The WL's supporters correlated considerably lower than the average with all parties printed propoganda, except with the SDP's, in which case the party's supporters were slightly above average. They correlated on the average with the SDP's, the PA's and the HP's agendas. They were below the average with all the other, except the WL and the PP, most so with the IP. They were slightly above the average with the PP, and more so with the Women's List's TV material.

The BP's supporters correlated below the average with all parties' printed material, except the SDP's. They were around the average with all parties' TV propoganda, with two exceptions. They

were slightly below the average in the case of the People's Alliance and somewhat above with the Social Democratic Alliance.

Now we come to the second survey.<sup>1</sup>

First, the supporters of the People's Party. They correlated higher than the average voter with the SDP's printed material, but lower with all other parties' with the greatest difference in the case of the People's Alliance's material. They were on the average with the SDP's, the PP's, the IP's and the NP's televised material, but considerably lower with all other parties' material.

The Progressive Party's supporters were lower than the average with the SDP's and the PA's printed material, but higher with the other four, most so with the PP's and the BP's. They were lower than the average with the SDP's TV material, as well as the HP's and the MCE's, notably higher with the IP's, but close to the average with other parties' material.

The Independence Party's supporters were lower than average with three parties' printed propaganda, the SDP's, the PP's and the IP's, but close to the average in the other three cases. They were around the average with all parties' TV material, except the MCE's, where they were notably lower.

The PA's supporters in the second survey were close to the average voters' responses in the case of four parties' printed material, the SDP's the PP's, the IP's and the BP's. They were considerably higher with the PA's and the WL's agendas. They were lower than the average with the PP's, the IP's, the NP's and the BP's televised material, close to the average in the case of the SDP, the PA, the SDA and the MCE, but higher with the remaining two, the WL and the HP.

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<sup>1</sup> See tables over correlations between printed and televised propaganda material and concerns of supporters of the parties in Appendix XIII (tables XIII.39 - XIII.40)

The Women's List's supporters correlated lower than average with all parties' printed material, except the PA's in which case the correlation was slightly higher. They correlated lower than average with all parties TV agendas except the SDA's, to which they were identical, and the WL's where the correlation was above average.

The Citizens' Party's supporters correlated higher than the average with all parties printed material. The same is true of TV propaganda, except with the NP, where the correlation was identical and the HP, the NP and the BP, where correlations were somewhat lower.

Finally, we look at correlations between party propaganda and supporters of the largest six parties in the election.<sup>1</sup>

The SDP's voters correlated slightly above the average with the SDP's, the PP's and the BP's printed material, but lower with the other three parties' agendas. They were close to the average voters' correlations in the case of the PP, the IP, the PA, the SDA and the BP, but lower with the other.

Those who voted the Progressive Party in the election correlated higher than the general voter with printed material from the SDP and the BP, similar in the case of the PP, the IP and the WL, but lower with the PA. They correlated below average with TV material from the WL and the NP, higher with the SDA, but close to the average with other parties.

The IP's supporters were different from average correlations only with the IP's printed material, where the correlation was lower. They correlated lower than the average with all televised material.

Those who supported the People's Alliance correlated lower than the average with the SDP's the IP's and the WL's printed material, but similar in other cases. They correlated lower than the average

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<sup>1</sup> See tables on correlations between printed and televised propaganda material and concerns of supporters of the parties in Appendix XIII (tables XIII.41 - XIII.42)

with the MCE's and the NP's televised propaganda, higher with the SDA's and the PA's and similar with the other six parties.

The WL's voters were considerably below the average with printed material from the SDP, the PP, the IP, the BP and to a lesser extent the WL, but similar to material from the PA. They were far below the average with televised material from all the parties except the WL, where the correlation was slightly above the average.

There were not many differences in the case of the Citizens' Party's supporters and printed material, except, they were somewhat below in the case of the PP and more so for the IP. With televised material, they were on the average with all parties except two. They correlated lower with the MCE's and the National Party's agendas.

## **XIII.5. A SUMMARY**

In the case of printed propaganda and media news three general tendencies were clear, although not without exceptions.

First, media coverage, with the exception of the National Will corresponded considerably closer with parties on the right than on the left. Thus, the Independence Party's, the Citizens' Party's, the Progressive Party's and the People's Party's issue preferences were better covered than the People Alliance's and the Women's List's in six of the media. These two parties' policies were better covered in the National Will than anywhere else.

Second, the parties' policies were generally best covered in the Morning Paper, closely followed by RÚVTV. Then came the Daily, the National Will and the Time, more or less similar in this respect and finally the People's Paper and Channel 2.

Third, the party papers treated their party generally better than most other parties, with the exception of the People's Paper and the SDP.

When it comes to televised material, correlations were higher in general.

The four established parties and the Citizens' Party got their message across better than the smaller parties, with the Citizens' Party coming first, followed by the Independence Party, the Progressive Party, the People's Alliance and finally the People's Party. Then, with generally lower correlations came the National Party, the Humanist Party, the MCE, the Social Democratic Alliance and finally, by far worst "represented" was the Women's Alliance.

Although not as clear as with printed material, parties on the right got their policies generally better covered in the media than parties on the left.

The National Will covered the issue preferences of the People's Alliance, the Humanist Party, the MCE and the Women's List better than most other media.

The first trend evident in the correlations between media news-coverage and voters' concerns in the first two surveys is that the independent media correlated highest, followed by the opposition papers and finally the governing parties' papers. Second, the government papers' correlations were more stable over time than were the opposition papers'. The independent media's correlations, however, were more stable than all the party papers'. Third, correlations were generally highest between voters' concerns and media coverage in the last week before each of the two surveys. The third and fourth weeks, however, were extremely important.

There are four main differences between men and women in the two survey waves: first, men correlated generally higher in the last week before surveys than women; second, women correlated higher with the opposition papers and Channel 2; third, men correlated higher

with RÚVTV and the Daily than did women; finally, there were more stable correlations between men and the government paper than women, indicating a more "long-term" process.

In terms of age, the youngest age group differed from the other two in that correlations were lower. This group correlated lower with the government papers than the other two. There was more stability in correlations with the middle group than the other two. RÚVTV correlated considerably higher than all other media with the oldest group.

Almost all correlations were much higher between media data and among rural residents than urban. The opposition papers correlated higher than the government papers with urban respondents, while such differences were not found among rural voters.

In the third wave, the Morning Paper correlated highest of all media with voters' concerns, and higher with men than women, and higher with the oldest group than the other two. Men's concerns corresponded generally higher than women's with media material. Again, rural respondents correlated higher with the media than urban voters.

Generally, the four established parties' and the BP's agendas correlated highest with voters' concerns. Men correlated in most cases higher than women, except for the Women's List, where the reverse was evident. Older voters correlated generally higher with party agendas than the younger. This is especially true of the old four and the BP. Those living in rural constituencies correlated generally higher with party propaganda than urban voters. This was particularly the case with the Progressive Party.

Finally we look at how the supporters of the six largest parties correlated with party propaganda and media material. The general conclusion is that supporters of the parties were usually closer to their parties' propaganda than the average. The most notable exception is

the supporters of the Independence Party who correlated lower than the average voter with the party's propaganda.

The PA and the WL's supporters correlated generally lower with media material than the average voter. The SDP and the IP's supporters were close to the average, but the PP and the BP's supporters correlated generally higher with media material, especially in the first two surveys.

The supporters of the SDP, the PA and the WL correlated generally better with the People's Paper and the National Will than those who supported the PP, the IP and the BP. They, on the other hand, correlated generally higher with all other media than supporters of the SDP, the PA and the WL.

We conclude the chapter by answering the three questions raised at the beginning. Most of the answers, of course, have become obvious through the discussion, but are now reiterated.

I. The right wing parties, the Independence Party and the Citizens' Party, and the "centrist", Progressive Party and the People's Party managed to get their policies across in the media better than those on the left, the Women's List and the People's Alliance. The Women's List's agenda fared by far the worst in this respect. The National Will was the only effective "left" outlet.

II. The independent media, RÚVTV, Channel 2 and the Daily seem to have been somewhat superior in determining public concerns before the election. The opposition papers came second in the respect and the governing parties' papers last. However, the Morning Paper seems to have been more important on a longer term basis. This conclusion is supported by two facts: the paper's correlations with voters were more stable over time; and the paper correlated by far highest with voters' concerns in the last survey.

III. The four old parties and the Citizens' Party affected the voters' agenda more than the others. The Humanist Party, the MCE and National Party propaganda correlated also well with voters' concerns.

However, people saw much less of these parties, their propaganda and their candidates. None of them provided any printed material worth mentioning, and they got considerably less time in TV than the others. Moreover, they were hardly covered in news as demonstrated in chapter XI.

# XIV.1. GENERAL

## CONCLUSIONS

### PARTIES

The first Parliament in the world was established in Iceland (930 A.D.) and the political culture of Iceland has been extremely civilized: For several centuries, people have not been killed for their political convictions. Yet the political system as such is relatively young. The tradition of parliamentary democracy dates back only to 1904, when Iceland was granted Home Rule. In the decades before that, the relationship with Denmark was the main issue of Icelandic politics and remained so until Iceland became a sovereign state in 1918. Political divisions and parties were centred around the sovereignty theme until the issue was resolved.

In 1916 the first political parties along class divisions were formed. That year, two parties were established, the People's Party and the Progressive Party. A Liberal Party (1926) and a Conservative Party (1924) were also formed in this period, but merged to form the Independence Party in 1929. A Communist Party was formed in 1930, which merged in 1938 with a fraction of the SDP as the United Socialist Party. The USP again merged with a fraction of the SDP and the National Preservation Party, and the People's Alliance was born in 1956. So, if things are simplified considerably, the PA is the direct offspring of the Communist Party. It can be said, therefore, that the main actors that have dominated the scene for the most part of this century have all existed since 1930. These parties were to monopolize Icelandic politics for more than 50 years. Of course other parties were formed during the period, some gaining support among the electorate, but only briefly.

For the most part of this period, election results have been relatively predictable and shifts in electoral support have been comparatively small. Most changes in the number of MPs elected for a party were results of changes of constituency boundaries and the distribution of seats, the result of growing urbanization.

If one continues to simplify, economics has been the cleavage dominating Icelandic politics since Independence. Parties have divided on how to handle the extremely volatile economy, on a classical left-right continuum. However, the centre of gravity of Icelandic politics has moved rightwards. All parties now agree on a mixed economy, with as little state intervention as possible. No party currently advocates nationalization. The main issue is how much of the wealth should be taken by the state by means of taxation and redistributed through the welfare system. All agree on certain egalitarian goals: a free school system; a free national health service; state provision of the infrastructure, roads, ports, electricity, telecommunications, facilities for the aged, handicapped and so on. Another cleavage factor has been present since the end of the Second World War: NATO-membership and the American naval base in Keflavík. The People's Alliance and its predecessors have always been against and the Independence Party for it. The SDP and the PP have most of the time supported it, but at times shifted their positions and therefore been able to form coalition governments with the PA. The PA made the removal of the base a precondition for participating in government. The NATO factor however, has also drifted in the direction of the IP. The PA does not make the base removal a precondition any more and both the SDP and the PP support the base and NATO membership more firmly than in the past.

The relative stability has shown signs of falling apart during the last two decades or so. New parties have emerged on the scene and increased volatility of voters has been evident. Our analysis of the panel survey revealed that more than half of the respondents changed

their voting intentions between survey waves. Moreover, 43.9% said they voted for another party in 1987 than in the last election of 1983.

New issues have emerged and parties been formed around them. Most notable is the Women's List, formed around feminist ideas of sexual equality. The party is the only one that has managed to establish itself as a fifth party and increase its support between two elections. It is also likely to be around after the next election (1991). The party has not taken part in government and has therefore not been able to affect government policies directly. However, all the parties have to some extent taken notice of what the party stands for and the threat that the WL may take away their support among women.

The general election of 1987 was probably the culmination of the instability in the party system, with 10 parties fighting the 63 seats in the Althing.

We now turn to a brief discussion of the individual political parties, their support and its stability, and the issues in the election campaign.

### **People's Party**

The party received 15.2% (3,260 votes) of the total, 3.4% more than in the 1983 election. 10 MPs were elected, an increase of four over 1983. Since 1946, the SDP fared worst in 1974, when it got 9.1% of the vote. However, in the next election, 1978, it got 22%, its largest share of the vote during the period.

The SDP's support came primarily from young men. Its female supporters were more evenly distributed among age groups. The party got more than a fair share of new voters: 18.5% in all. 20.6% of its voters were new voters, 41.1% voted for the party in 1983, while 15.1% came from the IP, 6.5% from the SDA and 5.6% from the PA.

The party's election issues were: housing; agriculture; economic direction; taxes; the health service and industrial relations.

### **Progressive Party**

The PP received 18.9% (28,883 votes) of the total, 0.2% more than in the 1983 election. This gave the party 13 MPs, one fewer than in the last election. In 1963 the party got 28%, which was its largest share of the vote since 1946. It did worst in 1956 with 15.6% share of the poll.

The PP's support in the 1987 came more from older men than other groups. 61% of those who voted for it also did in 1983. 7% came from the SDP and 9.6% from the IP. 7% of its voters in 1987 were voting for the first time. The party got 7.6% of new voters, considerably less than its support from other age groups.

The issues most stressed by the party in the campaign were: the achievements of the government; housing; the health service; regional policy; environmental issues and economics.

### **Independence Party**

27.2% (44,484) voted for the IP, 11.9% less than in the previous election. The party won 18 MPs, (23 in 1983), the worst result for the party since independence. The previous lowest share of the vote was 32.7% in 1978, highest in 1974, 42.7%. Generally, however, it has been around 40%.

Most of the IP's support in the election came from middle aged men. 40% of men aged 40-50 voted for the party (20% of women in the age group). 72.6% of those who voted for the IP in the election, also did so in 1983. The party did not gain voters from other parties to any considerable extent. 14.2% of its voters came from the 6 new annuals voting for the first time. 23.5% of new voters voted for the party.

The party's election issues were: the achievements of the government; economics; taxes; inflation and general social affairs.

### **People's Alliance**

The PA lost 4.1% of the vote compared with 1983, taking 13.3% (20,382 votes). This gave the party 8 MPs (10 in 1983). This was the party's worst performance in an election since 1946, the previous poorest being 1959 with 15.3%. The party won its greatest victory in 1978, receiving 22.9% and the status of the second largest party (14 MPs) in Parliament.

The party got more support from the younger and the older groups and most from women in the oldest group. 57% of those who voted for the party did so in 1983. 4.7% came from the SDA, 4.7% from the PP, and 3.5% from the SDP. 19.8% of its voters in 1987 were voting for the first time. 14.3% of first time voters cast their vote for the PA.

The PA's election issues were: industrial relations; taxes; education; foreign affairs and disarmament; housing and regional policy.

### **Social Democratic Alliance**

The SDA was a newcomer in Icelandic politics in 1983, when it took 7.3% of the vote and won 4 seats. In 1987 it had no MPs, with 0.2% (246 votes in all). The support from 1983 seems to have diffused among other parties, somewhat evenly, though the SDP got a little less than 30% of those who voted for the SDA in 1983.

The party was the most ideological party in the campaign, stressing constitutional changes and defence, as well as housing, and the fishing industry.

### **Women's List**

The WL got 10.1% (15,468 votes), an increase of 4.6% on the last election. In 1983 the party secured 3 MPs elected, doubling to 6 in 1987.

Only 22.5% of those who voted for the party did so in the last election. 18% had voted for the PA, 9% for the SDP, 11.2% for the IP; and 21.3% of its voters were voting for the first time. 6% of those voting for the first time voted for the WL.

The issues most stressed by the Women's List in the campaign were sexual equality, education and social affairs.

### **Humanist Party**

The HP got 1.6% of the total (2,431 votes) and failed to elect any MPs.

The party stressed the view that the government had done badly for the people of the country, it had increased foreign borrowing, something for which unborn generations would have to pay. Furthermore, it stressed the government's record as regards industrial relations.

### **Movement for Co-operation and Equality**

The MCE got 1,892 votes (1.2%) all in one constituency. This was enough to return Mr. Valgeirsson to the Althing, which was the primary objective of the party.

Mr. Valgeirsson and his people stressed the need for regional policy and equality, housing and social affairs.

### **National Party**

The NP got 2,047 votes, 1.3%; but since these were spread over five constituencies, it was not enough to get an MP elected.

The party was formed around one issue, regional equality. In fact, more than 60% of its televised propaganda time was centred on this issue.

### **Citizens' Party**

The BP got 10.9% (16,583 votes) and 7 MPs in the Althing. The bulk of the party's support came from the IP (63.2%). A little less than 7% voted for the PP and also for the SDP in 1983. 7.9% were first time voters and 7.9% did not vote last time.

The party stressed the following issues: industrial affairs; fishing; agriculture; regional equality and industrial relations. Furthermore, it discussed the Guðmundsson affair substantially, not surprisingly, since it was formed after Mr. Guðmundsson was forced to resign as Minister for Industry.

The discussion of voter volatility has shown that there was a considerable flow of voters between the parties. Women and urban residents were more likely to change their positions. There were more fluctuations on the left of Icelandic politics, despite the fact that both the IP and the PP split before the election.

Generally all the parties touched upon most of the issues in the campaign, although there were differences as regards the relative weight given to each issue. On the whole, if we leave aside modest party differences, economics, social affairs, industrial affairs and culture and education were the most prominent.

The parties fought the campaign somewhat in isolation from each other. This is especially true of printed propaganda, which hardly mentioned other parties' positions.

## **XIV. MEDIA**

In the chapter on the mass media it was found that while newspapers have not been regulated beyond the fact that they are accountable by general punitive laws, the broadcasting media have been subject to various government controls.

The first newspaper, Pjóðólfur, was established in 1848. The first daily was established in 1910. In 1926 a radio station was set up and was under a state monopoly from 1928 until 1985. Television

began in 1966, first on a moderate scale, but has since developed to reach the whole nation for seven days a week.

The content analysis of newspapers found that, despite great differences in size, the five national papers were extremely similar in the proportions devoted to the various material types used in the analysis. Furthermore, the geographical distribution was very similar. Likewise, the TV channels covered in their news the same parts of the world and only slight differences could be detected as regards issue distribution in the news.

The analysis revealed, that Icelanders read newspapers a lot. 90% of the survey respondents reported that they read them regularly, 80% daily or almost daily. Only 2.5% claimed to read them seldom. Those in the older age groups and people living in urban constituencies claimed to read them more than the younger and the rural. It seems to be common practice to read the newspapers first. More than half claimed to do that, while a quarter said they began on page one and read the whole paper through.

When we asked how much people relied on newspapers for information about issues and candidates, almost a third said they relied much or very much on them, 28% said somewhat and a third said little or very little. 8.5% said they did not rely on them at all.

35% said they were interested or very interested in the newspapers' coverage of the election campaign. When asked whether they felt that newspapers had or would help them in deciding how to vote, 16.7% said yes. More than half of the respondents said that the amount of political news in newspapers was about right, a third said it was too little and very few thought it to be too much.

Television was used even more. Almost 95% watched news on television regularly, while only 6% said they seldom or never watched it. Almost three quarters said they watched current affairs programmes on television, while a quarter said they did so seldom or never.

More people claimed to rely on television for information about issues and candidates than was the case with newspapers. Almost 40% claimed to rely much or very much on TV, 27% said somewhat and another 27% said little or very little. 5.3% said they did not rely on television at all.

65% of our respondents were interested or very interested in the coverage of the election campaign on television. 23.9% reported that television had helped or would help them in deciding how to vote. Two thirds were contented with the amount of election coverage on TV; 8% thought it was too little; and 15% felt it was too much.

85.7% of the respondents said they listened regularly to news on radio and 14.2% seldom or never. More than a half said they seldom or never listened to news related material on radio.

22.8% said they relied much or very much on radio for information about issues and candidates, 22.5% said somewhat and 44% said little. 10% said they did not rely on radio at all for such information.

It was found that men relied more on radio than women and the same is true of older age groups than the younger. 35% claimed to be interested in radio's coverage of the election campaign. 13.5% claimed to get help from radio in reaching a decision on how to vote. 80% said the amount of election coverage was about right; 5.5% thought it was too little; and 14.8% said it was too much.

It was also found, that those who used the media a lot or relied heavily on them, tended to use them all. They also tended to be the people who claimed to be interested in the campaign.

We now discuss each individual medium briefly, in terms of: size; circulation; party affiliations; how it was seen by the electorate; and issues highest on the agenda during the campaign. The last item, however, is not discussed in the case of radio, since the content of radio news was not analyzed.

### **People's Paper**

The People's Paper is by far the smallest paper in Iceland, both in terms of number of pages each day and circulation. Of the almost 16,000 items analyzed, only 606 were from the People's Paper. The paper was at the time, usually four pages a day and published four days a week. The paper's circulation is about 5,000 copies a day.

Content analysis showed that the paper is strongly supportive of the SDP. In news, in editorials and articles, it was almost the only party referred to positively. The SDP was almost the only party to advertise in the People's Paper. Furthermore, the paper "spoke" most often to the party's chairman and its MPs and candidates. The People's Paper was in the reporters' survey thought to be the most partisan of all the media.

Only 1.4% of the respondents named the paper as one of three most popular media. 10% thought it was fair in its political coverage, while 60% thought it was unfair. It was also thought to be least thorough of all the newspapers.

In its news the paper most often discussed the election campaign itself, followed by industrial relations and the Guðmundsson affair. The same issues were most often discussed in editorials. 20% of its articles were about culture and 26.3% about the election race. Two thirds of the paper's political columns were devoted to the election campaign and 16.9% to the Guðmundsson affair.

### **The Daily Newspaper**

The Daily is the second largest newspaper, both in circulation and size. The paper has a circulation of between 35 and 40,000 a day. A little less than 3,800 items were analyzed in the paper.

The party was not strongly supportive of any party in its news coverage. The IP got a few positive references and more overall coverage than other parties. The differences, however, do not enable one to conclude that the paper was strongly partisan. A similar story

can be told of the paper's editorials. This was even less evident in articles, in which the IP got more negative references than any other party. The same is true of political columns. The IP was referred to more often than the other parties, but not positively. The SDP, PP, IP, PA and the BP all advertised considerably in the paper, indicating that they did not take it as any party's "possession". The paper addressed most often individuals at the centre of the Guðmundsson affair: Mr. Pálsson; Mr. Guðmundsson; Mr. Hermannsson and Mrs. Albertsdóttir. Apart from that, it spoke several times with leaders of all the main parties, except the WL. Reporters from all the media deemed the Daily the least partisan of all the newspapers.<sup>1</sup>

The paper was the fourth most popular medium in the campaign, named by 16.8% as one of the three most popular. More than half of the respondents found the paper to be fair in its coverage. The supporters of the BP were most contented with the paper's fairness and the PP's and the WL's supporters least so. The paper, however, was thought to be thorough - content analysis showed it to cover politics to a greater extent than other papers. Women thought it less thorough than men. Reporters put the Daily in fifth place as a news medium, only after the state media, the Morning Paper and Channel 2.

The election-related issues most covered in news were: the election race; industrial relations; fishing and the Guðmundsson affair. The Guðmundsson affair and agriculture were most often covered in editorials, while culture, consumer affairs and juvenile affairs were most often discussed in articles. Two thirds of the paper's political columns were about the election race and the Guðmundsson affair.

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<sup>1</sup> See chapter IX.2

## Morning Paper

The Morning Paper is the largest newspaper in Iceland. Its circulation is approximately 45,000 copies a day. The paper is close to being as voluminous as all the other papers put together.

The Independence Party was discussed by far most often in news, and the only one to be referred to positively to any degree. The support of the IP is further demonstrated in editorials, articles and political columns. Almost 80% of political advertisements in the paper were from the IP. The paper spoke 18 times to Mr. Pálsson, the leader of the IP, 10 times to the PM, Mr. Hermannsson, and 9 times to Mr. Guðmundsson. It seldom spoke to leaders of other parties. The Morning Paper was by reporters thought to be less partisan than the other party papers, but more so than the Daily.

The Morning Paper is named by almost 70% as one of the most popular papers and is third as regards the media giving most information, only after the state media. Two thirds of the survey respondents deemed the Morning Paper fair, fairer than any other national newspaper. This was most clearly evident with supporters of the IP and the BP. It was also thought to be most thorough of all the newspapers, a view shared by reporters.

The issues most covered in news in the paper were: Culture and art; industrial relations; the election race; transport; fishing; agriculture and commerce. More than half of the editorials were about the election race, the Guðmundsson affair, industrial relations and defence. Most articles were about: the election; the health service; education; culture and the Guðmundsson affair. Almost 80% of the paper's political columns were about the election and politics and the Guðmundsson affair.

## Time

2,341 items were analyzed in the Time, a little more than a tenth of all newspaper items. Its circulation is around 12,000 copies a

day. The paper supported the Progressive party in news, editorial, articles and political columns. More than 80% of all advertisements related to the election were from the Progressive Party. The paper spoke most often to the PP's leader Mr. Hermannsson, followed by the PP's other government Ministers.<sup>1</sup> The conclusion that the paper is partisan is further supported by the reporters' survey, which put the paper high on the list of partisanship in the media.

The Time was third from the bottom on the list of most popular newspapers and occupied the same place in the list over the media giving most information about the campaign, named by less than 5%. The paper was thought fair by less than 25% and was deemed the third least fair of all the media. The PP's supporters were those who most often reported it fair. The paper was thought by a third to be thorough and not thorough by another third. A third said neither\nor. The Time was by reporters not thought to be a good news-medium, second lowest in that respect.

The most important campaign issues in news in the Time were: the election race; industrial relations; agriculture; fishing and commerce. Almost a half of the editorials were about the election; 10% of all articles were about it; 6.4% about agriculture; and 5.6% about transport. 27.3% were about culture and art, but very little of that material was related to the election in any way. 55% of political columns were about the election race and the Guðmundsson affair, 7.6% about industrial relations, 4.4% about agriculture and 4.1% about fishing.

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<sup>1</sup> Minister for Fisheries, Mr. Asgrímsson, Minister for Agriculture, Mr. Helgason and Minister for Social Affairs, Mr. Stefánsson.

## National Will

The National Will was similar in size to the Time, around tenth of the total newspaper output during the time analyzed. Its circulation is a little more than the Time's, around 13,500 copies a day.

There was no question of the National Will's partisanship in news, editorial, articles and political columns. Moreover, the paper spoke most often to the PA's leader, Mr. Gestsson and to Mr. Stefáns-son, President of ASÍ and the PA's candidate in the election. Almost 80% of all political advertisements in the paper were from the People's Alliance. According to reporters, the National Will was the second most partisan medium in Iceland.

The National Will was the third most popular newspaper, named by 18.6% as one of the three most popular. It was also above the Wave as a medium giving most information about election related issues. It was thought the second most unfair medium, thought fair by less than 20% of respondents. The PA's supporters thought it more fair than other parties' supporters. However, it was thought to be one of the most thorough paper in the campaign, second only to the Morning Paper. This view was not shared by news reporters, who put both the Daily and Today above the National Will as general news media.

The election race, industrial relations, education and nuclear-free Scandinavia were the most prominent single issues in news in the National Will. The election, industrial relations, nuclear free Scandinavia and the Guðmundsson affair were most important in editorials. The election, agriculture, education and the fishing industry were most prominent in articles, apart from culture. More than 80% of political columns were about the election and the Guðmundsson affair and 8% were about mass media.

## RÚVTV

The great majority of our survey respondents watched news on RÚVTV regularly. 72% claimed to watch it daily or almost daily and 21% in addition watched it several times a week.

No positive or negative references were found to any of the parties during the campaign. Some parties, however, were referred to more often than others, especially the IP. Then, somewhat behind, came the other main parties, while the smaller parties were least often mentioned. Of politicians, the RÚVTV spoke most often to Mr. Pálsson, (14 times) and the Prime Minister Mr. Hermannsson (seven occasions). The reporters placed RÚVTV in third place, after the radio channels in terms of being free from partisanship. In the first survey, 65.2% named RÚVTV as one of three media giving most information about the campaign. This proportion had risen to almost 82% in the third wave, after the election. Almost 75% said RÚVTV was fair and less than 10% said it was unfair. The supporters of the WL and the PA were least satisfied with its fairness. Women were less satisfied than men. The IP's supporters were more willing to say it was fair than others. RÚVTV was not thought to be as thorough as fair. Less than a half said it was thorough in its coverage of politics. The supporters of the SDP, the PP and the BP thought it most thorough, while the PA and the WL supporters thought its news least thorough. The older electors thought it was more thorough than the younger. Reporters placed RÚVTV in second place as a general news medium, only after RÚV.

The election race, industrial relations, fishing and the Guðmundsson affair were the most covered issues related to politics.

## Channel 2

Around 60% of our sample of voters said they watched news regularly on Channel 2.

The same things were evident as regards partisanship as was found in the case of RÚVTV. No parties were referred to either positively or negatively. The IP was referred to most often, then the other main parties. The only difference was that the WL was ignored to a greater extent than the other main parties. The smallest parties were in a similar position as on RÚVTV. Channel 2 most often interviewed the same political figures as RÚVTV, Mr. Pálsson and Mr. Hermannsson. It was, by reporters, put among the other broadcasting media as being free from partisanship. Channel 2 was in the first survey wave named by 8.6% as one of three media giving most information about the campaign, giving it the fifth place in that respect. After the election, its position had improved considerably. Now it was in second place, named by almost a fourth of our respondents. 60% said Channel 2 was fair and 10% said it was unfair. The WL's supporters thought it least fair. Channel 2 was close to RÚVTV in terms of perceived thoroughness. A little less than a half thought it was thorough. The supporters of three parties were most satisfied with Channel 2's thoroughness, the BP, the IP and the SDP. The PA's, the PP's and the WL's supporters thought it least thorough. Reporters put Channel 2 in fourth place as a general news medium, after the state media and the Morning Paper.

The main issues in news on Channel 2 were: industrial relations; the Guðmundsson affair; the election; fishing and the health service.

### RÚV

85% said they listened to news on RÚV regularly. Almost 75% said they did so daily or almost daily.

Reporters put RÚV as the medium least subject to partisanship. Almost a half of survey respondents said RÚV was one of three media giving most information on politics. 22% named it as number one in this respect. This proportion had fallen somewhat in the last survey. 84% said RÚV was fair and less than 10% said it was unfair. More

than half said it was thorough and a quarter said it was not thorough enough. The reporters said RÚV was the best general news medium in Iceland.

### **Wave**

More than half said they listened to news on the Wave regularly. A little less than 40% said they did so daily or almost daily.

Reporters put the Wave in second place of the media in terms of freedom from partisanship. The Wave was named by less than 5% of our survey respondents as one of three media giving most information about politics. 60% thought the Wave was fair, and less than 10% thought it was unfair. Women were less happy with its fairness. 30% said the Wave was thorough and almost 45% said it was not thorough enough. Reporters put it behind all the other broadcasting media, as well as the Morning Paper and the Daily as a general news medium.

### **VOTERS**

In this chapter we have already discussed the volatility of voters. We will therefore concentrate on attitudes towards the media and how they are used, as well as the issues thought of most importance at the three points of the three survey waves. However, before going into that discussion, it is worth emphasising once more the instability of Icelandic voters found in the survey. More than half changed their voting intentions and 43.9% voted for another party than in 1983.

It was found, that the sample was quite representative of the electorate, in terms of sex, age and residence. However, those older than 60 did drop out in the latter two survey waves more than those from younger age groups.

Approximately a third of the sample said they had enough information about issues and candidates. Men were more confident of their knowledge than women. The media were the most used sources of information for a large part of the respondents. 70.1% named TV as

one of three most important sources of information, 68.2% named newspapers and 57.4% named radio. It was also found, that those who used the media a lot and were interested in their coverage of the campaign claimed to know more about issues and candidates than others. Almost 80% said they knew a little or much about the parties' policies in the campaign, while 22% said they knew little or nothing.

Television appears to have been the prime medium in the campaign. Two thirds of our survey respondents said they were interested in its coverage, while a third was interested in radio and newspapers each. This conclusion, of course, is further supported by what was said earlier about TV being the most used medium and the prime source of information. It was also found, that TV was most often named as being of help in reaching voting decisions. It was, however, only named by a quarter of the sample.

There was some unity in the respondents' views on the media. Between 75% and 80% thought the amount of election coverage on radio and television was about right. Not as many thought the same about newspapers, where just over a half thought the amount was about right and a third said it was too little.

There was also some agreement about how fair and thorough the media were. The state radio was thought fair by 84%, the state TV by 75%, while 60% felt this true about the privately owned broadcasting media. More than a half thought RÚV was thorough but less than a half said so about RÚVTV and Channel 2. The Wave was somewhat behind the other three in this respect.

The newspapers were thought less fair than the broadcasting media, although the Morning Paper and Today were not far behind. The Morning Paper and the National Will were thought more thorough than the other papers. Women were less satisfied with all the media in terms of fairness and thoroughness. There was also a trend in the direction that the supporters of each of the parties were more likely

to perceive their party's newspaper as fair and thorough than supporters of other parties.

One of the general conclusions drawn from the survey is that those people with stronger party affiliations were more interested in the campaign, used the media most, and knew most about party policies. Those, on the other hand, who were not strongly supportive of any party and changed their voting intentions, had less interest, followed the media coverage less, and knew less about issues and candidates.

When asking people which issues they thought of most importance in the first survey wave, we experimented with two methods, prompting with certain issues and asking a completely open question. It was found that prompting did not result in fewer people not naming any issues. Prompting with issues, however, seemed to affect which issues were named. Most people named the issues they were prompted with. Therefore we decided to use only open ended questions to establish the voter agenda.

The most important issues in the first wave were: industrial relations (30.3%); the Guðmundsson affair (19.1%); regional policy (17.2%); the election race (12.6%); the economy (7.5%) and agriculture (5.6%).

There were some differences between various groups. First, a higher number of women did not name any issues. Regional policy, the Guðmundsson affair and the economy were more the concern of men, while industrial relations were thought to be more important by women. People in urban constituencies named fewer issues. They were more concerned with industrial relations and the Guðmundsson affair, while rural residents were much more concerned with regional policy and equality. More people in the youngest and the oldest age groups did not name any issues than those in the other age groups. The younger were more preoccupied with the sensational Guðmundsson

affair, while the older were more concerned with the economy and regional policy.

When we asked which issues were best remembered from last week's media coverage, between 65% and 75% named the Guðmundsson affair in all media. A poor second came stories related to industrial relations, named by between 4.5% and 7.3%.

In the second wave, the election race had reached the top, named by 43% as the most important issues. Industrial relations were in second place (16.4%) followed by the economy and inflation (12.9%). Regional policy was named by 6.5%.

When we asked about the most important campaign issues after the election, a quarter could not think of any. Housing was thought to be the most important (35.3%) followed by: industrial relations (24.8%); regional policy (11.3%); the health service (10.8%) and education (7.0%).

## **XIV.2. AGENDA-SETTING**

### **IN THE ICELANDIC**

### **GENERAL ELECTION**

### **CAMPAIGN OF 1987**

In our research we found ample evidence for agenda-setting effects of the media on public concerns. These, however, turned out to be rather more complex than the original agenda-setting hypothesis indicated. Some of the complexities arise from the specific circumstances evident in Iceland. Others may have further implications.

The agenda-setting hypothesis, in its simplest form, states that the issues covered by the media, will in due course become the issues that members of the public are concerned about. Although few would subscribe to this unqualified statement, it has not, so far been stated unambiguously under what conditions this is valid or not.

It has been a constant theme throughout this thesis that journalistic values, work practices and structural constraints on journalists' work affect what is reported and what not. We have therefore rejected completely the claim of journalists that the media's reports are only an extension of reality, that the news offers a mirror of reality. We argue instead, that although complete objectivity and impartiality are something that journalists should strive for, these objectives cannot be perfectly achieved. The constraints named above are at work at all times. But since the subject of this thesis is a general election campaign, it is most important to put these constraints into the context of the campaign.

The sheer number of political parties taking part in the election poses a problem for journalists, as well as voters. During the election campaign, both were faced with a problem that in the United States is mostly a problem confined to the period of the primaries.

"Probably the most difficult learning situation of the entire campaign occurs during the primary elections when a dozen or more potentially serious presidential contenders must be evaluated. The media must present adequate information about all these candidates without overwhelming the audience with too much detail. On the whole, they do not perform this task well. Indeed, it is questionable whether it can be successfully handled, given the constraints of space and time." (Weaver et al 1981:40).

The American media, interacting with the electors decide during this period which candidates can be considered as frontrunners. So there is at least some time in which most or all candidates are treated somewhat seriously. This was not the case during the Icelandic

election campaign of 1987. As the chapter on the media agenda suggests, some parties were largely ignored by the media, during the whole campaign. How the media come to a conclusion about which parties to treat seriously and which not, is not at all certain. Opinion polls may have played a part. They, however, do not allow for the coverage Mr. Guðmundsson's Citizens' Party received right from the outset, before any opinion polls indicated the party's support. News-values played an important role in this case. Mr. Guðmundsson, a prominent figure and a government minister leaves the largest party in a dramatic way, highly personalised by the media, and forms a new party within 48 hours. The heavy coverage of the party and Mr. Guðmundsson's actions undoubtedly helped it considerably in securing the victorious results in the election.

Similar evidence is available from Britain in the 1983 general election campaign. Once the Conservative Party and the Labour Party had managed to establish themselves as frontrunners, it was extremely difficult for the Alliance to achieve coverage in lead stories on television and on the front pages of newspapers, let alone other contenders (Dunleavy and Husbands 1985:92-94).

In Iceland this, of course, poses a more serious challenge to the independent media than the party papers. The party papers are committed to promoting a certain party and can therefore not be condemned for playing down others. This commitment is manifest and is not denied by any of the papers, except the Morning Paper. Because of these denials and the fact that the Morning Paper is thought to be fair and trustworthy to a much greater extent than any other paper and has by far the greatest circulation, it is faced with certain responsibilities. It should be treated as one of the independent media, when evaluating the media's effectiveness in informing the public.

Three general conclusions can be drawn from the agenda-building efforts of the parties through printed platforms and televised propaganda. The first is, that the televised message had more impact

on the campaign than the printed one. This is perhaps not surprising, the printed platforms being based more on broad policy stances than clear-cut issues, which the media have been found to prefer (Weaver 1987:177). Furthermore, the televised programmes usually contained at least some response to the debate that was going on at the moment.

The second conclusion is, that those parties that have a partisan paper were able to put their message across better through them than other papers. This is especially true of the Independence Party. However, despite the fact that the party papers are undeniably the mouthpipes of respective parties, there appears to be little coordination in the manner that the relevant paper systematically covers the party's platform. A third conclusion is surprisingly, that generally, the parties' preferences were better represented in the independent media, excluding Channel 2, than in the party papers. We can therefore subscribe to Patterson's conclusion (1980) that the media's coverage of candidates and issues reflects more their own interests than the parties' or the electorate's, we might add.

It appears, that the 'old four' and the Citizens' Party's issues were most effectively covered by the media. There is a clear pattern in this regard. Four of these parties, those most on the right, the IP, the BP, the PP and the SDP were most covered in four media: RÚVTV; the Daily; the Morning Paper and the Time. The fifth party, the People's Alliance, got through best on RÚVTV and its own National Will. The other five parties, the outsiders in Icelandic politics were generally poorly served and the WL and the SDA worst of all.

Although some parties managed to get their preferences across better than others, this does not mean that any of them was particularly successful. None of them dominated the media issue agenda.

Another important feature of agenda-setting and agenda-building, apart from coverage of issues, is coverage of leaders and their images.

Although the research did not consider the portrayals of leaders' images, the sheer number of interviews is an indicator of how important they were thought to be. The Party papers spoke most often to their parties' leaders. The independent media spoke most often to the leaders of the governing parties and Mr. Guðmundsson. The leaders of the outsiders were hardly ever spoken to and what is most important in that respect, is that there were hardly any interviews with prominent figures from the Women's List. However, this could be a function of the party's strategy not to present any definite leadership.

Having stated these reservations about the media's effectiveness and even abilities to cover the campaign, it is time to look at how successful the media were in determining the concerns of the electorate.

We take as our point of departure the following quotation:

"...the mass media may not be successful in telling us what to think, but they are stunningly successful in telling us what to think about." (Shaw and McCombs 1977:5)

We think our research gives reasons for wholeheartedly agreeing with this notion, but only if we put the word sometimes before "stunningly successful". We find this necessary, because although we found on many occasions, that our respondents were thinking about matters that had been prominent in the media recently and doubtful where else they could have acquired knowledge about them, we found also many instances of issues being thought about by the public without having been media issues. We also found issues covered quite heavily in the media without ever being high on the voter agenda. Therefore, there is obviously a number of factors which "interfere" with the agenda-setting process, a few of the more important of which will be discussed here.

Both Shaw and McCombs (1977:98) and Weaver (1987:182) suggest that the media's influences are greater at the early stages in

a campaign. It is argued, that this is more the case with newspapers, and that television joins in at later stages. Weaver et al (1981:79) also say that the newspapers even set the agenda for television. We found some evidence in that direction, suggesting that the opposition papers were quicker to pick up issues and that RÚVTV was dependent on the Morning Paper, while Channel 2 was somewhat dependent on all other media. Considerable support was found for Weaver's et al (1981:92) conclusion that the newspaper agenda is more stable over time than the television agenda. These conclusion indicate, that the agenda-setting effects of newspapers are more long-term than those of television. This is supported by our data, particularly the third survey and especially in the case of the Morning Paper.

These matters are closely related to the question of how long the agenda-setting process is. Some say it is a matter of months before an issue covered in the news becomes a matter the public is concerned about. Others say it is a matter of days or a few weeks at most. We suggest, however, that there were two agenda-setting processes involving the national mass media in the Icelandic general election campaign of 1987. The first is the one that most of this work has concentrated on. This process is short, the turnover of concerns is rapid, both in media and among voters. This involves all the media, especially the independent ones. It turns to clear-cut issues, easily identifiable and labelled. It is stronger than the other and more easily measured. This process is almost entirely confined to lead-stories. The other process is more long-term. It is more likely to involve newspapers than television and those must trusted and used by the public as news media. In this case the Morning Paper is the candidate that immediately comes to mind. The requirement for issues to be clear-cut is not as important as with the other process. This process goes beyond simple awareness of issues and allows for more broadness and diffuseness, at least to some extent. Issues of this kind that can be named are such as industrial affairs, those involving fishing, agricul-

ture, energy and manufacturing industries. They are always covered in the media, especially in newspapers. Some parts of the electorate are concerned about them whenever one asks.<sup>1</sup> Although this research has mostly concentrated on the first, clear-cut and short-term process, evidence from the third survey wave supports the existence of the other.

Most recent research has concluded, that the nature of issues is extremely important. In this context the distinction between obtrusive and unobtrusive issues is often used. It is claimed, that the latter - issues that people are not likely to encounter except through the media - are more likely to become agenda-setting issues. Our evidence supports this view. The issues that were extremely important, both in the media and among our respondents were of this kind, namely the Guðmundsson affair, the election race, and industrial relations. Although a number of people were directly affected by the strikes in schools and hospitals, these were definitely a minority of the population. Other issues very important among voters, but not in the media were of another nature. Regional equality and the imbalance of wealth and power between urban and rural parts of the country were directly felt by a part of the population, i.e. rural residents. They were almost the only ones to name it in our surveys. Coverage in local newspaper, however, is likely to contribute to its importance, although we cannot be certain about it. As for the single most important issue in the third survey, housing, this is something that is likely to be felt directly and severely by those buying or building accommodation. Moreover, there may have been long-term agenda-setting at work. Although never a lead-story or highly prominent in the media, there is always some coverage; this was substantial in the Morning Paper during the two months analysed, especially in March. If we leave aside the issues that were not media issues, then people who relied on and used the media

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<sup>1</sup> See chapter on the voter agenda

a lot, named the issues that were on the top of the media agendas more often.

To add further to the complexities of the phenomenon, there are different agenda-setting influences in terms of different groups of people. It appears that both men and women were subject to agenda-setting influences from television. Newspaper influences, however, seem to have been greater among men than women and it appears that men were more likely to be influenced by the longer term agenda-setting process of newspapers, especially the Morning Paper.

In terms of age, it appears that the agenda-setting influence on older voters was more stable and more long-term than was the case with the younger electors. They seem to have been more prone to immediate, short-term influences.

Rural residents appear to be more likely to be subject to agenda-setting influences than urban people. This is true, both in terms of short-term and long-term influences. The Morning Paper plays a major role on a long-term basis. The process is more unstable among urban voters, with a quicker turnover of concerns.

It should have become clear through the analysis, that agenda-setting is a phenomenon that should not be underestimated. Its political implications, however, are by no means clear. It appears that there is no clear statistical link between agenda-setting influences and how people eventually vote. The evidence that those reading certain newspapers are more likely to vote for certain parties, has probably much more to do with people affiliated to these parties subscribe to their respective newspapers than influences from the papers. The most important effects of agenda-setting seem to stem from the fact that it affects younger voters, women, urban voters, i.e. those who are least likely to be closely affiliated to a party, are least involved and have least interest in politics. These are the people that are most prone to short-term agenda setting effects and these are the people that change their mind most frequently about how to vote. It is therefore evident,

that the media take part in determining which parties and leaders to take seriously, defining some of the important issues in the campaign and informing the public about which parties are doing well according to opinion polls. It is not until these influences have been put into the melting pot of different groups of voters in terms of gender, residence, age, interests, party affiliations, different patterns of media use and attitudes, as well as party propaganda and historical circumstances at each time, that the actual decision of how to vote is reached.

# XV. APPENDICES

There are two kinds of appendices: those that deal with method or are not specifically related to any particular chapter. These are listed alphabetically; and appendices that go with certain chapters, and mostly contain tables. These are given the numbers of the relevant chapters. Below is a list of the appendices:

## 1 Appendices dealing with method:

- APPENDIX A: Instructions for coding newspaper material
- APPENDIX B: Instructions for coding television news and current affairs programmes
- APPENDIX C: Instructions for coding printed propaganda
- APPENDIX D: Instructions for coding televised propaganda
- APPENDIX E: Questionnaires
- APPENDIX F: Recoding Rationale
  - F<sub>1</sub> : Countries
  - F<sub>2</sub> : Issues
  - F<sub>3</sub> : Issues for correlational statistics
  - F<sub>4</sub> : Age
  - F<sub>5</sub> : Constituency
- APPENDIX G: Spearman's rho
- APPENDIX H: Reliability tests
- APPENDIX I: Individuals interviewed in the media

## 2 Appendices containing tables:

- APPENDIX X
- APPENDIX XI
- APPENDIX XII
- APPENDIX XIII

## APPENDIX A

### INSTRUCTIONS FOR CODING NEWSPAPER MATERIAL

There are two basic units of analysis, depending on the type of newspaper material under scrutiny. First, the unit can be every two pages (first and last pages excluded), lying together, i.e. pages 2 and 3, or 4 and 5, etc. Second, the unit can be a news item, article, editorial and such. Distinctions between basic units are drawn in similar ways as is done by the producers of the material. The unit cannot be two pages, unless, all the material in these pages is similar (and its content irrelevant to the main purposes of the study), e.g. advertisements, or sporting news. For a detailed description of units of analysis, see the part on material type.

One coding sheet is provided for each unit. There are 16 numbered boxes/lines on each sheet. Each one, is meant for recording a specific characteristic of the unit. Definitions of each of the characteristics to look for within each unit, are found in numbered coding rules below. Each number refers to a specific box/line on the coding sheet. The coder should bear in mind, that not all boxes/lines are to be filled in, in all instances. Which characteristics of a unit are recorded, depends on the type of basic unit of analysis.

There cannot be given any definite rules about in which order to code. A useful rule of a thumb is to go first down a page, and then to the right. This has to be done in a manner that does not disarrange units.

- |                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1. Material type                  | 11. Name of first interviewee                     |
| 2. Newspaper                      | 12. Status of first interviewee                   |
| 3. Day                            | 13. Name of second interviewee                    |
| 4. Month                          | 14. Status of second interviewee                  |
| 5. Page                           | 15. References to political parties and direction |
| 6. Size in column centimetres     | 16. Related to the election or not                |
| 7. Origins of material by country |   |
| 8. Reference to second country    |   |
| 9. Reference to third country     |   |
| 10. Subject matter category       |   |

## 1. MATERIAL TYPE

All material should be put into one of the following 9 categories:

1. News item, press release
2. Editorial
3. Article, art critique, Obituaries
4. Interview
5. Political column
6. Advertisement
7. Cartoon
8. Art related material, a photograph without a text, poem, short story
9. Other

1. News item refers to the material written as a recapitulation of recent occurrences. News is written by journalists and correspondents of the paper in question. Received press-releases also fall into this category. In some papers, there are headlines on the front page, that refer to news-items inside the paper. Such headlines should be counted with the news item. The first pagenumber should be coded when this happens. All sportingnews on two togetherlyng pages are treated as one item.

2. Editorial is written by the editor or a journalist of the paper, and usually shows the 'editorial policy' of the paper. An editorial is usually on the same page in the paper, of similar length. Usually there is only one editorial in a paper, but if it covers more than one subject, it should be coded as as many items as there are subjects.

3. Articles are usually from outside the paper, although not without exceptions. In this category falls material such as obituaries, articles, material from column writers such us art-critique. All art-critiques and obituaries on togetherlyng pages should be coded as one article.

4. Interviews are often in the weekend editions of newspapers. In this category falls only material that is "only interview". Care should be taken, not to code as an interview when reference is made in news items to what individuals say.

5. Political column is a category for material that has its origins on the editorial offices of a newspaper and is issued "without responsibility".

6. Advertisement is coded as a basic unit, only when it can be related to the general election. Otherwise, all advertisements in two togetherlyng pages should be coded as one unit.

7. Cartoon is coded as a separate unit, only if it is related to politics. In all other instances, all cartoons on two togetherlyng pages are coded as one item.

8. Art-related material is what is only issued because of its artistic value. In this category fall poems, short-stories, photographs and drawings, that are not related to articles or news-items. All such material in two togetherlying pages is coded as one item.

9. Other. In this category falls material such as the media programs, weather-forecasts, crosswords, letters to the editor, "the question of the day", and other material that cannot be related to any of the other categories. All "other" material on two togetherlying pages is to be coded as one item.

## **2. NEWSPAPER**

- |                        |                      |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. The People's Paper  | 4. The Morning Paper |
| 2. The Daily Newspaper | 5. The Time          |
| 3. Today               | 6. The National Will |

## **3. DAY OF MONTH**

Code the day of the month, with two digits, e.g. the third day of the month is coded 03.

## **4. MONTH**

Code month as day. Because the study only takes to March and April, there are only two possibilities, 03 and 04.

## **5. PAGE**

Code the number of the page. If the item is spread over more than one page, code the first.

## **6. SIZE IN COLUMN CENTIMETRES**

Measure the total size of each unit in column-centimetres. Measure from the middle of the space between the unit in question, and the unit above and below.

## **7. ORIGINS OF MATERIAL BY COUNTRY**

Record the country that is the "basis" or "anchor" of the item, according to the list below. Prominent place names and persons are coded as references to their respective countries. If reference is made to more than one country, code the country that is most "active" in the item. If, for instance, the item is about Iranians shooting missiles at Iraq, Iran is the basic country. If, on the other hand, the item is based on casualties and damage in Iraq, because of missiles shot from Iran, Iraq is the basic country. If the item is not connected to a country, but

international alliances or organizations, such as NATO, the UN and such, the item is coded accordingly (see list below). If the item is sporting-news, there do not code country.

Below is a list of countries, alliances and organizations. If a country or alliance is not found on the list, a new number should be added to the list. Iceland is number one, but other countries follow, in alphabetical order (according to the Icelandic alphabet). Organizations and alliances come last, and their enumeration begins with the number 200.

Only independent states are coded as countries, with three exceptions. The Faroe Islands and Greenland are treated as independent states. So are Palestinian Arabs.

INDEPENDENT  
STATES

- |                                |                            |                                |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 Iceland                      | 40 Ecuador                 | 79 China                       |
| 2 Afghanistan                  | 41 Upper Volta             | 80 Kiribati                    |
| 3 Albania                      | 42 Egypt                   | 81 Kuwait                      |
| 4 Andorra                      | 43 El Salvador             | 82 Cyprus                      |
| 5 Angola                       | 44 Ethiopia                |                                |
| 6 Argentina                    | 45 Fiji                    | 83 Laos                        |
| 7 Algeria                      | 46 Ivory Coast             | 84 Liechten-<br>stein          |
| 8 Australia                    | 47 Philippines             | 85 Lebanon                     |
| 9 Austria                      | 48 Finland                 | 86 Liberia                     |
| 10 East-Germany                | 49 France                  | 87 Libya                       |
| 11 The Bahamas                 | 50 Faroe<br>Islands        | 88 Luxembourg                  |
| 12 United States<br>of America | 51 Gabon                   | 89 Madagascar                  |
| 13 Bangladesh                  | 52 Gambia                  | 90 Malaysia                    |
| 14 Barbados                    | 53 Ghana                   | 91 Malawi                      |
| 15 Belgium                     | 54 Gibraltar               | 92 Maldives                    |
| 16 Belize                      | 55 Grenada                 | 93 Mali                        |
| 17 Benin                       | 56 Greece                  | 94 Malta                       |
| 18 Bhutan                      | 57 Greenland               | 95 Morocco                     |
| 19 Bolivia                     | 58 Guatemala               | 96 Mauritania                  |
| 20 Botswana                    | 59 Guinea                  | 97 Mauritius                   |
| 21 Brazil                      | 60 Guinea-<br>Bissau       | 98 Mexico                      |
| 22 Britain                     | 61 Guyana                  | 99 Central African<br>Republic |
| 23 Brunei                      | 62 Haiti                   | 100 Equatorial<br>Guinea       |
| 24 Bulgaria                    | 63 Netherlands             | 101 Monaco                     |
| 25 Burma                       | 64 Netherlands<br>Antilles | 102 Mongolia                   |
| 26 Burundi                     | 65 Honduras                | 103 Mozambique                 |
| 27 Cameroon                    |                            | 104 Namibia                    |
| 28 Canada                      | 66 India                   | 105 Nepal                      |
| 29 Chad                        | 67 Indonesia               | 106 Nicaragua                  |
| 30 Congo                       | 68 Iran                    | 107 Niger                      |
| 31 Chile                       | 69 Iraq                    | 108 Nigeria                    |
| 32 Colombia                    | 70 Ireland                 | 109 North-Korea                |
| 33 Comoros                     | 71 Israel                  | 110 Norway                     |
| 34 Costa Rica                  | 72 Italy                   | 111 New-Guinea                 |
| 35 Cuba                        |                            | 112 New Zealand                |
|                                | 73 Jamaica                 |                                |
| 36 Denmark                     | 74 Japan                   | 113 Oman                       |
| 37 Djibuti                     | 75 Jordan                  |                                |
| 38 Dominica                    | 76 Yugoslavia              | 114 Pakistan                   |
| 39 Dominican<br>Republic       | 77 Kampuchea               | 115 Panama                     |
|                                | 78 Kenya                   | 116 Paraguay                   |
|                                |                            | 117 Peru                       |

118 Poland	136 St. Lucia	158 Vanautu
119 Portugal	137 St. Vincent and Grenadines	159 Vatican
120 Qatar	138 Sudan	160 Venezuela
121 Rumania	139 South Africa	161 West-Samoa
122 Rwanda	140 South-Korea	162 West-Germany
123 Solomon Islands	141 Surinam	163 Vietnam
124 United Arab Emirates	142 Swaziland	164 Yemen (Arab Republic)
125 San Marino	143 Switzerland	165 Yemen (People's Democratic Republic)
126 Sao Tome and Principe	144 Sweden	166 Zaire
127 Saudi Arabia	145 Syria	167 Zambia
128 Senegal	146 Taiwan	168 Zimbabwe
129 Seychelles	147 Tanzania	169 Puerto Rico
130 Sierra Leone	148 Czechoslovakia	170 Palestine
131 Singapore	149 Thailand	<u>INTERNATIONAL</u>
132 Somalia	150 Togo	<u>ORGANIZATIONS</u>
133 Soviet Union	151 Tonga	200 United Nations
134 Spain	152 Trinidad and Tobago	201 NATO
135 Sri Lanka	153 Tuvalu	202 Warsaw pact
	154 Turkey	203 EEC
	155 Uganda	204 EFTA
	156 Hungary	205 Nordic Council
	157 Uruguay	

## 8. REFERENCE TO SECOND COUNTRY

Code if reference is made to another country than the basic one. Use the same list of countries and organizations.

## 9. REFERENCE TO THIRD COUNTRY

Same as above, except third country.

## 10. ISSUE CATEGORY

Code in this box the subject matter of the item, according to the following list. Only one issue can be coded in the case of each item, and only, when the item is a news-item, article, editorial, or political column. If an item covers more than one subject matter, so that it is difficult to decide which is the most important, code the one that appears first.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 General politics  | 45 Single parents                       |
| 2 Icelandic election  | 46 Health service                       |
| 3 Corruption or honesty<br>among politicians.               | 47 Housing                              |
| 4 Accomplishments of<br>government                          | 48 Education                            |
| 5 Next government   | 49 Student Loan Fund                    |
| 6 Albert Guðmundsson's<br>affair                            | 50 Regional equality                    |
|   | 51 Rural policy                         |
| 10 Foreign affairs  | 52 Transport                            |
| 11 Nuclear free<br>Scandinavia                              | 53 Environment and planning             |
| 12 Peace movements  | 54 Local government                     |
| 13 Disarmament  | 55 Natural preservation,<br>whaling     |
| 14 Icelandic defence  | 60 Industrial affairs                   |
| 15 Military matters/war                                     | 61 Fishing, fishbreeding                |
| 16 Arms trade   | 62 Agriculture                          |
| 17 Terrorism  | 63 Tourism                              |
|   | 64 Commerce                             |
| 20 General Economics  | 65 Foreign trade                        |
| 21 Inflation  | 66 Banks                                |
| 22 Economical direction,<br>state budget,<br>budget deficit | 67 Manufacturing industries             |
| 23 Taxes  | 68 Communication                        |
| 24 Foreign borrowing  | 69 Energy                               |
| 25 Exchange rate  | 70 Accidents, disasters, rescue<br>work |
| 26 Interest rates/loan<br>market                            | 71 Crime, judicial affairs              |
|   | 72 The "Hafskip" bankruptcy             |
| 30 Strikes, wage<br>negotiations                            | 80 Culture and art                      |
| 31 Unemployment   | 81 Sport                                |
| 32 Pension funds  | 82 Juvenile affairs                     |
| 33 Consumer affairs   | 83 Mass media                           |
| 34 Sexual equality  | 84 Science                              |
| 35 National insurance                                       | 85 Religion, churches                   |
|   | 86 Obituaries                           |
| 40 Social affairs   | 90 Human Interest                       |
| 41 Retarded   | 99 Other                                |
| 42 Aged   |   |
| 43 Physically disabled                                      |   |
| 44 Nurseries  |   |

#### 11. NAME OF FIRST INTERVIEWEE

Code the name of first interviewee, in a news item or interview, as it appears in the item.

## 12. STATUS OF FIRST INTERVIEWEE

Code the status of interviewee, if he/she appears in the news item or interview. Status tells why the person is being interviewed. For instance, if Mr. Ásmundur Stefánsson, president of ASÍ (Icelandic Federation of Labour) is interviewed about wage settlements, code "Trade-Unionist". If however, the same Ásmundur Stefánsson is interviewed about the election, it is because he is candidate of one of the parties. Below is the coding list.

1 Workers	17 Seamen
2 Shopping clerks	18 Farmers
3 Skilled workers	19 Salesmen
4 Foremen, housekeepers, policemen	20 Housewives
5 Office clerks	21 Students
6 Accountants, cashiers	22 Disabled
7 Nurses.	23 Pensioners
8 Teachers	24 Patients
9 Bankdeputies, office managers	25 Unemployed
10 Air stewardesses, caterers	26 Trade-unionists
11 Social scientists	27 Local councillors
12 Artists	28 Party activists
13 Natural scientists	29 MPs
14 Department managers	30 Parliamentary candidates
15 Entrepreneurs	31 Leaders of interest groups
16 Self-employed	32 University teachers
	33 Priest, religious workers

## 13. NAME OF SECOND INTERVIEWEE

Name of a second interviewee in an item is coded according to the same rules as in 11.

## 14. STATUS OF SECOND INTERVIEWEE

Status of second interviewee is coded according to the same rules as in 12.

## 15. REFERENCE TO POLITICAL PARTIES AND DIRECTION

Code any reference to a political party or parties, and whether the reference is positive, neutral or negative. The parties' list-letters are used. Positive reference is coded with +, neutral with 0 and negative reference with -. If there is no reference made to a party, its line in 15 is left blank. When prominent members of a party are

referred to, it is to be counted as a reference to a party, although the party's name is never mentioned.

The coder should try to record direction of references in a neutral way, free of his own predispositions about what he 'expects' from the paper in question.

## 16. HAS RELEVANCE FOR THE CAMPAIGN OR NOT

Code in the last box whether the unit is related in any way to the General election or not. When faced with ambiguities, try to decide whether an item of the sort in question, is likely to be seen when there is not an election campaign.

Use one of three values, 1=related to the election, 2=not related to the election, 3=not certain.

### WHEN TO FILL IN A BOX AND WHEN NOT

Some of the material in a newspaper is of the nature, that there is no reason to code it in detail. For instance, there are hardly interviews in advertisements.

In all cases, the first six boxes should be filled in, and the last one, that is material type, newspaper, day, month, page and size, and whether the item is relevant to the campaign or not. What is coded in boxes 7-15 depends on the type of the item. In the case of a news-item, editorial, article, interview and political column, all points should be looked at, with the exception, that a country should not be coded in the case of sporting news, and interviewees can only be found in news-items and interviews. When the basic unit is an advertisement or a comic strip, the first six boxes and the last two, reference to political party and direction, and whether the advertisement is in relation to the election. If the basic unit is a cross-puzzle or art-related material, only code the first six and the last (which will probably be 2).

Below is a list over the points to check in each case. Keep in mind, that the first six boxes should always be coded and the last one. Furthermore, keep in mind, that the first point, material type, tells what else to check within the unit under study.

- 1 news-item: 1-16 (except news of sport, then exclude 11-14.
- 2 editorial: 1-10, 15,16.
- 3 article: 1-10, 15,16.
- 4 interview: 1-16
- 5 political column: 1-10, 15-16.
- 6 advertisement: 1-6, 15,16.
- 7 comic strip: 1-6, 15-16.
- 8 art-related material: 1-6, 16.
- 9 other: 1-6, 16.

**CODING SHEET**

1  2

7  8  9  10

11  
Party      Direction

- A
- B
- C
- D
- G
- J
- M
- S
- V
- P

12 \_\_\_\_\_

13 \_\_\_\_\_

14 \_\_\_\_\_

15 \_\_\_\_\_

16

-----

## **APPENDIX B**

### **INSTRUCTIONS FOR CODING TELEVISIONS NEWS**

There is one unit of analysis, the news item. Distinctions between basic units are drawn in the same way as is done by the producers of the material.

One coding sheet is provided for each unit. There are 17 numbered boxes/lines on each coding sheet. Each one is meant for recording a specific characteristic of the unit. Definitions of each of the characteristics to look for within each unit, are found in numbered coding rules below. Each number refers to a specific box/line on the coding sheet.

- |  |                                    |
|--|------------------------------------|
| 1. Channel   | 11. Name of first interviewee      |
| 2. Day   | 12. Status of first interviewee    |
| 3. Month   | 13. Sex of first interviewee       |
| 4. Rank order  | 14. Name of second Interviewee     |
| 5. Length in seconds                                 | 15. Status of second interviewee   |
| 6. Origins of material by country                    | 16. Sex of second nterviewee       |
| 7. Reference to second country                       | 17. Related to the election or not |
| 8. Reference to third country                        |                                    |
| 9. Subject matter category                           |                                    |
| 10. References to political parties<br>and direction |                                    |

#### **1. TV CHANNEL**

1. RÚVTV
2. CHANNEL 2

#### **2. DAY OF MONTH**

Code the day of the month, with two digits, e.g. the third day of the month is coded 03.

#### **3. MONTH**

Code month as day. Because the study only takes to March and April, there are only two possibilities, 03 and 04.

#### **4. RANK ORDER**

Code the number of the item within the news bulletin.

**5. LENGTH IN SECONDS**

Measure the total length of each unit in seconds.

**6. ORIGINS OF MATERIAL BY COUNTRY**

Same as in Appendix A

**7. REFERENCE TO SECOND COUNTRY**

Same as in Appendix A

**8. REFERENCE TO THIRD COUNTRY**

Same as above, except third country.

**9. ISSUE CATEGORY**

Code in this box the subject matter of the item, according to the list in Appendix A.

**10. REFERENCE TO POLITICAL PARTIES AND DIRECTION**

Same as in Appendix A

**11. NAME OF FIRST INTERVIEWEE**

Code the name of first interviewee.

**12. STATUS OF FIRST INTERVIEWEE**

Code the status of interviewee according to the list in Appendix A.

**13. SEX OF FIRST INTERVIEWEE**

Code the sex of first interviewee, 1 for men, 2 for women.

**14. NAME OF SECOND INTERVIEWEE**

Name of a second interviewee in an item is coded according to the same rules as in 11.

**15. STATUS OF SECOND INTERVIEWEE**

Status of second interviewee is coded according to the same rules as in 12.

**16. SEX OF SECOND INTERVIEWEE**

Same as in 13.

**17. HAS RELEVANCE FOR THE CAMPAIGN OR NOT**

Same as in Appendix A.

CODING SHEET

1  2  3  4  5

6  7  8  9

11 \_\_\_\_\_ 13

12 \_\_\_\_\_

14 \_\_\_\_\_ 14

15 \_\_\_\_\_

10

Party	Direction
A	
B	
C	
D	
G	
J	
M	
S	
V	
P	

17

-----

## APPENDIX C

### INSTRUCTIONS FOR CODING PRINTED PARTY PROPAGANDA

The unit of analysis is the "statement".

#### **1. PARTY**

Code the party that produces the printed material under analysis according to the following list.

- |                               |  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. People's Party             | 7. Humanist Party                            |
| 2. Progressive Party          | 8. Movement for Co-operation<br>and Equality |
| 3. Independence Party         | 9. National Party                            |
| 4. People's Alliance          | 10. Citizens' Party                          |
| 5. Social Democratic Alliance |  |
| 6. Women's List               |  |

#### **2. ISSUE**

Code the issue the statement covers according to the list of issues in Appendix A.

**CODING SHEET**

1

2

## APPENDIX D

### INSTRUCTIONS FOR CODING TELEVIZED PARTY PROPAGANDA

The unit of analysis is the statement, "issue". All time spent on an issue, continuously, is coded as one item.

#### **1. PARTY**

Code the Party the candidate is presenting, according to the list in Appendix C.

#### **2. CONSTITUENCY**

Code the constituency the material is from according to the following list:

- |                 |               |
|-----------------|---------------|
| 1. Reykjavík    | 6. North-east |
| 2. Reykjanes    | 7. East       |
| 3. West-country | 8. South      |
| 4. Westfjords   | 9. Nationwide |
| 5. North-west   |               |

#### **3. LENGTH IN SECONDS**

Code length in seconds.

#### **4. ISSUE**

Code issue according to the list of issues in Appendix A.

#### **5. REFERENCE TO ANOTHER PARTY AND DIRECTION**

Code if the candidate refers to another political party than his own and the direction of such references.

CODING SHEET

1 [ ] 2 [ ] 3 [ ] 4 [ ]

5

Party	Direction
A	
B	
C	
D	
G	
J	
M	
S	
V	
P	

**APPENDIX E**

Questionnaire, 27-30 Mars 1987

To be filled in by interviewer:

Number of respondent \_\_\_\_\_

Year of birth \_\_\_\_\_

Sex: 1 male 2 female

Constituency \_\_\_\_\_

Name of interviewer \_\_\_\_\_

Interview started \_\_\_\_\_

Interview ended \_\_\_\_\_

1. Some people seem to follow what is going on in government and public there is an election going on or not. Others are not that interested. Would you say that you follow what is going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then or hardly at all?

<input type="checkbox"/> Most of the time		1
<input type="checkbox"/> some of the time		2
<input type="checkbox"/> only now and then		3
<input type="checkbox"/> hardly at all		4
<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer		8
<input type="checkbox"/> does not know		9

---

2. Do you know who is President of Aggregated Althing?

answer \_\_\_\_\_

1 (right)

\_\_\_\_\_

2 (wrong)

---

3. Which minister do you think is responsible for the affairs of the Statistical Bureau of Iceland?

answer \_\_\_\_\_

1 (right)

\_\_\_\_\_

2 (wrong)

---

4. Which issues of national importance are you most concerned about these days?<sup>1</sup>

a) \_\_\_\_\_

b) \_\_\_\_\_

c) \_\_\_\_\_

---

5a. Are you very concerned about a) \_\_\_\_\_, somewhat concerned or hardly concerned at all?

<input type="checkbox"/> very concerned		1
<input type="checkbox"/> somewhat concerned		2
<input type="checkbox"/> hardly concerned		3
<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer		8
<input type="checkbox"/> does not know		9

---

5b. Are you very concerned about b) \_\_\_\_\_, somewhat concerned or hardly concerned at all?

<input type="checkbox"/> very concerned		1
<input type="checkbox"/> somewhat concerned		2
<input type="checkbox"/> hardly concerned		3
<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer		8
<input type="checkbox"/> does not know		9

---

5c. Are you very concerned about c) \_\_\_\_\_, somewhat concerned or hardly concerned at all?

<input type="checkbox"/> very concerned		1
<input type="checkbox"/> somewhat concerned		2
<input type="checkbox"/> hardly concerned		3
<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer		8
<input type="checkbox"/> does not know		9

---

<sup>1</sup> In two thirds of the questionnaires we prompted with certain issues, the Guðmundsson affair and a nuclear free Scandinavia in a third, and the election and wage disputes in another third. A third of the questionnaires did not contain prompts of this kind.

6a. Would you say you have about as much information as you need to understand these issues?	<input type="checkbox"/> yes (>q. 7)	1
	<input type="checkbox"/> no	2
	<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer	8
	<input type="checkbox"/> does not know	9

---

6b. Where would you seek further information about these issues? (name as many as you like, and rank them)	<input type="checkbox"/> talk to family	1
	<input type="checkbox"/> talk to workmates	2
	<input type="checkbox"/> talk to friends	3
	<input type="checkbox"/> in institutions	4
	<input type="checkbox"/> in the press	5
	<input type="checkbox"/> in radio	6
	<input type="checkbox"/> in television	7
	<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer	8
	<input type="checkbox"/> does not know	9

---

7. How often do you discuss these matters with others?	<input type="checkbox"/> never	1
	<input type="checkbox"/> once in a while	2
	<input type="checkbox"/> several times a week	3
	<input type="checkbox"/> daily/almost daily	4
	<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer	8
	<input type="checkbox"/> does not know	9

---

8a. How much do you rely on news about issues and candidates?	<input type="checkbox"/> not at all (> q.9)	1
	<input type="checkbox"/> very little	2
	<input type="checkbox"/> little	3
	<input type="checkbox"/> somewhat	4
	<input type="checkbox"/> much	5
	<input type="checkbox"/> very much	6
	<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer	8
	<input type="checkbox"/> does not know	9

---

8b. Which newspapers do you rely on (rank)	<input type="checkbox"/> Peoples' Paper	1
	<input type="checkbox"/> Daily Newspaper	2
	<input type="checkbox"/> Today	3
	<input type="checkbox"/> Morning Paper	4
	<input type="checkbox"/> The Time	5
	<input type="checkbox"/> National Will	6
	<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer	8
	<input type="checkbox"/> does not know	9

---

8c. How often do you read newspapers?	<input type="checkbox"/> Daily/almost daily	1
	<input type="checkbox"/> several times a week	2
	<input type="checkbox"/> seldom	3
	<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer	8
	<input type="checkbox"/> does not know	9

8d. Which parts of the newspapers do you usually read first? (rank)

<input type="checkbox"/> news pages		1
<input type="checkbox"/> editorials		2
<input type="checkbox"/> gossip		3
<input type="checkbox"/> articles		4
<input type="checkbox"/> comics		5
<input type="checkbox"/> the whole paper		6
<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer		8
<input type="checkbox"/> does not know		9

---

8e. Which news items do you remember best, if any, from last week's newspaper-reading?

a) \_\_\_\_\_

b) \_\_\_\_\_

c) \_\_\_\_\_

---

9a. How much do you rely on television for news about news about issues and candidates?

<input type="checkbox"/> not at all (> q.9)		1
<input type="checkbox"/> very little		2
<input type="checkbox"/> little		3
<input type="checkbox"/> somewhat		4
<input type="checkbox"/> much		5
<input type="checkbox"/> very much		6
<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer		8
<input type="checkbox"/> does not know		9

---

9b. Which news-bulletins do you watch on television?

<input type="checkbox"/> RUVTV		1
<input type="checkbox"/> Channel 2		2
<input type="checkbox"/> both		3
<input type="checkbox"/> neither		4
<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer		8
<input type="checkbox"/> does not know		9

---

9c. How often do you watch news on RUVTV?

<input type="checkbox"/> Daily/almost daily		1
<input type="checkbox"/> several times a week		2
<input type="checkbox"/> seldom		3
<input type="checkbox"/> never		4
<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer		8
<input type="checkbox"/> don't know		9

---

9d. How often do you watch news on Channel 2?

<input type="checkbox"/> Daily/almost daily		1
<input type="checkbox"/> several times a week		2
<input type="checkbox"/> seldom		3
<input type="checkbox"/> never		4
<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer		8
<input type="checkbox"/> does not know		9

---

9e. How often do you watch current affairs programmes on television?

<input type="checkbox"/> Daily/almost daily		1
<input type="checkbox"/> several times a week		2
<input type="checkbox"/> seldom		3
<input type="checkbox"/> never		4
<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer		8
<input type="checkbox"/> does not know		9

9f. Which news items, if any, do you remember best from last week's television watching?

answer  
a) \_\_\_\_\_  
b) \_\_\_\_\_  
c) \_\_\_\_\_

---

10a. How much do you rely on radio for news about issues and candidates?

<input type="checkbox"/> not at all(> q.11)	1
<input type="checkbox"/> very little	2
<input type="checkbox"/> little	3
<input type="checkbox"/> somewhat	4
<input type="checkbox"/> much	5
<input type="checkbox"/> very much	6
<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer	8
<input type="checkbox"/> does not know	9

---

10b. Which news-bulletins do you usually listen to on radio?

<input type="checkbox"/> RUV	1
<input type="checkbox"/> The Wave	2
<input type="checkbox"/> both	3
<input type="checkbox"/> neither	4
<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer	8
<input type="checkbox"/> don't know	9

---

10c. How often do you listen news on RUV?

<input type="checkbox"/> Daily/almost daily	1
<input type="checkbox"/> several times a week	2
<input type="checkbox"/> seldom	3
<input type="checkbox"/> never	4
<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer	8
<input type="checkbox"/> don't know	9

---

10d. How often do you listen to news on the Wave?

<input type="checkbox"/> Daily/almost daily	1
<input type="checkbox"/> several times a week	2
<input type="checkbox"/> seldom	3
<input type="checkbox"/> never	4
<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer	8
<input type="checkbox"/> don't know	9

---



14. How thorough do you perceive media coverage given to issues of national importance? Do you perceive it as very thorough, somewhat thorough, neither-nor, not very thorough or not thorough at all?

	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
<u>MEDIUM</u>	V. WELL	SW. WELL	N/NOR	SW.BAD	V.BADLY	D.K.	REFUSES
RÚVTV							
CHANNEL 2							
RÚV							
WAVE							
PEOPLE'S P.							
DAILY							
TODAY							
MORNING P							
TIME							
NAT.WILL							

15. In general, how often would you say you discuss politics?	<input type="checkbox"/> daily/almost daily	1
	<input type="checkbox"/> once or twice a week	2
	<input type="checkbox"/> seldom	3
	<input type="checkbox"/> never ( >> q. 18)	4
	<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer	8
	<input type="checkbox"/> don't know	9

16. Who do you most often with about politics?	<input type="checkbox"/> family	1
	<input type="checkbox"/> friends	2
	<input type="checkbox"/> people at work	3
	<input type="checkbox"/> others (who?)	

17. Do you usually agree with the people you discuss with politics?	<input type="checkbox"/> always/most of the time	1
	<input type="checkbox"/> sometimes	2
	<input type="checkbox"/> seldom/never	3
	<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer	8
	<input type="checkbox"/> does not know	9



22. If the general election were on tomorrow which party do you think you would vote for?

- SDP 1
- Progr. Party 2
- Indep. party 3
- Peoples Alliance 4
- Democr. Alliance 5
- Women's List 6
- Humanist party 7
- MCE 8
- National Party 9
- Citizen's Party 10
- other which? 11

- 
- would not vote 91
  - blank vote 92
  - refuses to ans. 98
  - does not know 99

23. IF DO NOT KNOW in question 22

But which party do you think it is most likely you would vote for?

- SDP 1
- PP 2
- IP 3
- PA 4
- SDA 5
- WL 6
- HP 7
- MCE 8
- NP 9
- BP 10
- other which? 11

- 
- would not vote 91
  - blank vote 92
  - refuses to ans. 98
  - does not know 99

24. IF DO NOT KNOW in question 23

But which do you think is more likely that you vote for, the IP or some other party?

- IP 1
- some other party 2
- refuses to ans. 98
- don't know 99

IF THE ANSWER IS NOT CLEAR, WRITE ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BELOW (example, will vote for either one of the "Peoples" parties, never the Progressive or such)

---



---



---



---

25. What is your marital status?

- single 1
- married, living with someone 2
- divorced 3
- widow(er) 4
- refuses to answer 9

26. What is your main job?  
(get title and/or a short  
description of what the job  
entails)

job: \_\_\_\_\_

description: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

---

27. (IF MARRIED OR LIVING WITH  
SOMEONE),  
what is the occupation of your  
spouse?

job: \_\_\_\_\_

description: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

---

28. Have you had any formal  
education after the  
age of 15?  
(if yes)>>>>what education?

no  
 yes

1  
2

education: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

This is the end of the questionnaire. I would like to thank you very much for your participation.  
Since this is a part of a larger project, I want to ask if you are ready to answer another, much  
shorter questionnaire in a two weeks time.

Yes  
 Perhaps  
 No

Questionnaire, 18-21 April 1987

To be filled in by interviewer:

Number of respondent\_\_\_\_\_

Year of birth\_\_\_\_\_

Sex: 1 male 2 female

Constituency\_\_\_\_\_

Name of interviewer\_\_\_\_\_

Interview started\_\_\_\_\_

Interview ended\_\_\_\_\_

1. Some people seem to follow what is going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there is an election going on or not. Others are not that interested. Would you say that you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then or hardly at all?	<input type="checkbox"/> hardly at all	1
	<input type="checkbox"/> only now and then	2
	<input type="checkbox"/> sometimes	3
	<input type="checkbox"/> most of the time	4
	<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer	8
	<input type="checkbox"/> does not know	9

---

2. Which issues of national importance are you most concerned about these days?	answer	
	a) _____	
	b) _____	

---

3a. Are you very concerned about a) _____, somewhat concerned or hardly concerned at all?	<input type="checkbox"/> very concerned	1
	<input type="checkbox"/> somewhat concerned	2
	<input type="checkbox"/> hardly concerned	3
	<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer	8
	<input type="checkbox"/> does not know	9

---

3b. Are you very concerned about b) _____, somewhat concerned or hardly concerned at all?	<input type="checkbox"/> very concerned	1
	<input type="checkbox"/> somewhat concerned	2
	<input type="checkbox"/> hardly concerned	3
	<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer	8
	<input type="checkbox"/> does not know	9

---

4a. In general, would you say you were interested or not interested in reading about politics in newspapers?

IF INTERESTED ASK: Is that	<input type="checkbox"/> very interested	1
	<input type="checkbox"/> fairly interested	2
IF NOT INTERESTED ASK: Is that	<input type="checkbox"/> not very interested	3
	<input type="checkbox"/> not at all interested	4
	<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer	8
	<input type="checkbox"/> does not know	9

---

4b. Turning now to the general election, do you think the amount of space devoted to the election in newspapers is far too much, a bit too much, about right, too little, or far too little?	<input type="checkbox"/> far too much	1
	<input type="checkbox"/> a bit too much	2
	<input type="checkbox"/> about right	3
	<input type="checkbox"/> too little	4
	<input type="checkbox"/> far too little	5
	<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer	8
	<input type="checkbox"/> do not know	9

---

4c. Has the coverage of the election campaign in newspapers helped you in deciding how to vote in the election?	<input type="checkbox"/> yes	1
	<input type="checkbox"/> no	2
	<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer	8
	<input type="checkbox"/> does not know	9

5a. In general, would you say you were interested or not interested in seeing politics and current affairs on television?

IF INTERESTED ASK: Is that	<input type="checkbox"/> very interested	1
	<input type="checkbox"/> fairly interested	2
IF NOT INTERESTED ASK: Is that	<input type="checkbox"/> not very interested	3
	<input type="checkbox"/> not interested at all	4
	<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer	8
	<input type="checkbox"/> does not know	9

---

5b. Overall, would you say that the amount of time devoted to the election on television is far too much, a bit too much, about right or too little	<input type="checkbox"/> far too much	1
	<input type="checkbox"/> a bit too much	2
	<input type="checkbox"/> about right	3
	<input type="checkbox"/> too little	4
	<input type="checkbox"/> far too little	5
	<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer	8
	<input type="checkbox"/> does not know	9

---

5c. Has the television coverage of the election campaign helped you in deciding how to vote in the election?	<input type="checkbox"/> yes	1
	<input type="checkbox"/> no	2
	<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer	8
	<input type="checkbox"/> does not know	9

---

6a. In general, would you say you were interested or not interested in listening to politics and current affairs on radio?

IF INTERESTED ASK: Is that	<input type="checkbox"/> very interested	1
	<input type="checkbox"/> fairly interested	2
IF NOT INTERESTED ASK: Is that	<input type="checkbox"/> not very interested	3
	<input type="checkbox"/> not at all interested	4
	<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer	8
	<input type="checkbox"/> does not know	9

---

6b. Overall, would you say that the amount of time devoted to the election on radio is far too much, a bit too much, about right or too little	<input type="checkbox"/> far too much	1
	<input type="checkbox"/> a bit too much	2
	<input type="checkbox"/> about right	3
	<input type="checkbox"/> too little	4
	<input type="checkbox"/> far too little	5
	<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer	8
	<input type="checkbox"/> does not know	9

---

6c. Has the coverage of the election campaign on radio helped you in deciding how to vote in the election?	<input type="checkbox"/> yes	1
	<input type="checkbox"/> no	2
	<input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer	8
	<input type="checkbox"/> does not know	9

7. In general, how much would you say that you know about the policies offered by the parties in this election?	( ) nothing	1
	( ) not very much	2
	( ) a little	3
	( ) a fair amount	4
	( ) a great deal	5
	( ) refuses to answer	8
	( ) does not know	9

---

8a. If the general election were on tomorrow which party do you think you would vote for?	( ) SDP	1
	( ) Progressive Party	2
	( ) Independence Party	3
	( ) Peoples Alliance	4
	( ) Democr. Alliance	5
	( ) Women's List	6
	( ) Humanist party	7
	( ) MCE	8
	( ) National Party	9
	( ) Citizen's Party	10
	( ) other which?	11
	( ) would not vote	91
	( ) blank vote	92
	( ) refuses to answer	98
	( ) do not know	99

---

8b. IF DO NOT KNOW in question 8a	( ) SDP	1
	( ) PP	2
But which party do you think it is most likely you would vote for?	( ) IP	3
	( ) PA	4
	( ) SDA	5
	( ) WL	6
	( ) HP	7
	( ) MCE	8
	( ) NP	9
	( ) BP	10
	( ) other which?	11
	( ) would not vote	91
	( ) blank vote	92
	( ) refuses to answer	98
	( ) does not know	99

---

8c. IF DO NOT KNOW in question 8b		
But which do you think is more likely that you vote for, the IP or some other party?	( ) IP	1
	( ) some other party	2
	( ) refuses to answer	98
	( ) don't know	99

IF THE ANSWER IS NOT CLEAR, WRITE ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BELOW (example, will vote for either one of the "Peoples" parties, never the Progressive or such)

---



---



---

9. Which party did you vote for  
in the last general election (1983)?

- |   |    |
|---|----|
| <input type="checkbox"/> SDP                | 1  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Progressive Party  | 2  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Independence Party | 3  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Peoples Alliance   | 4  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Democr. Alliance   | 5  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Women's List       | 6  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other. which?      |    |
| _____                                       | 7  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Was not old enough | 90 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> did not vote       | 91 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> blank vote         | 92 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer  | 98 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> does not know      | 99 |

---

This is the end of the questionnaire. We have now spoken to you twice. Now I want to ask to answer our questions once more, shortly after the election. Do you think that is possible?

- Yes
- Perhaps
- No

Questionnaire, 27-29 April 1987

To be filled in by interviewer:

Number of respondent\_\_\_\_\_

Year of birth\_\_\_\_\_

Sex: 1 male 2 female

Constituency\_\_\_\_\_

Name of interviewer\_\_\_\_\_

Interview started\_\_\_\_\_

Interview ended\_\_\_\_\_

1. Which issues of national importance did you find most important during the election campaign?	answer: a) _____ b) _____ c) _____	
2. Did you watch the programmes reporting the election results on TV?	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no (>> q. 5) <input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer	1 2 8
3. Which TV channel did you watch?	<input type="checkbox"/> RUVTV (>> q. 5) <input type="checkbox"/> Channel 2 (>> q.5) <input type="checkbox"/> both <input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer	1 2 3 8
4. Which TV channel did you think better on the election results?	<input type="checkbox"/> RUVTV <input type="checkbox"/> Channel 2 <input type="checkbox"/> both were even <input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer <input type="checkbox"/> question not relevant	1 2 3 8 0
5. Did you listen to the programmes reporting the election results on Radio?	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no (>> q. 8) <input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer	1 2 8
6. Which Radio channel did you listen to?	<input type="checkbox"/> RUV (>> q. 8) <input type="checkbox"/> Wave (>> q.8) <input type="checkbox"/> both <input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer <input type="checkbox"/> question not relevant	1 2 3 8 0
7. Which Radio channel did you think reported better on the election results?	<input type="checkbox"/> RUVTV <input type="checkbox"/> Wave <input type="checkbox"/> both were even <input type="checkbox"/> refuses to answer <input type="checkbox"/> question not relevant	1 2 3 8 0

8. Which media were your main sources of information during the election campaign? (Name as many as you like and rank them)	( ) RÚVTV	1
	( ) Channel 2	2
	( ) The State's Radio	3
	( ) The Wave	4
	( ) People's paper	5
	( ) Daily Newspaper	6
	( ) Morning Paper	7
	( ) Time	8
	( ) National Will	9
	( ) refuses to answer	98
	( ) does not know	99

---

9. Did you vote in the Parliamentary election last week?	( ) yes	1
	( ) no	2
	( ) refuses to answer (>> question 10)	8

---

9b. Which party did you vote for?	( ) SDP	1
	( ) PP	2
	( ) IP	3
	( ) PA	4
	( ) SDA	5
	( ) WL	6
	( ) HP	7
	( ) MCE	8
	( ) NP	9
	( ) BP	10
	( ) did not vote	91
	( ) blank vote	92
	( ) refuses to answer	98

---

10. But which party did you vote for in 1983?	( ) SDP	1
	( ) PP	2
	( ) IP	3
	( ) PA	4
	( ) SDA	5
	( ) WL	6
	( ) Other. Which?	7
	( ) was too young	90
	( ) did not vote	91
	( ) blank vote	92
	( ) refuses to answer	98
	( ) does not know	99

---

## APPENDIX F

### RECODING RATIONALE

1. Countries. The numbers refer to coding instructions in Appendix A

1=Iceland

2=Nordic Countries, excluding Iceland  
(50, 205, 110, 49, 144, 57, 36)

3=W-Europe, excluding Iceland and Nordic countries  
(4, 9, 15, 22, 48, 54, 56, 63, 70, 72, 82,  
84, 88, 94, 101, 119, 125, 134, 143, 154,  
159, 162, 201, 203, 204)

4=E-Europe and USSR  
(3, 10, 24, 76, 118, 121, 133, 148, 156,  
202)

5=Asia and the Pacific  
(2, 13, 18, 23, 25, 33, 45, 47, 66, 67, 74,  
77, 79, 80, 83, 90, 92, 97, 102, 105, 109,  
111, 114, 123, 129, 131, 135, 140, 146, 149,  
151, 153, 158, 161, 163, 172)

6=Middle East and N-Africa  
(7, 42, 68, 69, 71, 75, 81, 85, 87, 95, 113,  
120, 124, 127, 145, 164, 165, 170, 171)

7=Black Africa  
(5, 17, 20, 26, 27, 30, 37, 41, 44, 46, 51,  
53, 59, 60, 78, 86, 89, 91, 93, 96, 99, 100,  
103, 104, 107, 108, 122, 126, 128, 130, 132,  
138, 139, 142, 147, 150, 155, 166, 167, 168)

8=North America  
(12, 28)

9=Latin America  
(6, 11, 14, 16, 19, 21, 31, 32, 34, 35, 38,  
39, 40, 43, 55, 58, 61, 62, 64, 65, 73, 98,  
106, 115, 116, 117, 136, 137, 141, 152, 157,  
160, 169)

10=Australia and New Zealand  
(8, 112)

2. Issues. The numbers refer to coding instructions in Appendix A

- 1=Politics  
(1 through 6)
- 2=Foreign Affairs  
(10 through 17)
- 3=Economics  
(20 through 26)
- 4=Industrial relations  
(30 through 32)
- 5=Social issues  
(33 through 47)
- 6=Culture and education  
(48, 49, 80 through 86)
- 7=Environment and transport  
(50 through 55)
- 8=Industrial affairs  
(60 through 69)
- 9=Accident and rescue work  
(70)
- 10=Crime  
(71,72)
- 11=Human Interest  
(90)

3. Issues for computing Spearman's RHO. The numbers refer to coding instructions in Appendix A

1=Politics and election  
(1 through 5)

2=Guðmundsson affair  
(6)

3=Foreign affairs  
(10 through 17)

4=Economics  
(20 through 26)

5=Industrial relations  
(30 through 32)

6=Sexual equality  
(34)

7=Social issues  
(33, 35, 40 through 45, 49)

8=Health service  
(46)

9=Housing  
(47)

10=Education  
(48)

11=Rural matters  
(50 through 56, 62)

12=Industrial affairs  
(60, 63 through 69)

13=Fishing  
(61)

99=Missing  
(70 through 99)

4. Age recoded into five groups. The numbers refer to year of birth

1=Born between 1959 and 1969  
(59 through 69)

2=Born between 1949 and 1958  
(49 through 58)

3=Born between 1938 and 1948  
(39 through 48)

4=Born between 1928 and 1937  
(28 through 37)

5=Born between 1917 and 1927  
(17 through 27)

Age recoded into five groups. The numbers refer to year of birth

1=Youngest group  
(53 through 69)

2=Middle group  
(35 through 52)

3=Oldest group  
(17 through 34)

5. Constituency. The numbers refer to coding instructions in Appendix  
D

1=Urban constituencies  
(1, 2)

2=Rural constituencies  
(3 through 8)

## APPENDIX G

When correlating variables from two different data sets (such as variables from content analysis on the one hand, and variables from opinion surveys on the other), Spearman's rho was used. Spearman's rho is a descriptive statistic, which measures the degree of correspondence between two rankings, or the intensity of rank correlation. Ranked data means that...

"...each observation is assigned a number from 1 to N (the sample size) which reflects its standing relative to the other observations." (Bohrnstedt, 1988:326).

Although limited and should be interpreted with extreme caution, it is relatively easy to perform manually and therefore bypasses the problem of computing different data-sets simultaneously on a computer. Furthermore, it is suited to compare variables that are not ordinal or interval variables, i.e. nominal variables such as the "concern" variables in the surveys and the "issue" variables in content analyses of newspapers, television and party propaganda. It is usually simple to translate values of a variable into ranks. Or in the words of M.C.Kendall (1970:2):

"We can always rank a set of individuals according to their position on a scale and may then be said to replace variate-values by ranks. A ranking may then be regarded as a less accurate way of expressing the ordered relation of the members - less accurate because it does not tell us how close the various members may be on the scale. Per contra, what the ranking loses in accuracy it gains in generality,..."

The method is performed thus: We take two ranked variables, subtract the ranks for one from those of the other. These differences are squared and the sum of squares put into the formula below:

$$1 - \frac{6 \sum d^2}{N(N^2-1)}$$

Tied scores are handled by assigning the same rank to both or all. The average of ranks in question is assigned to both or all. The outcome of the formula is Spearman's rank order correlation coefficient, rho.

## APPENDIX H

There are several ways of measuring reliability. The type used here is of the variant Krippendorff (1980:130-132) calls reproducibility, i.e. three coders coded the same set of data. This can also be called inter-coder reliability. Krippendorff says, that correlations based on frequencies are not accurate, one should trace each disagreement. We do not quite agree, since it is obvious, that even when treating voluminous data, and frequency distribution into categories by various coders is similar, it does not matter for the final outcome whether the same items fall into the same categories. Therefore, we have chosen to use two measures, based on frequencies, one from Holsti (1969:140) and the other from Scott (1955:323-324). Holsti's formula is the ratio of coding agreements to the total number of coding decisions. Scott's formula is similar, except that it takes into account 'expected frequency'. It is symbolised by  $\pi$  (pi).  $\pi$  is the ratio of the actual difference between obtained and change agreement, to the maximum difference between obtained and change agreement.  $\pi$  can therefore be said to be the extent to which coding reliability exceeds change. Change agreement, or expected agreement is found by dividing frequencies of a scoring in a category by the total number of scores. The outcome for each category is multiplied by itself, and the outcomes of all categories added together. This gives us expected frequency.

Two coders, apart from the author were asked to code a sample of the material at hand. Both are postgraduates at the LSE. Care was taken to have the sample as representative of the whole as possible. For obvious reasons, some recording units are of the type, that there is no need to test size or length, and interviewee for reliability. Reliability was tested for five recording units in the case of newspapers, type of material, geographical origin, subject matter, reference to political party and direction, and finally whether the item was related to the election or not. There was no need to code material type in the case of television material, therefore, we tested reliability

for only four recording units. Reliability was computed for all measures together, on the one hand, and for each recording unit on the other.

### Newspapers

If we first look at material type, then coder reliability (CR, Holsti's formula) was .89 while  $\pi$  (Scott's formula) amounts to .83. Coder reliability for country of origin was .84, while  $\pi$  was .82. Coder reliability for the subject matter categories was .84.  $\pi$  was .82. Reference to political party and direction yields the lowest reliability, as could be expected. CR was measured as .70, and  $\pi$ =.69. The highest reliability was measured when coding whether an item was related to the election or not, CR=.95 and  $\pi$ =.94.

When all coding decisions were treated together, the Coder Reliability was .87 and  $\pi$ =.86.

### Television

CR for country of origin was .86, while  $\pi$  was .83. Coder reliability for subject matter was .86.  $\pi$  was .84. Reference to political party and direction was higher with television than newspapers, although lower than the above. CR was measured as .78, and  $\pi$ =.76. Again, the highest reliability was measured when coding whether an item related to the election or not, CR=.96 and  $\pi$ =.95.

When all coding decisions were treated together, the Coder Reliability was .89 and  $\pi$ =.87.

### Current affairs programmes

No separate reliability tests were conducted for this part of the study, for three reasons. First, the items were few. Second, they were very long and difficult to ask friends to sit over them for a long time. Enough is enough. Third, the same coding instructions were used as in the case of TV news.

### Printed propaganda

In this case we only tested reliability for one unit, the issue. The other would have yielded reliability close to 1.0. Coder reliability for issue was .83 and  $\pi=.81$ .

### Election broadcasts

Here two recording units were tested, issue and reference to a political party. CR for issue was .84 and  $\pi=.82$ . The last reliability test yielded somewhat lower coefficients. In the case of a reference to political party and direction, CR was .68, and  $\pi=.66$ .

The levels of reliability are acceptable, and we can be relatively content with the reliability coefficients, and more so when compared with common standards, the mark often set at CR=.80. All our measurements are higher, except in the case of direction of reference to political party. High reliability in this case is extremely difficult to achieve, as has been discussed. Therefore, results from this part of the coding will be treated with utmost caution.

APPENDIX I

INDIVIDUALS INTERVIEWED IN NEWSPAPERS AND TELEVISION

Aage Andersen	899	Ármann Pétursson	571
Aðalheiður Bjarnfreðsd.	193	Arnar Jensson	507
Aðalsteinn Eiríksson	135	Arnar Sigmundsson	896
Aðalsteinn Finsen	589	Arnbjörg Magnúsd.	536
Aðalsteinn Hallgrímsson	1245	Arnfinnur Jónsson	1027
Aðalsteinn Jónsson	1058	Arngr. Hermannsson	903
Aðalsteinn Sigfússon	762	Árni Árnason	464
Ágúst O. Ágústsson	477	Árni Bergmann	1425
Ágúst Geirsson	1214	Árni Björnsson	867
do	1023	Árni M. Björnsson	349
Ágúst Gíslason	977	Árni Gunnarsson	447
Ágúst Guðnason	695	Árni Helgason	126
Ágúst Pétursson	1020	Árni Hermannsson	1019
do	1026	Árni Indriðason	1458
Ágústa Eiríksdóttir	1090	Árni Johnsen	836
Ágústa Gísladóttir	1205	Árni St. Jónsson	102
Ágústa Þorkeldsdóttir	979	Árni Ó. Lárusson	936
Albert Guðmundsson	103	Árni Ólafsson	1399
Albert Sigurjónsson	1032	Árni Reynisson	1392
Alexander Stefánsson	465	Árni Samúelsson	1136
Álfheiður Ingadóttir	50	Árni Sigfússon	1096
Álfhildur Ólafsdóttir	184	Árni Sigurðsson	620
Alfred Guðmundsson	227	Arnmundur Bachmann	542
Alfred Jóhannsson	366	Arnór Jensson	881
Alfred Jónsson	1308	Árný Elíasdóttir	1451
Almar Grímsson	839	Arnbór Helgason	75
Ámundi Ámundason	1289	Ása Atladóttir	1428
Anders Hansen	344	Ásbjörn Einarsson	680
Andrea Sigurðardóttir	1006	Ásdís Hafstað	980
Andrés Andrésón	1252	Ásdís Ingólfssdóttir	208
Andrés Svanbjörnsson	954	Ásgeir Bjarnason	473
Anker Jørgensen	921	Ásgeir Björnsson	1322
Anna L. Friðriksdóttir	1171	Ásgeir Einarsson	1459
Anna Jónsdóttir	1118	Ásgeir H. Eiríksson	294
Anna Þ. Karlsdóttir	1232	Ásgeir Friðjónsson	807
Anna Kristjánsdóttir	893	Ásgeir Guðmundsson	1035
Anna Stefánsdóttir	181	Ásgeir Gunnarsson	281
Anna María Sveinbjörnsd.	392	Ásgeir Helgason	1316
Anna J. Sveinsdóttir	1218	Ásgeir Ingólfsson	255
Anton Antonsson	1254	Ásgerður Invarsdóttir	70
Ari Ragnarsson	585	Ásgrímur Ásgrímsson	665
Ármann Halldórsson	272	Áslaug Pétursdóttir	1334

Ásmundur Jónsson	995	Birgir Ásgeirsson	1455
Ásmundur Stefánsson	37	Birgir Bjarnason	64
Ásmundur Sveinsson	1424	Birgir Finnsson	957
Ásta Erlingsdóttir	372	Birgir Guðjónsson	796
Ásta R. Jóhannesdóttir	834	Birgir Ísleifur Gunnarss	1139
Ásta Ólafsdóttir	1299	Birgir Hrafnsson	929
Ásta Pétursdóttir	732	Birgir Schioth	320
Ástráður Haraldsson	1102	Birgir Björn Sigurjóns.	27
Ástráður Ingvason	141	Birna Björnsdóttir	86
Ástráður Ingvarsson	869	Birna Gunnlaugsdóttir	160
Ástvaldur Guðmundsson	1361	Bjarki Elfason	18
Atli Árnason	594	Bjarney Kristjánsdóttir	123
Atli Freyr Guðmundsson	888	Bjarni Finnsson	1302
Atli Rúnar Halldórsson	1442	Bjarni Friðriksson	1290
Atli Heimir Sveinsson	803	Bjarni Guðmundsson	782
Auðna Ágústsdóttir	120	Bjarni Guðráðsson	483
Auðunn Ólafsson	1303	Bjarni Hákonarson	1294
Auður Svansdóttir	1105	Bjarni Hávarðsson	758
Axel Eiríksson	1048	Bjarni Helgason	557
Axel Gíslason	1223	Bjarni H. Helgason	343
Axel Kristjánsson	442	Bjarni P. Helgason	789
Baldur Baldursson	781	Bjarni Jónsson	792
Baldur Bjarnason	919	Bjarni Júlíusson	1338
Baldur Jóhannesson	315	Bjarni P. Magnússon	419
Baldur Jónsson	238	Bjarni V. Magnússon	1069
Baldur Möller	74	Bjarni Sigtryggsson	482
Baldur Óskarsson	199	Bjarni Thors	966
Baldvin Tryggvason	1160	Bjarni Þórarinsson	763
Benedikt Bogason	80	Björgúlfur Guðmundss.	1468
Benedikt Blönda	1276	Björgvin Friðriksson	1085
Benedikt Davíðsson	207	Björgvin Halldórsson	928
Benedikt Erlingsson	286	Björgvin Kemp	1448
Benedikt Grönda	1325	Björgvin Lúthersson	1131
Benedikt Jóhannsson	578	Björgvin Steindórsson	624
Benedikt Jóhannsson	615	Björk Vilhelmsdóttir	377
Benedikt Jónsson	828	Björn J. Arnviðarson	1227
Benjamín White	1397	Björn Ástmundsson	918
Benóní Ásgrímsson	316	Björn Baldvinsson	522
Bergdís Kristjánsdóttir	60	Björn Bjarnason	409
Bergmundur Guðlaugsson	1460	Björn Björnsson	326
Bergur Guðnason	529	Björn Brynjólfsson	566
Bergljót Jónsdóttir	829	Björn Dagbjartsson	1386
Bergþór Ingibergsson	489	Björn Erlingsson	479
Bergþóra Jónsdóttir	1366	Björn Friðfinnsson	323
Bernharður Guðmundsson	413	Björn V. Gíslason	9
Bernharður Haraldsson	1073	Björn Guðjónsson	865
Bergljót Aðalsteinsd.	1128	Björn Halldórsson	185
Birgir Árnason	1	Björn Hermannsson	1201

Björn Jónasson	974	Dóra Stefánsdóttir	471
Björn Jónsson	875	Douglas Edmunds	1385
Björn Kjartansson	381	Drífa Maríusdóttir	1341
Björn Mikkaelsson	504	Dúi Björnsson	705
Björn Ólafsson	1376	Eðvald Eðvaldsson	609
Björn G. Sveinsson	119	Eðvarð Árnason	21
Björn Teitsson	734	Eðvarð Júlíusson	322
Björn Vernharðsson	1156	Edda H. Bachman	356
Björn Þórhallsson	727	Edda Guðmundsdóttir	823
Björn Þórhallsson	591	Edda Jónsdóttir	1004
Bogi Ágústsson	877	Eggert Ísaksson	278
Bolli Þ. Bollason	300	Eggert Jóhannesson	62
Borgþór Kjærnested	851	Eggert Kristinsson	801
Borgþór Magnússon	602	Eggert Skúlason	814
Bragi Ásgeirsson	353	Eggert G. Þorsteinsson	71
Bragi Eyjólfsson	166	Egill Ágústsson	1199
Bragi Friðriksson	1434	Egill Olgeirsson	498
Bragi Hannesson	400	Eiður Guðnason	411
Bragi Haraldsson	644	Einar Egilsson	96
Bragi Jónsson	436	Einar T. Finnsson	1063
Bragi J. Ólafsson	1096	Einar Guðberg	1078
Bragi Steinarsson	242	Einar Sv. Hálfðánarson	1352
Bragi Thoroddsen	608	Einar Haraldsson	1054
Brósi	1423	Einar Hjörleifsson	1329
Bryndís Guðjónsdóttir	1332	Einar Ingólfsson	1095
Bryndís Jónsdóttir	625	Einar Karlsson	222
Brynhildur Briem	1435	Einar Lárusson	1039
Brynhildur Jóhannsdóttir	607	Einar Ólason (ljósm.)	274
Brynja Svavarsdóttir	57	Einar Ólafsson (SFR)	77
Brynjólfur Bjarnason	920	Einar Sigurðsson	930
Brynjólfur Halldórsson	385	Einar Sveinsson	1426
Bubbi Mortens	1147	Einar Þorsteinsson	978
Böðvar Bragason	17	Eiríkur Ágústsson	596
Börkur Gunnarsson	437	Eiríkur Alexandersson	1143
Lord Carrington	1377	Eiríkur Örn Árnason	1110
Daði Guðbjörnsson	513	Eiríkur Bogason	1337
Dagný Haraldsdóttir	240	Eiríkur Eiríksson	683
Daníel Snorrason	511	Eiríkur Guðnason	358
Darri Ólafsson	958	Eiríkur Hauksson	599
Davíð Aðalsteinsson	512	Eiríkur Kristinsson	757
Davíð Björnsson	462	Eiríkur Kristvinsson	650
Davíð Guðmundsson	887	Eiríkur Ragnarsson	860
Davíð Á. Gunnarsson	138	Eiríkur Stefánsson	361
Davíð Jónsson	1283	Eiríkur Tómasson	1314
Davíð Oddsson	313	Eiríkur Valsson	701
Davíð Ólafsson	863	Elías Guðmundsson	1216
Davíð Sch. Thorsteinsson	1034	Elías Héðinsson	520
Díana Sigurðardóttir	217	Elín Alma Arthúrsdóttir	431

Elín Hilmarsdóttir	1167	Friðrik Haraldsson	148
Elín Mjöll Jónasdóttir	634	Friðrik Ólafsson	691
Ellen Snorrason	1271	Friðrik Ólafsson	813
Ellert Eiríksson	216	Friðrik Sigurðsson	563
Ellert B. Schram	1441	Friðrik Sófusson	331
Ellert Sigurðsson	560	Friðrik Theodórsson	1401
Elva B. Gunnarsdóttir	1166	Friðþór Eydal	268
Elvar Eyvindsson	1353	Frosti Bergsson	648
Emanúel Ragnarsson	1060	Frosti Sigurjónsson	1406
Emil Björnsson	1141	Gardar Erlendsson	350
Emil Guðbjörnsson	444	Gardar Halldórsson	1239
Emil Guðmundsson	1071	Geir Gunnarsson	42
Emil Thoroddsen	1363	Geir Haarde	856
Emma Eyþórsdóttir	1053	Geir Waage	949
Erla Hallgrímsdóttir	262	Geirmundur Valtýsson	1236
Erlendur Haraldsson	52	Georg Ólafsson	668
Erling G. Jónasson	743	Gerður Pálmadóttir	441
Erling B. Snorrason	354	Gestur Barðason	1158
Erna Hilmarsdóttir	707	Gestur Einarsson	810
Eva Vilhelmsdóttir	457	Gestur E. Jónasson	1133
Eygló Guðmundsdóttir	749	Gestur Jónsson	1348
Eygló Stefánsdóttir	417	Gils Guðmundsson	816
Eyjólfur Axelsson	1357	Gísli Alfreðsson	1327
Eyjólfur Högnason	779	Gísli Árnason	1298
Eyjólfur K. Jónsson	378	Gísli J. Ástþórsson	439
Eyjólfur Kristjánsson	519	Gísli Baldvinsson	1340
Eyjólfur Sigurðsson	414	Gísli Eyland	324
Eyjólfur Sverrisson	686	Gísli Gíslason	302
Eyjólfur Valdimarsson	1046	Gísli Guðmundsson	889
Eysteinn Helgason	383	Gísli Jónasson	258
Eysteinn Jónsson	817	Gísli Jónsson	1009
Eysteinn Tryggvason	500	Gísli Konráðsson	849
Eyvindur Sigurðsson	1390	Gísli Maack	429
Eyþór Jónsson	386	Gísli Ólafsson	26
Finnbogi Alexandersson	943	Gísli Pálsson	587
Finnbogi Kjeld	1162	Gísli Pétursson	151
Finnbogi Óskarsson	731	Gísli Ragnarsson	288
Fjóla Guðbjörnsdóttir	1463	Gísli P. Sigurðsson	1075
Frank Ponzi	1230	Gísli Skarphéðinsson	283
Frans Árnason	546	Gísli Teodórsson	1008
Franz Mixa	1219	Gísli Valtýsson	1132
Freysteinn Sigurðsson	290	Gísli Viggósson	1144
Fríða Á. Sigurðardóttir	424	Gissur Pétursson	463
Friðberg Emanúelsson	1037	Gréta Jóhannsdóttir	728
Friðbert Pálsson	401	Grétar Mar Jónsson	1098
Friðfinnur Elísson	150	Grétar Ólafsson	248
Friðjón Sveinbjörnsson	1195	Grétar Sigurðsson	132
Friðrik P. Friðriksson	231	Grétar Þorsteinsson	230

Grímur Arnórsson	1067	Guðmundur Matthíass.	553
Grímur Valdimarsson	704	Guðmundur Ólafsson	(250)228
Guðbjartur Ó Einarsson	1068	Guðmundur Ólason	1056
Guðbjörg Edda Eggertsd.	140	Guðmundur Reykjalin	1432
Guðbjörn Guðjónsson	614	Guðmundur Sigurðsson	964
Guðbrandur Gíslason	232	Guðmundur Sigvaldason	842
Guðfinnur Guðmannsson	637	Guðmundur Sigvaldason	490
Guðjón Björnsson	675	Guðmundur Sigþórsson	661
Guðjón Friðriksson	1369	Guðm. Á. Stefánsson	4
Guðjón Ó. Hansson	1070	Guðm. Steindórsson	1031
Guðjón Oddsson	764	Guðmundur Sveinsson	748
Guðjón B. Ólafsson	697	Guðmundur Sölvason	572
Guðjón Jónsson	188	Guðmundur Tómasson	941
Guðjón Sigurðsson	531	Guðmundur Vestmann	1325
Guðjón Sigurjónsson	1272	Guðm. G. Þórarinsson	1321
Guðjón Steingrímsson	1315	Guðmundur Þórðarson	534
Guðlaug Þórðardóttir	588	Guðni Elísson	811
Guðlaugur Atlason	1311	Guðni Guðmundsson	426
Guðlaugur Leósson	846	Guðni Jónsson	991
Guðlaugur Þórðarson	1443	Guðni Karlsson	296
Guðlaugur Þorvaldsson	45	Guðni Þórðarson	1410
Guðmundur Ágústsson	539	Guðný Guðmundsdóttir	641
Guðmundur Albertsson	169	Guðný Magnúsdóttir	260
Guðmundur Bang	523	Guðný Ragnarsdóttir	538
Guðmundur Benediktsson	1038	Guðrún Agnarsdóttir	586
Guðmundur Bjarnason	491	Guðrún Ágústsdóttir	205
Guðmundur Brynjarsson	590	Guðrún Ásmundsdóttir	1326
Guðmundur Emilsson	415	Guðrún Guðjohnsen	1330
Guðmundur Einarsson	421	Guðrún Hallgrímsdóttir	484
Guðmundur Erlendsson	1318	Guðrún Helgadóttir	87
Guðm. Guðbjarnarson	155	Guðrún Jónsdóttir	892
Guðm. J. Guðmundss.	446	Guðrún Sigurjónsdóttir	192
Guðm. Ó. Guðmundss.	1074	Guðrún Stefánsdóttir	1449
Guðmundur Gunnarsson	1409	Guðrún Torfadóttir	532
Guðmundur Hafsteinsson	868	Guðrún Tryggvadóttir	1182
Guðmundur Haraldsson	295	Gunnar Ágústsson	1001
Guðmundur Hauksson	1280	Gunnar H. Ágústsson	223
Guðmundur Helgason	254	Gunnar Arason	945
Guðmundur Hermannsson	76	Gunnar Ásgeirsson	1134
Guðmundur Jónsson	676	Gunnar Bergsteinsson	1256
Guðmundur I. Jónsson	694	Gunnar S. Björnsson	1057
Guðmundur K. Jónsson	1246	Gunnar Einarsson	759
Guðmundur Þ. Jónsson	33	Gunnar Eydal	1115
Guðmundur Kjartansson	1097	Gunnar J. Friðriksson	391
Guðmundur E. Lárusson	693	Gunnar Guðbjartsson	562
Guðmundur Magnússon	1099	Gunnar Guðjónsson	835
Guðmundur Malmquist	306	Gunnar Guðmundsson	109
Guðm. S. Maríasson	93	Gunnar Gunnarsson	13

Gunnar G. Gunnarsson	1211	Halldór Guðmundsson	157
Gunnar I. Gunnarsson	1347	Halldór Gunnarsson	932
Gunnar Örn Gunnarsson	655	Halldór Halldórsson	1358
Gunnar H. Hálfðánarson	239	Halldór Ibsen	1094
Gunnar Hansson	1203	Halldór Jónatansson	1072
Gunnar Helgason	1028	Halldór Jónsson	551
Gunnar Hilmarsson	767	Halldór P. Jónsson	1312
Gunnar Jóhannsson	474	Halldór Kristinsson	646
Gunnar Jónasson	948	Halldór Laxness	677
Gunnar Jónsson	291	Halldór Sigurðsson	374
Gunnar P. Jónsson	510	Halldór Vilhelmsson	1217
Gunnar Kristinsson	1204	Halldóra Sigurgeirsd.	266
Gunnar Maack	1093	Hallgr. Guðmundsson	739
Gunnar Ragnar	1161	Hallgr. P. Helgason	433
Gunnar G. Schram	802	Hallgr. Pétursson	246
Gunnar Sigurðsson	259	Hallgrímur Sigurðsson	1059
Gunnar Svavarsson	1101	Hallgr. Thorsteinsson	1438
Gunnar Tómasson	956	Hallvarður Einvarðsson	56
Gunnlaugur Ástgeirsson	256	Hallveig Thorlacíus	1135
Gunnl. S. Gunnlaugsson	612	Hanna Gunnarsdóttir	1393
Gunnlaugur Haraldsson	(167) 2	Hannes Ágústsson	717
Gunnlaugur Helgason	787	Hannes Garðarsson	438
Gunnlaugur Sigmundsson	486	Hannes Gissurarson	1440
Gylfi Ásmundsson	1188	Hannes Hafstein	798
Gylfi Geirsson	1287	Hannes Hall	526
Gylfi Guðmundsson	113	Hannes Jónsson	775
Gylfi Már Guðjónsson	418	Hannes Leifsson	1371
Gylfi Már Sigurðsson	257	Hans Alfredsson	1344
Gylfi Þórðarson	845	Hansína Einarsdóttir	561
Hafliði Baldursson	761	Haraldur Briem	700
Hafliði Kristinsson	355	Haraldur Guðmundsson	854
Hafsteinn Ásgeirsson	805	Haraldur Hannesson	180
Hafsteinn Guðmundsson	19	Haraldur Henrysson	1255
Hafsteinn Hafsteinsson	662	Haraldur Jónsson	696
Hafsteinn Sæmundsson	1180	Haraldur Ólafsson	537
Hafsteinn Vilhelmsson	699	Haukur Dór	1281
Hafþór Ingi Jónsson	1169	Haukur Gíslason	969
Hákon Ásgrímsson	885	Haukur Grönda	1833
Hákon Hákonarson	1010	Haukur Guðmundsson	495
Halla M. Jónsdóttir	777	Haukur Halldórsson	1088
Halldór Árnason	635	Haukur Hauksson	404
Halldór Ásgrímsson	466	Haukur Mortens	6
Halldór Bergþórsson	914	Haukur Pálmason	812
Halldór Björnsson	449	Haukur Þórðarson	917
Halldór Blöndal	307	Heiðar Sigurðsson	1278
Halldór Eggertsson	454	Heiður Gunnarsdóttir	1193
Halldór Einarsson	773	Heimir Pálsson	277
Halldór Guðbjarnarson	1226	Helena Albertsdóttir	104

Helga Bergmann	373	Hjörleifur Ólafsson	784
Helga Bernhard	1091	Hjörleifur Sigurðsson	182
Helga Erlingsdóttir	884	Hjörleifur Sigvaldason	558
Helga Ewald	953	Hjörtur Þórarinnsson	1000
Helga Pétursdóttir	1111	Hlynur Sigtryggsson	405
Helga Vilhjálmsdóttir	840	Hólmfríður Einarsdóttir	220
Helgi Ágústsson	1241	Hólmgeir Valdimarsson	708
Helgi Bergs	1113	Hólmkell Gunnarsson	1250
Helgi Bernóðsson	1445	Hrafn Bachmann	1284
Helgi Daníelsson	177	Hrafn Bragason	1300
Helgi Gestsson	753	Hrafn Magnússon	206
Helgi S. Guðmundsson	907	Hrafnh. Sigurðard.	1301
Helgi Hallgrímsson	1066	Hrafnh. Valgeirsd.	583
Helgi Helgason	883	Hrafnkell A. Jónsson	1221
Helgi Ingólfsson	1130	Hrannar Árnason	573
Helgi Jóhannesson	1309	Hrefna Markan	334
Helgi Jóhannsson	923	Hrefna Ólafsdóttir	904
Helgi Jónsson (bóndi)	363	Hrefna Óskarsdóttir	183
Helgi H. Jónsson	1285	Hreggviður Jónsson	508
Helgi Þ. Jónsson	156	Hreinn Bergsveinsson	247
Helgi S. Karlsson	34	Hreinn Fjelsted	1084
Helgi Laxdal	1011	Hreinn Hjartarson	297
Helgi Magnússon	710	Hreinn Loftsson	820
Helgi Seljan	611	Hringur Jóhannesson	1465
Helgi Valdimarsson	110	Hróbjartur Hróbjartsson	580
Herbert Hjelm	175	Hrólfur Jónsson	1138
Herdís Þorgeirsdóttir	639	Hrólfur Kjartansson	186
Hermann Guðmundsson	36	Hrólfur Ólafsson	985
Hermann Gunnarsson	723	Hrönn Haflíðadóttir	1178
Hermann Hansson	1015	Hulda Arnardóttir	988
Hermann Sveinbjörnsson	443	Hulda Ólafsdóttir	176
Hildigunnur Ólafsdóttir	1189	Húnbogi Þorsteinsson	61
Hildur Ágústsdóttir	788	Hörður Áskelsson	338
Hildur Einarsdóttir	51	Hörður Einarsson	1273
Hildur Petersen	857	Hörður Guðmundsson	194
Hildur Petersen	1047	Hörður Sigurgestsson	35
Hilmar Daníelsson	760	Hörður Vilhjálmsson	515
Hilmar Helgason	745	Hörður Zophaníasson	1395
Hilmar Hjartarson	308	Hörður Þorsteinsson	1405
Hilmar Oddsson	1430	Höskuldur Jónsson	913
Hilmar Rósmundsson	946	Höskuldur Ólafsson	1159
Hilmir Hilmisson	1051	Hösk. Skarphéðinss.	496
Hinrik Bjarnason	1394	Iðunn Steinsdóttir	1148
Hinrik Greipsson	367	Indriði Pálsson	412
Hjalti Zophaníasson	1126	Indriði H. Þorláksson	244
Hjalti Þórarinnsson	1225	Indriði G. Þorsteinsson	94
Hjördís Sigurðardóttir	275	Inga Bjarnason	951
Hjörleifur Ívarsson	1137	Inga Kristmundsdóttir	1002

Ingi B. Albertsson	613	Jóhann Ársælsson	16
Ingi Björnsson	342	Jóhann Axelsson	1191
Ingi R. Helgason	1033	Jóhann Bergþórsson	982
Ingi V. Jónsson	41	Jóhann Georgsson	1024
Ingi Ú. Magnússon	428	Jóhann Hjaltason	501
Ingi Tryggvason	410	Jóhann Jónmundsson	1346
Ingibjörg Gísladóttir	771	Jóhann A. Jónsson	768
Ingibjörg Hafstað	31	Jóhann M. Mariússon	555
Ingibjörg Haraldsdóttir	271	Jóhann J. Ólafsson	653
Ingibjörg Heiðarsdóttir	190	Jóhann Pálsson	619
Ingibjörg Hjartardóttir	305	Jóhann Sigurjónsson	340
Ingibjörg Pétursdóttir	506	Jóhann Steinsson	1210
Ingibjörg Sigmundsdóttir	371	Jóhanna Gestsdóttir	211
Ingibjörg Viggósdóttir	855	Jóhanna Kristjónsdóttir	147
Ingileif Jónsdóttir	164	Jóhanna Oliversdóttir	905
Ingimar Sigurðsson	1429	Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir	435
Ingimundur Kjarval	1317	Jóhanna Sveinbjörnsd.	582
Ingimundur Sigurpálsson	674	Jóhannes Benediktsson	319
Ingjaldur Hannesson	44	Jóhannes Björnsson	821
Ingjaldur Hannibalsson	670	Jóhannes Gunnarsson	116
Ingólfur Guðbrandsson	359	Jóhannes Ellertsson	1055
Ingólfur Hannesson	795	Jóhannes LL. Helgason	926
Ingólfur Hrólffson	330	Jóhannes Jóhannesson	1092
Ingólfur Ingólfsson	994	Jóhannes Nordal	321
Ingólfur Porkelsson	134	Jóhannes Sigmundsson	159
Ingólfur Þorsteinsson	518	Jóhannes Zoega	475
Ingvar Guðmundsson	636	Jóhannes Þórðarson	1373
Ingvar Hallgrímsson	1253	John Speight	1122
Ingvar Helgason	1258	Jón Árnason	488
Ingvar Nielsson	939	Jón G. Árnason	357
Ingvar Oddsson	1461	Jón L. Árnason	213
Ingveldur Einarsdóttir	916	Jón Ásbjörnsson	983
Ingveldur Kristjánsdóttir	1466	Jón Ásgeirsson	503
Ingvi Hrafn Jónsson	451	Jón G. Baldvinsson	657
Ingpór Geirsson	399	Jón B. Bjarnason	432
Ísak Ólafsson	1231	Jón Ragnar Björnsson	129
Ívar Sigmundsson	1342	Jón Briem	938
J. Kirkwood	912	Jón E. Böðvarsson	1242
Jakob Hafstein	1292	Jón Ingi Cesarsson	448
Jakob Jakobsson	703	Jón Eggertsson	170
Jakob Magnússon	65	Jón Eiríksson	976
Játvarður J. Júlíusson	225	Jón P. Elíasson	1387
Jenní Jakobsdóttir	66	Jón Friðjónsson	1183
Jens Ásmundsson	730	Jón Gíslason	952
Jens P. Hjaltested	713	Jón G. Grétarsson	202
Jens P. Krisjánsson	1362	Jón E. Guðjónsson	970
Jóhann Antoníusson	799	Jón Guðmundsson	1155
Jóhann Arnarson	1304	Jón Steinar Guðmundss.	878

Jón Gunnarsson	992	Jónas Jónsson	841
Jón St. Gunnlaugss.	852	Jónas Kristjánsson	1243
Jón Ingi Gunnsteinsson	1172	Jónas Magnússon	332
Jón Halldórsson	1384	Jónas Matthíasson	843
Jón B. Hannibalsson	310	Júlíus Ágústsson	1310
Jón Helgason	461	Júlíus Björnsson	72
Jón B. Hlíðberg	1061	Júlíus Hafstein	1436
Jón Illugason	1106	Júlíus I. Ingvarsson	1175
Jón Ingvarsson	1462	Júlíus Sólnes	329
Jón B. Jónsson	105	Jörundur Guðmundsson	1045
Jón H. Jónsson	622	Kalevi Sorsa	874
Jón Karlsson	241	Kári Jónasson	973
Jón V. Karlsson	1354	Karl Th. Birgisson	427
Jón Kjartansson	897	Karl St. Guðnason	408
Jón Albert Kristinsson	825	Karl Jónsson	628
Jón Kvaran	925	Karl Ragnars	1018
Jón Magnússon	659	Karló Ólsen	336
Jón Guðl. Magnússon	990	Karvel Pálmason	379
Jón Hákon Magnússon	107	Katrín Friðriksdóttir	1207
Jón R. Magnússon	1127	Katrín Hall	790
Jón Ö. Marinósson	794	Ketill Sigurjónsson	1082
Jón Mýrdal	800	Kirsten Friðriksdóttir	303
Jón Ólafsson	1198	Kjartan Gunnarsson	79
Jón K. Ólafsson	1119	Kjartan Jóhannsson	422
Jón Guðni Óskarsson	243	Kjartan Júlíusson	1398
Jón Helgi Óskarsson	130	Kjartan L. Pálsson	711
Jón Pálsson	425	Kjartan Þórólfsson	1375
Jón Pétursson	1206	Kjell Arne Fagerhen	872
Jón Óttar Ragnarsson	420	Knud Heinesen	339
Jón Páll Sigmarsson	146	Knut Ödergaard	733
Jón Sigurðarsson	1444	Knútur Björnsson	712
Jón Sigurðsson (þjóðhagi)	423	Kolbeinn Kristinsson	1275
Jón Sigurðsson (forstj.)	125	Kolbeinn Pálsson	740
Jón Stefánsson	744	Kolbrún Björgúlfsdóttir	1005
Jón Sturluson	1291	Kolbrún Halldórsdóttir	1025
Jón Sveinsson (sjóliðsfor)	120	Kolbrún Jónsdóttir	1339
Jón G. Tómasson	610	Konráð Sigurðsson	1121
Jón Tynes	1249	Kristín Arnalds	1145
Jón Þórðarson	963	Kristín Björnsdóttir	1174
Jón Þ. Þórhallsson	1356	Kristín Bogadóttir	746
Jónas Bjarnason	415	Kristín Einarsdóttir	669
Jónas Elíasson	550	Kristín Friðbjarnard.	1433
Jónas Gíslason	480	Kristín Guðbrandsd.	1412
Jónas Gústafsson	1382	Kristín Guðmundsd.	233
Jónas Halldórsson	556	Kristín Halldórsd.	90
Jónas Hlíðberg	14	Kristín J. Hilmarsd.	630
Jónas Ingimundarson	1030	Kristín A. Jónsdóttir	335
Jónas Jónasson	1251	Kristín Kvaran	292

Kristín Norðland	309	Leó Ingólfsson	1407
Kristín Á. Ólafsdóttir	237	Lilja Eypórsdóttir	832
Kristín Ólafsdóttir	89	Linda Mikaelisdóttir	1181
Kristín Sigurðardóttir	245	Loftur Árnason	1248
Kristín Snæfells	201	Loftur Þorsteinsson	1209
Kristín Steinsdóttir	1149	Logi Guðbrandsson	1125
Kristinn Arnþórsson	741	Lord Lucas	1367
Kristinn Einarsson	91	Lúðvík Geirsson	547
Kristinn Einarsson	49	Magnús Axelsson	197
Kristinn Finnbogason	162	Magnús Bjarnason	1109
Kristinn H. Gunnarsson	279	Magnús Bjarnfreðsson	1471
Kristinn Halldórsson	640	Magnús Einarsson	853
Kristinn Ingvarsson	690	Magnús Erlendsson	1012
Kristinn Ólafsson	204	Magnús Finnbogason	997
Kristinn Sigmundsson	1029	Magnús Friðgeirsson	460
Kristinn Sigtryggsson	726	Magnús Geirsson	565
Kristinn Skarphéðinsson	285	Magnús Guðjónsson	198
Kristinn Zalewski	1402	Magnús R. Guðmundss.	1164
Kristján Árnason	778	Magnús Gunnarsson	688
Kristján Baldvinsson	1364	Magnús Gústavsson	1120
Kristján Friðþjófsson	229	Magnús Hreggviðsson	345
Kristján Guðmundsson	234	Magnús Ingimundarsson	1355
Kristján Halldórsson	1336	Magnús Jóhannesson	1350
Kristján Helgason	765	Magnús Jóhannsson	955
Kristján Jóhannesson	736	Magnús Jónsson	153
Kristján Jónsson	1262	Magnús Leopóldsson	1470
Kristján Júlíusson	139	Magnús Magnússon	12
Kristján H. Lárusson	1378	Magnús H. Magnússon	414
Kristján Loftsson	146	Magnús Ólafsson (189)	145
Kristján Möller	548	Magnús E. Sigurðsson	368
Kristján B. Ólafsson	1163	Magnús Stefánsson	931
Kristján Ragnarsson	469	Magnús Stephensen	1374
Kristján Sigmundsson	1457	Magnús L. Sveinsson	299
Kristján Sigtryggsson	165	Magnús Thoroddsen	1453
Kristján R. Sigurðsson	384	Magnús Þórðarson	687
Kristj. Skarphéðinss.	1065	Már Karlsson	1306
Kristján Sverrisson	1197	Margrét Björnsdóttir	196
Kristján Thorlacius	2142	Margrét Bóasdóttir	962
Kristján Sigmundsson	776	Margrét Frímansdóttir	24
Kristján Sæmundsson	827	Margrét Hjartardóttir	1150
Kristján Valdimarsson	301	Margrét Kristinsdóttir	592
Kristleifur Kolbeinsson	574	Margrét Loftsdóttir	67
Lára V. Júlíusdóttir	158	Margrét Pála Ólafsd.	88
Lárus Jónsson	600	Margrét Tryggvadóttir	174
Laufey Jónsdóttir	516	Margrét Þorvarðardóttir	370
Leifur Bjarnason	633	María Finnsdóttir	1365
Leifur Kr. Jóhannesson	388	María Gunnarsdóttir	200
Leifur Jónsson	131	María Kjartansdóttir	664

Marías P. Guðmundsson	1389	Ólafur W. Stefánsson	380
Markús Örn Antonsson	98	Ólafur S. Sveinsson	365
Markús Á. Einarsson	570	Ólafur Sverrisson	1114
Matthías Bjarnason	83	Ólafur H. Sverrisson	1022
Matthías Matthíesen	509	Ólafur B. Thors	1220
Maureen Thomas	980	Ólafur Þórarinnsson	1185
Mogens Benz	886	Ólafur Þorbjörnsson	808
Molly Kellog	882	Ólafur Þórðarson	751
Niels Halldórsson	838	Ólafur Þórðarson	226
Niels Árni Lund	1044	Ólafur Þ. Þórðarson	528
Niels Nielsson	111	Olga Guðrún Árnadóttir	99
Njörður P. Njarðvík	249	Óli Þ. Guðbjartsson	394
Oddur Ásgrímsson	876	Óli Vestmann Einarsson	774
Oddur Björnsson	984	Óli Kr. Sigurðsson	667
Oddur Gunnlaugsson	161	Ólöf Jóhannsdóttir	1305
Ófeigur Hjaltsted	1247	Ólöf Einaradóttir	576
Ólafur B. Arnarson	1041	Ólöf Kristjánsdóttir	770
Ólafur Björnsson	706	Ólöf Pétursdóttir	858
Ólafur J. Daðason	282	Ómar Geirsson	144
Ólafur Davíðsson	862	Ómar Jóhannsson	1064
Ólafur Egilsson	971	Ómar Mátsson	1233
Ólafur G. Einarsson	430	Ómar Þórðarsson	1103
Ólafur Friðriksson	769	Óskar Árnason	360
Ólafur Gestsson	1190	Óskar Gíslason	606
Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson	81	Óskar Guðjónsson	725
Ólafur Guðmundsson	1062	Óskar Gunnarsson	1297
Ólafur Harðarson	32	Óskar Hallgrímsson	1040
Ólafur Hauksson	618	Óskar Magnússon	595
Ólafur Jensson	82	Óskar Ólason	987
Ólafur Jóhannesson	927	Óskar Sigurðsson	1279
Ólafur Jónsson	218	Óskar Valdimarsson	972
Ólafur H. Jónsson	1277	Óskar Vigfússon	785
Ólafur Þ. Jónsson	402	Óskar Þórmundsson	265
Ólafur G. Jósefsson	178	Óttar Geirsson	567
Ólafur Kristjánsson	1286	Óttar Jónsson	756
Ólafur Laufdal	5	Otto Ólafsson	530
Ólafur Magnússon	684	Pálína Sigurðardóttir	133
Ólafur Marteinnsson	996	Pálína Sigurjónsdóttir	293
Ólafur Nielsson	961	Páll Bergþórsson	689
Ólafur Oddsson	100	Páll Bergþórsson	895
Ólafur Ólafsson	219	Páll Einarsson	1081
Ólafur Óskarsson	92	Páll Eiríksson	642
Ólafur Karvel Pálsson	73	Páll Flygenring	397
Ólafur Ragnarsson	714	Páll Gíslason	1076
Ólafur Rögnvaldsson	1264	Páll Guðmundsson	698
Ólafur Sigfússon	638	Páll Halldórsson	54
Ólafur Sigmundsson	772	Páll Hersteinsson	85
Ólafur Skúlason	924	Páll Jóhannsson	396

Páll Jónsson	369	Rafn Jónsson	46
Páll B. Kristjánsson	672	Rafn Þórðarsson	1212
Páll Magnússon	1267	Ragna Ingimundardóttir	1282
Páll Pálsson	347	Ragnar Arnalds	147
Páll Pétursson	450	Ragnar Björnsson	1257
Páll Sigurðsson	478	Ragnar Gunnarsson	1021
Páll Skúlason	1472	Ragnar Hall	651
Páll Steingrímsson	1261	Ragnar Halldórsson	1268
Páll Ásgeir Tryggvason	1240	Ragnar Kjartansson	671
Páll Þórðarson	1123	Ragnar Sigurjónsson	1351
Pálmar Sigurðsson	616	Ragnar Steinbergsson	1307
Pálmi Gestsson	440	Ragnar Ónundarsson	1202
Pálmi Gunnarsson	1469	Ragnheiður Þorlákisd.	1208
Pálmi Lórenzon	738	Ragnheiður Traustad.	989
Paul Watson	911	Ragnhildur Guðmundsd.	658
Petrína Einarasdóttir	750	Ragnhildur Helgadóttir	398
Pétur Ármannsson	1372	Rakel Valdimarsdóttir	533
Pétur Ásbjörnsson	1296	Rannveig Benediktsd.	535
Pétur Björnsson	1116	Ray Gamble	879
Pétur Einarsson	514	Renata Scotto	1229
Pétur Einarsson (flug)	317	Reynir Jóhannsson	348
Pétur Einarsson (leikari)	352	Reynir Traustason	735
Pétur J. Eiríksson	1112	Reynir Valdimarsson	793
Pétur Guðfinnsson	1173	Ríkharð Magnússon	1213
Pétur Guðmundsson	554	Ríkharður Ásgeirsson	906
Pétur Guðjónsson	822	Róbert Friðriksson	1276
Pétur Gunnarsson	43	Róbert Jack	584
Pétur Hafstein	311	Rúnar Bjarnason	136
Pétur Hjálmarsson	652	Rúnar Björnsson	1168
Pétur Jóhannsson	224	Runólfur Ágústsson	476
Pétur Hafþór Jónsson	902	Rut Ingólfsdóttir	1042
Pétur Jósepsson	631	Rut Magnússon	643
Pétur Kristjánsson	871	Rögvaldur Finnbogason	47
Pétur Maack	455	Rögvaldur Jónsson	847
Pétur Pétursson (læknir)	543	Salóme Þorkelsdóttir	603
Pétur Th. Pétursson	63	Sif Knudsen	137
Pétur Sigurðsson	517	Sigfús Jónsson	456
Pétur Sigurgeirsson	617	Sigfús Kristjánsson	1403
Pétur Snæbjörnsson	1107	Sighvatur Blöndal	15
Pétur Stefánsson	375	Sigm. Guðbjarnarson	337
Pétur Sæmundsson	1077	Sigríður L. Baldursd.	819
Pétur Valdimarsson	203	Sigríður Guðmundsd.	1266
Pétur B. Þorsteinsson	1142	Sigríður Guðmundsd.	58
Pétur Örbek	900	Sigríður Hjartar	604
Philip Petersen	864	Sigríður Kristinsd.	127
Preben Bertelssen	844	Sigríður Sigfúsd.	729
Preben Möller Hansen	861	Sigríður Snæbjörnsd.	29
Rafn Hafnfjörð	975	Sigrún Árnadóttir	1447

Sigrún Aspelund	1359	Sigurður Þórðarsson	95
Sigrún Benediktsd.	1464	Sigurgeir Jóhannsson	545
Sigrún Gísladóttir	376	Sigurgeir Konráðsson	910
Sigrún Magnúsdóttir	544	Sigurgeir Ólafsson	467
Sigrún Sigurðardóttir	114	Sigurgeir Pálsson	1176
Sigrún Stefánsdóttir	967	Sigurjón Helgason	942
Sigrún Steindórsdóttir	459	Sigurjón Óskarsson	754
Sigurbjörn Bárðarson	968	Sigurjón Pétursson	7
Sigurbjörn Einarsson	1186	Sigurjón Pétursson	898
Sigurdór Sigurdórsson	1411	Sigurjón Sighvatsson	101
Sigurður Ásgeirsson	597	Sigurlaug Bjarnadóttir	815
Sigurður Björgúlfsson	581	Sigurlaug Sigurjónsd.	1151
Sigurður Blöndal	346	Sigurlín Gunnarsdóttir	327
Sigurður Bogason	682	Sigurlína Sigurbjörnsd.	172
Sigurður Einarsson	1179	Sigurveig Lúðvíksdóttir	106
Sigurður Eiríksson	540	Sigþór Sigurðsson	1437
Sigurður Eyjólfsson	1154	Skarph. Guðmundsson	549
Sigurður Geirdal	487	Skúli Ágústsson	575
Sigurður Gíslason	870	Skúli Alexandersson	171
Sigurður Guðbrandsson	1293	Skúli Jensson	1319
Sigurður Guðjónsson	163	Skúli Johnsen	598
Sigurður Guðmundsson	210	Skúli Magnússon	1200
Sig. E. Guðmundsson	39	Skúli J. Sigurðsson	692
Sigurður Gunnarsson	407	Skúli Skúlason	933
Sigurður Hafliðason	1187	Smári Karlsson	866
Sigurður Haraldsson	382	Smári Ólason	1052
Sigurður Haraldsson	364	Smári Ólafsson	1345
Sigurður Helgason	318	Smári Sigurðsson	68
Sigurður Hlöðversson	679	Snorri Egilsson	524
Sigurður Jóhannsson	521	Snorri Finnbogason	685
Sigurður St. Ketilsson	149	Snorri Jónsson	115
Sigurður Konráðsson	718	Snorri Tómasson	940
Sigurður Líndal	709	Snorri Welding	1295
Sigurður Marinósson	1228	Snæbjörn Jónasson	1368
Sigurður Markússon	445	Soffanías Cecilsson	263
Sigurður Pálsson	1450	Sólfríður Guðmundsd.	1224
Sigurður Sv. Pálsson	837	Sólmundur T. Einarss.	959
Sigurður Ragnarsson	1215	Sólrun Jensdóttir	1049
Sig. Rúnar Ragnarsson	880	Stefán Ágústsson	894
Sigurður Ringsted	304	Stefán Baldursson	678
Sigurður Sigfússon	1121	Stefán Baxter	1259
Sigurður Sigurðsson	252	Stefán Benediktsson	593
Sigurður T. Sigurðsson	3	Stefán Einarsson	1104
Sigurður Sigurvinsson	1335	Stefán Guðmundsson	541
Sigurður Steindórsdóttir	724	Stefán Gunnarsson	38
Sigurður Svavarsson	261	Stefán Ingólfsson	406
Sigurður Þórarinsson	20	Stefán A. Jónsson	1124
Sigurður Þórólfsson	1343	Stefán Ólafsson	472

Stefán Óskarsson	716	Sveinn A. Sveinsson	934
Stefán Sigurkarlsson	986	Sverrir H. Gunnlaugss.	69
Stefán Snævarr	830	Sverrir Hermannsson	97
Stefán Stefánsson	191	Sverrir Kristinsson	1360
Stefán Thors	53	Sverrir Ólafsson	215
Stefanía Jónsdóttir	333	Sverrir Valgeirsson	663
Stefanía Karlsdóttir	1431	Sverrir Ó Þorvaldsson	579
Steinar Berg	1370	Sæmundur Guðvinsson	1050
Steinar Harðarson	831	Sævar Frímansson	413
Steindór Guðmundsson	1244	Sævar Geirdal	84
Steindór Gunnarsson	470	Sævar Pálsson	1157
Steinþór Gunnarsson	458	Sævar Sævarsson	649
Steinþór Skúlason	1260	Sölvi Sveinsson	289
Steinþór Þráinsson	901	Ted Jesson	1400
Steingr. Hermannsson	267	Teódór Guðmundsson	28
Steingrímur Sigfússon	78	Teódór Halldórsson	152
Steinnunn Sæmundsdóttir	632	Teodór Júlíusson	797
Stella Guðnadóttir	8	Thor Einarsson	850
Stjen Olsen	922	Thor Vilhjálmsson	645
Sturla Jónsson	1404	Thorvald Stoltenberg	859
Sturla Kristjánsson	362	Tómas Helgason	389
Sturlaugur Þorsteinss.	809	Tómas Jóhannesson	287
Svala Thorlacíus	1467	Tómas Tómasson	1313
Svala Waage	328	Torfi Guðmundsson	1263
Svanfríður Jónasdóttir	25	Torfi Haraldsson	755
Svanheiður Ingimundard.	818	Torfi Hjaltason	1170
Svanhildur Bjarnad.	1007	Trausti Tómasson	1270
Svanhildur Jóhannesd.	30	Tryggvi Axelsson	525
Svanhildur Kaaber	108	Tryggvi Pálsson	626
Svanhildur Skaftadóttir	1036	Tumi Tómasson	502
Svanhvít Jónsdóttir	48	Úlfar Thoroddsen	235
Svanur Guðmundsson	806	Unnur Sólrún Bragad.	23
Svava Jensdóttir	1129	Unnur Ketilsdóttir	1408
Svava Stefánsdóttir	481	Unnur Stefánsdóttir	564
Svavar Gestsson	22	Úrsúla Pálsdóttir	993
Svavar Ingibergsson	1196	Valborg Snævarr	935
Svavar Ottesen	1177	Valdimar Bragason	499
do	944	Valdís Gunnarsdóttir	577
Svavar Sigurðsson	629	Valgarður Egilsson	1452
Sveinberg Laxdal	468	Valgeir Gestsson	387
Sveinbjörn Eyjólfsson	569	Valgeir Guðjónsson	273
Sveinbjörn Oddsson	284	Valgerður Bjarnadóttir	221
Sveinbjörn Tryggvason	601	Valgerður Guðmundsd.	1333
Sveinn Guðmundsson	719	Valgerður Gunnarsd.	780
Sveinn Hallgrímsson	1083	Valgerður Sverrisdóttir	493
Sveinn Kristinsson	173	Valdimar Elíasson	312
Sveinn Sigurðsson	621	Valdimar Indriðason	55
Sveinn H. Skúlason	434	Valur Valsson	1383

Valtýr Hákonarson	605	Þórður Sverrisson	721
Valþór Hlöðversson	11	Þórður Þórðarson	722
Valþór Sigurðsson	998	Þórdís Þórarinsdóttir	891
Vanda Sigurgeirsdóttir	112	Þórdís Þorvaldsdóttir	1349
Viðar Eggertsson	950	Þorgeir Ástvaldsson	804
Viðar Sigurðsson	1194	Þorgeir Jónsson	505
Vigdís Finnbogadóttir	251	Þorgeir Þorgeirsson	1235
Vigdís Magnúsdóttir	403	Þorgerður Ingólfssdóttir	1017
Vigfús Jónsson	1222	Þorgils Óttar Mathiesen	209
Víglundur Þorsteinsson	195	Þorgr. Guðmundsson	786
Víglundur Þorsteinsson	909	Þórhallur Halldórsson	1234
Vilborg Gísladóttir	752	Þórhallur Helgason	264
Vilborg Halldórsdóttir	1328	Þórhallur Jónsson	1016
Vilhelm Þorsteinsson	848	Þórhallur Vilmundarson	143
Vilhjálmur Egilsson	453	Þórhallur Ásgeirsson	116
Vilhjálmur Jónsson	937	Þórhildur Jónsdóttir	960
Vilhjálmur Lúðvíksson	142	Þórir Haraldsson	1388
Vilhjálmur Shröder	1379	Þórir Ólafsson	702
Vilhjálmur Sigtryggsson	1100	Þórir Pálsson	1269
Vilhjálmur Vilhjálmsson	766	Þorkell Sigurlaugsson	1117
Walter Lorenz	965	Þorlákur Hermannsson	212
Wilhelm Jungman	1391	Þorlákur Kristinsson	1146
Willard Ólafsson	981	Þorleifur Jónsson	187
Willard Þórsson	654	Þóroddur Þóroddsson	1265
Wilhelm Ágústsson	627	Þórólfur Halldórsson	568
Wilhelm Steinarsson	747	Þórólfur Sigurðsson	824
Yngvi Örn Kristinsson	1396	Þorst. M. Aðalsteinss.	1140
Þór Vigfússon	1274	Þorsteinn Blöndal	341
Þóra Ármannsdóttir	1192	Þorsteinn Geirsson	1380
Þóra Birgisdóttir	1381	Þorsteinn Gíslason	791
Þóra Hjaltadóttir	492	Þorsteinn Gunnarsson	1331
Þóra K. Jónsdóttir	154	Þorsteinn Gylfason	253
Þóra Þórðardóttir	280	Þorsteinn frá Hamri	1427
Þórarinn Friðjónsson	1446	Þorsteinn Ingólfsson	1014
Þórarinn Lárusson	1152	Þorsteinn Ingvarsson	915
Þórarinn Sigurbergsson	1043	Þorsteinn Jónsson	720
Þórarinn E. Sveinsson	1087	Þorsteinn Jónsson	623
Þórarinn V. Þórarinsson	485	Þorsteinn A. Jónsson	673
Þorbergur Aðalsteinsson	656	Þorsteinn Magnússon	783
Þorbergur Eysteinnsson	527	Þorsteinn Pálsson	214
Þorbjörg Guttormsdóttir	395	Þorsteinn Pétursson	1454
Þorbjörn Árnason	552	Þorsteinn Ragnarsson	908
Þorbjörn Broddason	1439	Þorsteinn Sigmundsson	1237
Þorbjörn Guðjónsson	416	Þorsteinn Theodórsson	660
Þórður Friðjónsson	314	Þórunn Björnsdóttir	269
Þórður Jóhannsson	179	Þórunn Ólafsdóttir	59
Þórður Pálmason	1288	Þórunn Sigurðard.	10
Þórður Stefánsson	1108	Þórunn Sveinbjarnard.	826

Porvaldur Axelsson	1238	Örn Grétarsson	666
Porvaldur Jónsson	1079	Örn Guðmundsson	737
Porv. G. Kristjánsson	681	Örn Hjaltalín	715
Porvaldur Ólafsson	1003	Örn Pálsson	494
Porvaldur Þorvaldsson	236	Örn Rúnarsson	1184
Porvarður Elíasson	1080	Örn Steinsen	742
Porvarður Örnólfsson	1153	Örn Traustason	1165
Práinn Bertelsson	1456	Örn Þorbjörnsson	1013
Práinn Karlsson	351	Örnólfur Thorlacius	143
Práinn Skúlason	168	Össur Skarphéðinsson	999
Práinn Þorvaldsson	873	Örn Grétarsson	666
Próstur Brynjólfsson	647	Örn Guðmundsson	737
Próstur Ólafsson	452	Örn Hjaltalín	715
Próstur Sigtryggsson	298	Örn Pálsson	494
Puríður Jóhannsdóttir	270	Örn Rúnarsson	1184
Ævar Guðmundsson	497	Örn Steinsen	742
Ævar Hafberg	121	Örn Traustason	1165
Ævar Kjartansson	1324	Örn Þorbjörnsson	1013
Ævarr Hjartarson	1089	Örnólfur Thorlacius	143
Örlygur Hálfðánarson	1323	Össur Skarphéðinsson	999
Örn Aðalsteinsson	393		
Örn Bjarnason	947		

# APPENDIX X

TABLE X.1  
THE DISTRIBUTION OF ISSUES IN PRINTED PAMPHLETS

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
General politics	62	5.3
Icelandic election	19	1.6
Next government	1	.1
Foreign Affairs	20	1.7
Nuclear free Scandinavia	11	.9
Disarmament	32	2.7
Icelandic defence	18	1.5
General economics	30	2.5
Inflation	14	1.2
Economical direction	35	3.0
Taxes/customs	63	5.4
Foreign borrowing	11	.9
Exchange rates	2	.2
Interest rates/loan market	10	.8
Strikes/wage negotiations	75	6.4
Unemployment	4	.3
Pension funds	22	1.9
Consumer affairs	3	.3
Sexual equality	18	1.5
Social services	3	.3
Social affairs	50	4.2
Retarded	3	.3
Aged	20	1.7
Physical disability	20	1.7
Nurseries	16	1.4
Health service	51	4.3
Housing	57	4.8
Education	98	8.3
Student loan fund	18	1.5
Regional equality	20	1.7
Rural policy	21	1.8
Transport	13	1.1
Environment and planning	49	4.2
Local government	5	.4
Natural preservation	5	.4
Industrial affairs	32	2.7
Fishing, fishbreeding	38	3.2
Agriculture	51	4.3

(cont...)

(...cont)			
Tourism	6	.5	
Commerce	8	.7	
Foreign trade	16	1.4	
Banks	4	.3	
Manufacturing industries	13	1.1	
Communication	3	.3	
Energy	7	.6	
Accidents, disasters	1	.1	
Crime, judicial affairs	11	.9	
Culture and art	42	3.6	
Sport	20	1.7	
Juvenile affairs	7	.6	
Mass media	9	.8	
Science	5	.4	
Religion, churches	3	.3	
Other	2	.2	
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TOTAL	1177	100.0	
Valid Cases	1177	Missing Cases	0

TABLE X.2

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ISSUES IN PRINTED PAMPHLETS FROM THE PEOPLE'S PARTY

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
General politics	5	2.9
Icelandic election	2	.4
Foreign Affairs	2	1.1
Nuclear free Scandinavia	2	1.1
Disarmament	1	.6
Icelandic defence	2	1.1
General economics	2	1.1
Inflation	5	2.9
Economical direction	7	4.0
Taxes/customs	17	9.8
Foreign borrowing	2	1.1
Interest rates/loan market	2	1.1
Strikes/wage negotiations	11	6.3
Pension funds	12	6.9
Consumer affairs	2	1.1
Social services	1	.6
Social affairs	9	5.2
		(cont...)

(...cont)			
Aged		2	1.1
Physical disability		1	.6
Health service		11	6.3
Housing		16	9.2
Education		5	2.9
Regional equality		4	2.3
Rural policy		4	2.3
Environment and planning		4	2.3
Local government		1	.6
Industrial affairs		2	1.1
Fishing, fishbreeding		10	5.7
Agriculture		17	9.8
Foreign trade		3	1.7
Culture and art		3	1.7
Sport		5	2.9
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	TOTAL	174	100.0
Valid Cases	174	Missing Cases	0

TABLE X.3

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ISSUES IN PRINTED PAMPHLETS FROM THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
General politics	10	5.2
Foreign Affairs	9	4.7
Nuclear free Scandinavia	3	1.6
Disarmament	1	.5
General economics	10	5.2
Inflation	1	.5
Economical direction	11	5.8
Taxes/customs	7	3.7
Foreign borrowing	4	2.1
Interest rates/loan market	1	.5
Strikes/wage negotiations	7	3.7
Unemployment	2	1.0
Pension funds	3	1.6
Sexual equality	2	1.0
Social affairs	3	1.6
Aged	3	1.6
Physical disability	6	3.1
Health service	14	7.3

(cont...)

(...cont)		
Housing	4	2.1
Education	10	5.2
Student loan fund	3	1.6
Regional equality	9	4.7
Rural policy	4	2.1
Transport	5	2.6
Environment and planning	13	6.8
Industrial affairs	8	4.2
Fishing, fishbreeding	7	3.7
Agriculture	2	1.0
Commerce	1	.5
Foreign trade	1	.5
Banks	1	.5
Manufacturing industries	3	1.6
Energy	1	.5
Crime, judicial affairs	1	.5
Culture and art	5	2.6
Sport	15	7.9
Mass media	1	.5

	TOTAL	191	100.0
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Valid Cases	191	Missing Cases	0
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TABLE X.4

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ISSUES IN PRINTED PAMPHLETS FROM THE INDEPENDENCE PARTY

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
General politics	13	9.1
Icelandic election	8	5.6
Next government	1	.7
Foreign Affairs	1	.7
Nuclear free Scandinavia	1	.7
Disarmament	2	1.4
Icelandic defence	1	.7
General economics	11	7.7
Inflation	4	2.8
Economical direction	9	6.3
Taxes/customs	5	3.5
Foreign borrowing	4	2.8
Exchange rates	2	1.4
Interest rates/loan market	1	.7
Strikes/wage negotiations	5	3.5

(cont...)

(...cont)			
Pension funds	1	.7	
Social affairs	10	7.0	
Health service	6	4.2	
Housing	3	2.1	
Education	6	4.2	
Rural policy	4	2.8	
Transport	3	2.1	
Environment and planning	3	2.1	
Natural preservation	1	.7	
Industrial affairs	5	3.5	
Fishing, fishbreeding	2	1.4	
Agriculture	4	2.8	
Commerce	3	2.1	
Foreign trade	5	3.5	
Banks	2	1.4	
Manufacturing industries	1	.7	
Communication	1	.7	
Energy	3	2.1	
Culture and art	6	4.2	
Juvenile affairs	2	1.4	
Mass media	2	1.4	
Other	2	1.4	
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TOTAL	143	100.0	
Valid Cases	143	Missing Cases	0

TABLE X.5

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ISSUES IN PRINTED PAMPHLETS FROM THE PEOPLE'S ALLIANCE

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
General politics	20	7.8
Icelandic election	7	2.7
Foreign Affairs	4	1.6
Nuclear free Scandinavia	4	1.6
Disarmament	18	7.0
Icelandic defence	8	3.1
General economics	2	.8
Inflation	3	1.2
Economical direction	1	.4
Taxes/customs	17	6.6
Foreign borrowing	1	.4
Interest rates/loan market	5	1.9

(cont...)

(...cont)			
Strikes/wage negotiations	39	15.2	
Pension funds	1	.4	
Sexual equality	7	2.7	
Social affairs	9	3.5	
Retarded	3	1.2	
Aged	2	.8	
Physical disability	2	.8	
Nurseries	7	2.7	
Health service	2	.8	
Housing	18	7.0	
Education	23	8.9	
Student loan fund	7	2.7	
Regional equality	1	.4	
Rural policy	4	1.6	
Environment and planning	8	3.1	
Local government	1	.4	
Industrial affairs	5	1.9	
Fishing, fishbreeding	1	.4	
Commerce	4	1.6	
Foreign trade	3	1.2	
Banks	1	.4	
Manufacturing industries	3	1.2	
Energy	1	.4	
Crime, judicial affairs	2	.8	
Culture and art	10	3.9	
Mass media	1	.4	
Science	2	.8	
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TOTAL	257	100.0	
Valid Cases	257	Missing Cases	0

TABLE X.6

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ISSUES IN PRINTED PAMPHLETS FROM THE  
WOMEN'S LIST

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
General politics	7	2.4
Foreign Affairs	4	1.4
Nuclear free Scandinavia	1	.3
Disarmament	9	3.1
Icelandic defence	2	.7
General economics	5	1.7
Inflation	1	.3
		(cont...)

(...cont)		
Economical direction	1	.3
Taxes/customs	12	4.2
Interest rates/loan market	1	.3
Strikes/wage negotiations	12	4.2
Pension funds	3	1.0
Consumer affairs	1	.3
Sexual equality	9	3.1
Social services	1	.3
Social affairs	13	4.5
Aged	11	3.8
Physical disability	10	3.5
Nurseries	8	2.8
Health service	14	4.9
Housing	14	4.9
Education	49	17.0
Student loan fund	6	2.1
Regional equality	2	.7
Transport	1	.3
Environment and planning	16	5.6
Local government	3	1.0
Natural preservation	2	.7
Industrial affairs	10	3.5
Fishing, fishbreeding	7	2.4
Agriculture	16	5.6
Tourism	3	1.0
Manufacturing industries	1	.3
Communication	1	.3
Accidents, disasters	1	.3
Crime, judicial affairs	6	2.1
Culture and art	14	4.9
Juvenile affairs	4	1.4
Mass media	5	1.7
Science	2	.7
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TOTAL	288	100.0
Valid Cases	288	Missing Cases
		0

TABLE X.7

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ISSUES IN PRINTED PAMPHLETS FROM THE  
CITIZENS' PARTY

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	
General politics	7	5.6	
Disarmament	1	.8	
Icelandic defence	5	4.0	
Economical direction	6	4.8	
Taxes/customs	5	4.0	
Strikes/wage negotiations	1	.8	
Unemployment	2	1.6	
Pension funds	2	1.6	
Social services	1	.8	
Social affairs	6	4.8	
Aged	2	1.6	
Physical disability	1	.8	
Nurseries	1	.8	
Health service	4	3.2	
Housing	2	1.6	
Education	5	4.0	
Student loan fund	2	1.6	
Regional equality	4	3.2	
Rural policy	5	4.0	
Transport	4	3.2	
Environment and planning	5	4.0	
Natural preservation	2	1.6	
Industrial affairs	2	1.6	
Fishing, fishbreeding	11	8.9	
Agriculture	12	9.7	
Tourism	3	2.4	
Foreign trade	4	3.2	
Manufacturing industries	5	4.0	
Communication	1	.8	
Energy	2	1.6	
Crime, judicial affairs	2	1.6	
Culture and art	4	3.2	
Juvenile affairs	1	.8	
Science	1	.8	
Religion, churches	3	2.4	
	TOTAL	100.0	
Valid Cases	124	Missing Cases	0

TABLE X.8

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ITEMS IN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA BY PARTY

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	
People's Party	294	14.4	
Progressive Party	261	12.8	
Independence Party	293	14.3	
People's Alliance	318	15.6	
Social Democratic Alliance	67	3.3	
Women's List	223	10.9	
Humanist Party	210	10.3	
Movem. for Co-operation and eq.	29	1.4	
National Party	91	4.4	
Citizens' Party	259	12.7	
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TOTAL	2045	100.0	
Valid Cases	2045	Missing Cases	0

TABLE X.9

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ITEMS IN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA BY CONSTITUENCY

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	
Reykjavik	168	8.2	
Reykjanes	143	7.0	
West	115	5.6	
Westfjords	125	6.1	
North-west	136	6.7	
North-east	160	7.8	
East	125	6.1	
South	160	7.8	
All country	913	44.6	
	-----	-----	
TOTAL	2045	100.0	
Valid Cases	2045	Missing Cases	0

TABLE X.10

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ISSUES IN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA

Value Label	Frequency	Weighted	
		Percent	Percent
General politics	100	4.9	6.4
Icelandic election	349	17.1	17.0
Accomplishments of government	145	7.1	6.4
Next government	45	2.2	2.1
Albert Guðmundsson's affair	27	1.3	2.0
Foreign Affairs	19	.9	.8
Nuclear free Scandinavia	16	.8	.6
Peace Movements	6	.3	.3
Disarmament	4	.2	.2
Icelandic defence	52	2.5	3.1
General economics	52	2.5	2.3
Inflation	63	3.1	2.6
Economical direction	87	4.3	4.5
Taxes/customs	72	3.5	3.0
Foreign borrowing	19	.9	1.0
Exchange rates	5	.2	.1
Interest rates/loan market	10	.5	.4
Strikes/wage negotiations	122	6.0	5.6
Unemployment	6	.3	.1
Pension funds	17	.8	.4
Sexual equality	65	3.2	5.3
Social services	1	.0	.0
Social affairs	72	3.5	2.6
Aged	22	1.1	.6
Physical disability	6	.3	.1
Nurseries	10	.5	.3
Health service	18	.9	.7
Housing	90	4.4	4.4
Education	53	2.6	2.5
Student loan fund	16	.8	.7
Regional equality	91	4.4	5.4
Rural policy	60	2.9	3.6
Transport	27	1.3	1.1
Environment and planning	3	.1	.2
Local government	7	.3	.3
Natural preservation	1	.0	.0
Industrial affairs	48	2.3	1.6
Fishing, fishbreeding	78	3.8	4.2
Agriculture	65	3.2	3.3

(cont....)

(....cont)

Tourism	12	.6	.5
Commerce	3	.1	.1
Foreign trade	4	.2	.1
Banks	2	.1	.1
Manufacturing industries	18	.9	.5
Energy	5	.2	.3
Accidents, disasters	2	.1	.1
Crime, judicial affairs	5	.2	.3
The "Hafskip" bankruptcy	5	.2	.1
Culture and art	6	.3	.3
Sport	2	.1	.1
Juvenile affairs	4	.2	.1
Mass media	18	.9	1.1
Religion, churches	8	.4	.3
Human interest	2	.1	.1
	-----	-----	
TOTAL	2045	100.0	
Valid Cases	2045	Missing Cases	0

TABLE X.11

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ISSUES IN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA  
PEOPLE'S PARTY

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Weighted Percent
General politics	14	4.8	6.0
Icelandic election	41	13.9	16.3
Accomplishments of government	24	8.2	6.3
Next government	14	4.8	4.7
Albert Guðmundsson's affair	2	.7	2.2
Foreign Affairs	2	.7	.3
Nuclear free Scandinavia	2	.7	.7
Peace Movements	1	.3	.5
Disarmament	1	.3	.2
Icelandic defence	1	.3	.3
General economics	12	4.1	3.8
Inflation	3	1.0	.8
Economical direction	30	10.2	11.5
Taxes/customs	15	5.1	4.7
Foreign borrowing	2	.7	.3
Strikes/wage negotiations	13	4.4	4.1
Pension funds	9	3.1	1.7

(cont....)

(....cont)

Sexual equality	2	.7	.4
Social affairs	12	4.1	2.7
Aged	4	1.4	1.0
Nurseries	1	.3	.3
Health service	1	.3	.4
Housing	23	7.8	6.6
Education	7	2.4	1.1
Student loan fund	6	2.0	2.8
Regional equality	8	2.7	1.6
Rural policy	4	1.4	1.7
Transport	4	1.4	1.2
Local government	2	.7	1.0
Industrial affairs	6	2.0	1.6
Fishing, fishbreeding	7	2.4	3.6
Agriculture	12	4.1	7.7
Manufacturing industries	2	.7	.5
Culture and art	3	1.0	.6
Mass media	2	.7	.4
Human interest	2	.7	.5

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TOTAL	294	100.0	100.0

Valid Cases 294 Missing Cases 0

TABLE X.12

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA  
PEOPLE'S PARTY

PARTY→	SDP	PP	SDA	IP	PA	MCE	HP	BP	WL	HP
REFERENCE										
Negative										
frequency	X	30	1	31	14	0	0	12	2	0
percent	X	10.2	0.3	10.5	4.8	0.0	0.0	4.1	0.7	0.0
valid percent	X	100	100	96.9	93.3	0.0	0.0	100	50.0	0.0
Neutral										
frequency	X	0	0	8	1	0	1	0	2	0
percent	X	0.0	0.0	12.1	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.7	0.0
valid percent	X	0.0	0.0	3.1	6.7	0.0	100	0.0	50.0	0.0
Positive										
frequency	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
percent	X	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
valid percent	X	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No reference										
frequency	X	264	293	262	279	294	293	282	290	294
percent	X	89.8	99.7	89.1	94.9	100	99.7	95.9	98.6	100

TABLE X.13

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ISSUES IN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA  
PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Weighted Percent
General politics	10	3.8	4.3
Icelandic election	36	13.8	14.9
Accomplishments of government	27	10.3	8.7
Next government	2	.8	.4
Foreign Affairs	4	1.5	2.2
Nuclear free Scandinavia	1	.4	.2
Disarmament	1	.4	.4
Icelandic defence	2	.8	1.4
General economics	10	3.8	4.6
Inflation	26	10.0	9.5
Economical direction	9	3.4	4.3
Taxes/customs	1	.4	.1
Interest rates/loan market	3	1.1	1.0

(cont....)

(....cont)			
Strikes/wage negotiations	8	3.1	3.8
Unemployment	6	2.3	.9
Pension funds	1	.4	.1
Sexual equality	3	1.1	2.2
Social affairs	7	2.7	2.4
Physical disability	1	.4	.2
Health service	1	.4	.6
Housing	21	8.0	11.3
Education	7	2.7	1.6
Student loan fund	3	1.1	.6
Regional equality	11	4.2	3.8
Rural policy	3	1.1	1.2
Transport	3	1.1	.6
Local government	1	.4	.3
Natural preservation	1	.4	.4
Industrial affairs	10	3.8	2.6
Fishing, fishbreeding	20	7.7	7.4
Agriculture	14	5.4	5.5
Tourism	2	.8	.7
Manufacturing industries	3	1.1	.9
Energy	1	.4	.5
Crime, judicial affairs	1	.4	.5
Sport	1	.4	.2
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	261	100.0	100.0
Valid Cases	261	Missing Cases	0

TABLE X.14

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA  
PROGRESSIVE PARTY

PARTY→	SDP	PP	SDA	IP	PA	MCE	HP	BP	WL	HP
REFERENCE										
Negative										
frequency	14	X	0	12	16	3	0	4	4	4
percent	5.4	X	0.0	4.6	6.1	1.1	0.0	1.5	1.5	1.5
valid percent	100	X	0.0	92.3	100	100	0.0	100	100	100
Neutral										
frequency	0	X	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
percent	0.0	X	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
valid percent	0.0	X	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	0.0	0.0	0.0
Positive										
frequency	0	X	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
percent	0.0	X	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
valid percent	0.0	X	0.0	7.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No reference										
frequency	247	X	261	248	245	258	260	257	257	257
percent	94.6	X	100	95.0	93.9	98.9	99.6	98.5	98.5	98.5

TABLE X.15

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ISSUES IN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA  
INDEPENDENCE PARTY

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Weighted Percent
General politics	3	1.0	.6
Icelandic election	57	19.5	18.2
Accomplishments of government	41	14.0	16.5
Next government	21	7.2	8.1
Albert Guðmundsson's affair	3	1.0	1.1
Foreign Affairs	2	.7	.2
Icelandic defence	1	.3	.4
General economics	8	2.7	1.9
Inflation	17	5.8	4.0
Economical direction	12	4.1	6.1
Taxes/customs	14	4.8	5.1
Foreign borrowing	3	1.0	1.1
Exchange rates	4	1.4	.6

(cont....)

(....cont)

Interest rates/loan market	1	.3	.1
Strikes/wage negotiations	7	2.4	2.7
Pension funds	2	.7	.5
Sexual equality	1	.3	.4
Social services	1	.3	.3
Social affairs	10	3.4	1.6
Aged	3	1.0	.9
Physical disability	1	.3	.2
Health service	4	1.4	2.0
Housing	6	2.0	1.7
Education	8	2.7	2.5
Student loan fund	1	.3	.8
Regional equality	6	2.0	2.2
Rural policy	11	3.8	3.5
Transport	5	1.7	1.7
Local government	2	.7	.4
Industrial affairs	8	2.7	2.5
Fishing, fishbreeding	8	2.7	4.3
Agriculture	8	2.7	1.4
Tourism	2	.7	.4
Foreign trade	1	.3	.3
Banks	1	.3	.1
Accidents, disasters	1	.3	.8
The "Hafskip" bankruptcy	1	.3	.1
Culture and art	1	.3	.7
Mass media	7	2.4	4.0

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TOTAL	293	100.0	100.0

Valid Cases      293      Missing Cases      0

TABLE X.16

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA  
INDEPENDENCE PARTY

PARTY→	SDP	PP	SDA	IP	PA	MCE	HP	BP	WL	HP
REFERENCE										
Negative										
frequency	16	7	0	X	15	0	0	8	6	0
percent	5.5	2.4	0.0	X	5.1	0.0	0.0	2.7	2.0	0.0
valid percent	100	100	0.0	X	100	0.0	0.0	100	100	0.0
Neutral										
frequency	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	0	0
percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	X	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
valid percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	X	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Positive										
frequency	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	0	0
percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	X	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
valid percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	X	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No reference										
frequency	277	286	293	X	278	293	293	285	287	293
percent	94.5	97.6	100	X	94.9	100	100	98.0	98.0	100

TABLE X.17

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ISSUES IN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA  
PEOPLE'S ALLIANCE

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Weighted Percent
General politics	13	4.1	2.9
Icelandic election	42	13.2	11.5
Accomplishments of government	25	7.9	8.4
Next government	5	1.6	1.9
Albert Guðmundsson's affair	4	1.3	.7
Foreign Affairs	3	.9	1.6
Nuclear free Scandinavia	8	2.5	2.4
Peace Movements	3	.9	1.0
Disarmament	2	.6	.8
Icelandic defence	21	6.6	8.6
General economics	11	3.5	4.2
Inflation	9	2.8	3.2
Economical direction	10	3.1	2.9

(cont....)

(....cont)			
Taxes/customs	14	4.4	4.0
Interest rates/loan market	2	.6	.4
Strikes/wage negotiations	40	12.6	13.0
Sexual equality	9	2.8	1.5
Social affairs	7	2.2	1.9
Aged	3	.9	.2
Physical disability	1	.3	.1
Nurseries	1	.3	.1
Health service	3	.9	.4
Housing	7	2.2	1.9
Education	9	2.8	2.9
Student loan fund	4	1.3	.7
Regional equality	15	4.7	6.4
Rural policy	8	2.5	3.4
Transport	3	.9	.5
Environment and planning	1	.3	.2
Industrial affairs	8	2.5	1.7
Fishing, fishbreeding	11	3.5	4.7
Agriculture	6	1.9	2.6
Commerce	2	.6	.8
Manufacturing industries	2	.6	.7
Energy	1	.3	.4
The "Hafskip" bankruptcy	3	.9	.6
Culture and art	1	.3	.1
Mass media	1	.3	.7
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TOTAL	318	100.0	100.0
Valid Cases	318	Missing Cases	0

TABLE X.18

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA  
PEOPLE'S ALLIANCE

PARTY→	SDP	PP	SDA	IP	PA	MCE	HP	BP	WL	HP
REFERENCE										
Negative										
frequency	22	38	0	37	X	0	1	12	9	1
percent	6.9	11.9	0.0	11.6	X	0.0	0.3	3.8	2.8	0.3
valid percent	100	97.4	0.0	97.4	X	0.0	100	100	100	100
Neutral										
frequency	0	1	0	1	X	0	0	0	0	0
percent	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.3	X	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
valid percent	0.0	2.6	0.0	2.6	X	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Positive										
frequency	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	0
percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	X	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
valid percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	X	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No reference										
frequency	296	279	318	280	X	318	317	306	309	317
percent	94.6	87.7	100	88.1	X	100	99.7	96.2	97.2	99.7

TABLE X.19

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ISSUES IN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA  
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Weighted Percent
General politics	14	20.9	26.9
Icelandic election	13	19.4	18.2
Accomplishments of government	2	3.0	1.1
Nuclear free Scandinavia	1	1.5	.9
Icelandic defence	3	4.5	4.1
General economics	3	4.5	1.6
Economical direction	1	1.5	.9
Exchange rates	1	1.5	.4
Strikes/wage negotiations	1	1.5	1.1
Social affairs	1	1.5	2.5
Aged	1	1.5	.7

(cont....)

(....cont)			
Physical disability	1	1.5	.3
Health service	1	1.5	1.9
Housing	7	10.4	15.4
Education	1	1.5	1.7
Student loan fund	2	3.0	2.3
Regional equality	5	7.5	4.3
Local government	1	1.5	.5
Fishing, fishbreeding	4	6.0	9.1
Agriculture	1	1.5	1.4
Banks	1	1.5	1.1
Crime, judicial affairs	1	1.5	2.8
Mass media	1	1.5	.6

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TOTAL	67	100.0	100.0

Valid Cases	67	Missing Cases	0
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TABLE X.20

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE

PARTY-->	SDP	PP	SDA	IP	PA	MCE	HP	BP	WL	HP
REFERENCE										
Negative										
frequency	4	2	X	2	2	0	0	3	2	0
percent	6.0	3.0	X	3.0	3.0	0.0	0.0	4.5	3.0	0.0
valid percent	100	100	X	100	100	0.0	0.0	100	100	0.0
Neutral										
frequency	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
percent	0.0	0.0	X	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
valid percent	0.0	0.0	X	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Positive										
frequency	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
percent	0.0	0.0	X	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
valid percent	0.0	0.0	X	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No reference										
frequency	63	65	X	65	65	67	67	64	65	67
percent	94.0	97.0	X	97.0	97.0	100	100	95.5	97.0	100

TABLE X.21

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ISSUES IN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA  
WOMEN'S LIST

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Weighted Percent
General politics	4	1.8	1.5
Icelandic election	22	9.9	10.6
Accomplishments of government	7	3.1	1.7
Next government	2	.9	.8
Foreign Affairs	1	.4	.2
Nuclear free Scandinavia	2	.9	.8
Peace Movements	2	.9	.9
Icelandic defence	14	6.3	6.9
General economics	3	1.3	.7
Inflation	1	.4	.4
Economical direction	4	1.8	1.8
Taxes/customs	8	3.6	2.9
Strikes/wage negotiations	16	7.2	4.3
Sexual equality	48	21.5	34.6
Social affairs	15	6.7	5.1
Aged	1	.4	.2
Nurseries	5	2.2	1.1
Health service	2	.9	.5
Housing	6	2.7	2.9
Education	13	5.8	7.0
Regional equality	6	2.7	1.8
Rural policy	3	1.3	.9
Transport	2	.9	.7
Environment and planning	1	.4	1.0
Industrial affairs	10	4.5	2.4
Fishing, fishbreeding	4	1.8	.8
Agriculture	8	3.6	2.9
Tourism	4	1.8	1.7
Manufacturing industries	4	1.8	.7
Crime, judicial affairs	2	.9	.9
Mass media	3	1.3	1.6
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TOTAL	223	100.0	100.0
Valid Cases	223	Missing Cases	0

TABLE X.22

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA WOMEN'S LIST

PARTY-->	SDP	PP	SDA	IP	PA	MCE	HP	BP	WL	HP
REFERENCE										
Negative										
frequency	2	3	0	6	5	0	0	0	X	0
percent	0.9	1.3	0.0	2.7	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	X	0.0
valid percent	100	100	0.0	100	100	0.0	0.0	0.0	X	0.0
Neutral										
frequency	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	0
percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	X	0.0
valid percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	X	0.0
Positive										
frequency	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	0
percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	X	0.0
valid percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	X	0.0
No reference										
frequency	221	220	223	217	218	223	223	223	X	223
percent	99.1	98.7	100	97.3	97.8	100	100	100	X	100

TABLE X.23

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ISSUES IN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA  
HUMANIST PARTY

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Weighted Percent
General politics	26	12.4	20.9
Icelandic election	51	24.3	24.3
Accomplishments of government	17	8.1	7.4
Albert Guðmundsson's affair	4	1.9	1.6
Foreign Affairs	5	2.4	1.2
Icelandic defence	4	1.9	2.0
General economics	3	1.4	1.3
Inflation	3	1.4	1.7
Economical direction	11	5.2	5.0
Taxes/customs	8	3.8	2.7
Foreign borrowing	13	6.2	7.9

(cont....)

(....cont)

Interest rates/loan market	3	1.4	1.0
Strikes/wage negotiations	21	10.0	9.4
Pension funds	3	1.4	.3
Social affairs	3	1.4	2.0
Nurseries	2	1.0	.6
Health service	1	.5	.2
Housing	8	3.8	2.5
Education	2	1.0	1.2
Regional equality	9	4.3	3.0
Transport	2	1.0	.7
Environment and planning	1	.5	.1
Fishing, fishbreeding	2	1.0	.4
Agriculture	2	1.0	.8
Juvenile affairs	1	.5	.2
Mass media	3	1.4	1.0
Religion, churches	2	1.0	.8
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	210	100.0	100.0

Valid Cases      210      Missing Cases      0

TABLE X.24

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA HUMANIST PARTY

PARTY-->	SDP	PP	SDA	IP	PA	MCE	HP	BP	WL	HP
REFERENCE										
Negative										
frequency	8	11	0	11	12	0	X	11	3	0
percent	3.8	5.2	0.0	5.2	5.7	0.0	X	5.2	1.4	9.9
valid percent	100	100	0.0	100	100	0.0	X	100	100	0.0
Neutral										
frequency	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0
percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	X	0.0	0.0	0.0
valid percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	X	0.0	0.0	0.0
Positive										
frequency	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0
percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	X	0.0	0.0	0.0
valid percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	X	0.0	0.0	0.0
No reference										
frequency	202	199	210	199	198	210	X	199	207	210
percent	96.2	94.8	100	94.8	94.2	100	X	94.8	98.6	005

TABLE X.25

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ISSUES IN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA  
MOVEMENT FOR CO-OPERATION AND EQUALITY

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Weighted Percent
General politics	2	6.9	21.7
Icelandic election	12	41.4	38.3
Social affairs	2	6.9	4.3
Health service	1	3.4	1.2
Housing	2	6.9	4.0
Education	2	6.9	8.0
Rural policy	6	20.7	20.0
Religion, churches	2	6.9	2.4
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	29	100.0	100.0
Valid Cases	29	Missing Cases	0

TABLE X.26

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA MOVEMENT FOR CO-OPERATION AND  
EQUALITY

PARTY->	SDP	PP	SDA	IP	PA	MCE	HP	BP	WL	HP
REFERENCE										
Negative										
frequency	0	3	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0
percent	0.0	10.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	X	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
valid percent	0.0	100	0.0	0.0	0.0	X	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Neutral										
frequency	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0
percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	X	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
valid percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	X	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Positive										
frequency	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0
percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	X	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
valid percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	X	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No reference										
frequency	29	26	29	29	29	X	29	29	29	29
percent	100	89.7	100	100	100	X	100	100	100	100

TABLE X.27

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ISSUES IN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA  
NATIONAL PARTY

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Weighted Percent
General politics	1	1.1	.8
Icelandic election	27	29.7	23.0
Accomplishments of government	2	2.2	2.0
General economics	1	1.1	.9
Economical direction	4	4.4	1.8
Taxes/customs	1	1.1	.4
Housing	5	5.5	2.0
Education	2	2.2	2.3
Regional equality	21	23.1	42.5
Rural policy	17	18.7	18.1
Transport	2	2.2	1.7
Industrial affairs	2	2.2	.9
Fishing, fishbreeding	2	2.2	.6
Agriculture	4	4.4	3.0
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	91	100.0	100.0
Valid Cases	91	Missing Cases	0

TABLE X.28

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA NATIONAL PARTY

PARTY→	SDP	PP	SDA	IP	PA	MCE	HP	BP	WL	HP
REFERENCE										
Negative										
frequency	2	1	0	3	0	0	0	2	1	X
percent	2.2	1.1	0.0	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.2	1.1	X
valid percent	100	100	0.0	100	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	100	X
Neutral										
frequency	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	X
percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	X
valid percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	X
Positive										
frequency	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	X
percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	X
valid percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	X
No reference										
frequency	89	90	91	88	91	91	91	89	90	X
percent	97.8	98.9	100	96.7	100	100	100	97.8	98.9	X

TABLE X.29

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ISSUES IN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA  
CITIZENS' PARTY

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Weighted Percent
General politics	13	5.0	5.5
Icelandic election	48	18.5	19.0
Next government	1	.4	.3
Albert Guðmundsson's affair	14	5.4	10.8
Foreign Affairs	2	.8	.5
Nuclear free Scandinavia	2	.8	.4
Icelandic defence	6	2.3	3.7
General economics	1	.4	.2
Inflation	4	1.5	.7
Economical direction	6	2.3	2.6
Taxes/customs	11	4.2	3.9
Foreign borrowing	1	.4	.2

(....cont)

(cont....)

(....cont)

Interest rates/loan market	1	.4	.4
Strikes/wage negotiations	16	6.2	7.1
Pension funds	2	.8	.8
Sexual equality	2	.8	2.6
Social affairs	15	5.8	3.2
Aged	10	3.9	2.6
Physical disability	2	.8	.3
Nurseries	1	.4	.1
Health service	4	1.5	.7
Housing	5	1.9	1.4
Education	2	.8	.5
Regional equality	10	3.9	2.2
Rural policy	8	3.1	6.0
Transport	6	2.3	2.2
Local government	1	.4	.1
Industrial affairs	4	1.5	1.5
Fishing, fishbreeding	20	7.7	8.7
Agriculture	10	3.9	3.1
Tourism	4	1.5	1.0
Commerce	1	.4	.3
Foreign trade	3	1.2	.9
Manufacturing industries	7	2.7	1.4
Energy	3	1.2	1.3
Accidents, disasters	1	.4	.2
Crime, judicial affairs	1	.4	.1
The "Hafskip" bankruptcy	1	.4	.4
Culture and art	1	.4	.6
Sport	1	.4	.2
Juvenile affairs	3	1.2	.4
Mass media	1	.4	.4
Religion, churches	4	1.5	1.5
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	259	100.0	100.0

Valid Cases 259 Missing Cases 0

TABLE X.30

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA CITIZENS' PARTY

PARTY→	SDP	PP	SDA	IP	PA	MCE	HP	BP	WL	HP
REFERENCE										
Negative										
frequency	0	3	0	8	2	0	0	X	0	0
percent	0.0	1.2	0.0	3.1	0.8	0.0	0.0	X	0.0	0.0
valid percent	0.0	100	0.0	100	100	0.0	0.0	X	0.0	0.0
Neutral										
frequency	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0
percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	X	0.0	0.0
valid percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	X	0.0	0.0
Positive										
frequency	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0
percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	X	0.0	0.0
valid percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	X	0.0	0.0
No reference										
frequency	259	256	259	251	257	259	259	X	259	259
percent	100	98.8	100	96.9	99.2	100	100	X	100	100

# APPENDIX XI

Table XI.1

A DISCRPTION OF NEWS-ITEMS IN ALL PAPERS

Newspapers	Mean	Std Dev	Minimum	Maximum	Sum	N	%
People's P.	51.57	51.63	5	468	16347.00	317	29.4
Daily Newsp.	57.26	75.65	3	780	108957.00	1903	26.0
Morning P.	54.26	73.72	3	795	204516.00	3769	27.6
The Time	39.96	57.12	2	585	56301.00	1409	33.9
National W.	51.03	66.12	2	460	59855.00	1173	39.7

Table XI.2

ORIGIN OF NEWS IN PEOPLE'S PAPER

Iceland	261	84.7	70.3
Argentina	1	.3	.7
The USA	11	3.6	8.7
Bolivia	1	.3	.5
Brazil	1	.3	.8
Britain	3	1.0	1.3
Cuba	1	.3	.4
Danemark	6	1.9	3.4
France	2	.6	.7
Italia	1	.3	.5
Japan	1	.3	1.2
China	1	.3	1.2
Libya	1	.3	.3
Norway	5	1.6	2.0
Soviet Union	2	.6	1.4
Spain	1	.3	.5
South Africa	1	.3	1.2
Thailand	1	.3	1.1
Turkey	2	.6	2.2
West Germany	2	.6	.7
Vietnam	1	.3	.6
NATO	1	.3	.0
EEC	1	.3	.3

Table XI.3

ORIGIN OF NEWS IN DAILY NEWSPAPER

Iceland	1193	68.6	67.1
Angola	1	.1	.0
Argentina	5	.3	.3
Australia	3	.2	.2
Austria	18	1.0	.6
East-Germany	3	.2	.2
The USA	120	6.9	8.0
Bangladesh	2	.1	.1
Belgium	6	.3	.3
Brazil	1	.1	.0
Britain	47	2.7	3.1
Cameroon	1	.1	.0
Canada	8	.5	.5
Chad	2	.1	.1
Chile	6	.3	.5
Colombia	2	.1	.0
Danemark	39	2.2	1.4
Egypt	1	.1	.1
Ethiopia	1	.1	.1
Philippines	3	.2	.2
Finland	8	.5	.8
France	11	.6	.7
Ghana	1	.1	.1
Greece	3	.2	.5
Greenland	2	.1	.1
Haiti	2	.1	.2
Netherlands	6	.3	.3
India	6	.3	.4
Indonesia	5	.3	.4
Ireland	4	.2	.4
Israel	9	.5	.5
Italia	13	.7	.7
Japan	10	.6	.6
Jordania	1	.1	.0
Kampuchea	1	.1	.1
Kenya	3	.2	.1
China	17	1.0	.7
Kuwait	1	.1	.1
Cyprus	1	.1	.1
Lebanon	8	.5	.7
Libya	2	.1	.0
Malta	1	.1	.1
Mexico	1	.1	.3

(cont...)

(...cont.)

Central Afr. Republic	2	.1	.0
Nicaragua	2	.1	.1
Norway	39	2.2	1.5
New Zealand	6	.3	.2
Pakistan	2	.1	.2
Panama	1	.1	.0
Paraguay	1	.1	.0
Peru	1	.1	.1
Poland	1	.1	.1
Portugal	2	.1	.0
Saudi Arabia	1	.1	.3
Singapore	1	.1	.1
Somalia	1	.1	.1
Soviet Union	20	1.1	.9
Spain	9	.5	.7
Sri Lanka	2	.1	.1
South Africa	4	.2	.2
South Korea	1	.1	.1
Switzerland	1	.1	.1
Sweden	22	1.3	1.0
Syria	3	.2	.3
Czechoslovakia	1	.1	.0
Thailand	1	.1	.1
Turkey	2	.1	.2
Vatican	4	.2	.4
Venezuela	1	.1	.0
West Germany	22	1.3	1.7
Zimbabwe	2	.1	.1
Palestina	2	.1	.2
United Nations	4	.2	.3
NATO	1	.1	.2

Table XI.4

ORIGIN OF NEWS IN MORNING PAPER

Iceland	2625	74.2	78.9
Afghanistan	5	.1	.1
Angola	1	.0	.0
Argentina	5	.1	.1
Australia	6	.2	.1
Austria	6	.2	.2
East-Germany	9	.3	.2
The USA	153	4.3	4.8
Bangladesh	5	.1	.1

(cont...)

(...cont.)

Belgium	4	.1	.0
Bolivia	1	.0	.0
Brazil	11	.3	.2
Britain	85	2.4	2.1
Canada	4	.1	.1
Chad	3	.1	.0
Chile	6	.2	.1
Colombia	3	.1	.2
Cuba	3	.1	.0
Danemark	23	.7	.3
Djibuti	1	.0	.0
Ecuador	3	.1	.1
Egypt	4	.1	.1
El Salvador	3	.1	.1
Ethiopia	4	.1	.1
Fiji	1	.0	.0
Philippines	7	.2	.2
Finland	26	.7	.7
France	26	.7	.6
Faroe Islands	1	.0	.0
Greece	9	.3	.2
Greenland	15	.4	.2
Haiti	1	.0	.0
Netherlands	12	.3	.2
Honduras	1	.0	.0
India	11	.3	.2
Indonesia	3	.1	.0
Iran	11	.3	.1
Iraq	1	.0	.0
Ireland	3	.1	.0
Israel	16	.5	.3
Italia	21	.6	.4
Japan	22	.6	.4
Yugoslavia	11	.3	.2
Kenya	1	.0	.0
China	16	.5	.2
Cyprus	1	.0	.1
Laos	1	.0	.0
Lebanon	9	.3	.2
Liberia	1	.0	.0
Libya	5	.1	.1
Malaysia	1	.0	.0
Marocco	1	.0	.0
Mexico	1	.0	.0
Nicaragua	3	.1	.1
Nigeria	5	.1	.2

(cont...)

(...cont.)			
Norway	26	.7	.5
New Zealand	2	.1	.0
Oman	1	.0	.2
Pakistan	4	.1	.1
Peru	3	.1	.1
Poland	11	.3	.2
Portugal	6	.2	.1
Rumania	1	.0	.0
Saudi Arabia	1	.0	.0
Sierra Leone	1	.0	.0
Singapore	1	.0	.0
Soviet Union	85	2.4	2.0
Spain	14	.4	.3
Sri Lanka	6	.2	.1
St. Lucia	1	.0	.0
South Africa	11	.3	.2
South Korea	3	.1	.0
Switzerland	7	.2	.1
Sweden	39	1.1	1.0
Taiwan	1	.0	.0
Czechoslovakia	10	.3	.2
Thailand	4	.1	.1
Turkey	3	.1	.1
Hungary	2	.1	.0
Vatican	6	.2	.2
Venezuela	1	.0	.0
West Germany	36	1.0	.8
Vietnam	1	.0	.1
Zimbabwe	1	.0	.0
Palestina	3	.1	.1
Tunisia	1	.0	.0
United Nations	5	.1	.1
NATO	1	.0	.0
Warsaw Pact	1	.0	.0
EEC	20	.6	.4
Nordic Council	1	.0	.0

Table XI.5

ORIGIN OF NEWS IN THE TIME

Iceland	869	64.4	79.8
Afghanistan	2	.1	.0
Argentina	3	.2	.1
Algier	1	.1	.0
Australia	3	.2	.0
Austria	1	.1	.0
East-Germany	2	.1	.0
The USA	72	5.3	5.0
Bangladesh	4	.3	.2
Belgium	3	.2	.0
Britain	41	3.0	2.4
Chad	6	.4	.0
Chile	3	.2	.2
Danemark	4	.3	.2
Egypt	5	.4	.2
Philippines	23	1.7	.5
Finland	8	.6	.7
France	6	.4	.3
Gambia	1	.1	.0
Ghana	1	.1	.0
Greece	3	.2	.2
Greenland	1	.1	.0
Haiti	1	.1	.1
Netherlands	1	.1	.0
India	6	.4	.1
Indonesia	2	.1	.1
Iran	11	.8	.5
Iraq	1	.1	.0
Ireland	4	.3	.2
Israel	22	1.6	.4
Italia	14	1.0	.5
Japan	17	1.3	.5
Yugoslavia	6	.4	.2
Kenya	2	.1	.1
China	27	2.0	1.1
Cyprus	1	.1	.0
Lebanon	13	1.0	.1
Libya	2	.1	.1
Central Afr. Republic	1	.1	.0
Nicaragua	3	.2	.1
Norway	7	.5	.5
New Zealand	2	.1	.1
Pakistan	5	.4	.3

(cont...)

(...cont.)			
Paraguay	1	.1	.1
Poland	3	.2	.0
Portugal	3	.2	.0
Rumania	1	.1	.0
Saudi Arabia	1	.1	.0
Senegal	1	.1	.0
Sierra Leone	1	.1	.1
Soviet Union	35	2.6	1.4
Spain	5	.4	.1
Sri Lanka	7	.5	.2
South Africa	16	1.2	.6
South Korea	6	.4	.3
Switzerland	1	.1	.0
Sweden	12	.9	.4
Syria	2	.1	.1
Czechoslovakia	4	.3	.3
Thailand	1	.1	.0
Turkey	7	.5	.2
Hungary	1	.1	.0
Uruguay	1	.1	.0
West Germany	11	.8	.4
Vietnam	5	.4	.1
Yemen (Arab Repububl.)	1	.1	.0
Zambia	1	.1	.0
Palestina	2	.1	.0
Tunisia	2	.1	.1
Hong Kong	1	.1	.0
United Nations	1	.1	.0
NATO	1	.1	.0
EEC	6	.4	.2

Table XI.6

ORIGIN OF NEWS IN NATIONAL WILL

Iceland	776	71.3	72.9
Albania	1	.1	.0
Argentina	1	.1	.1
Australia	3	.3	.1
East-Germany	2	.2	.1
The Bahamas	1	.1	.1
The USA	39	3.6	3.8
Bangladesh	1	.1	.0
Belgium	1	.1	.1
Brazil	1	.1	.2
Britain	30	2.8	1.8

(cont...)

(...cont.)			
Cameroon	2	.2	.1
Canada	1	.1	.3
Chad	3	.3	.5
Chile	1	.1	.1
Colombia	1	.1	.7
Costa Rica	1	.1	.0
Danemark	5	.5	.2
Egypt	1	.1	.2
El Salvador	1	.1	.1
Philippines	1	.1	.0
Finland	9	.8	.9
France	12	1.1	1.5
Greece	4	.4	.5
Greenland	2	.2	.1
Netherlands	2	.2	.0
India	6	.6	.6
Iran	4	.4	.6
Iraq	2	.2	.1
Ireland	2	.2	.3
Israel	8	.7	.8
Italia	12	1.1	1.3
Japan	3	.3	.1
Jordania	1	.1	.1
Yugoslavia	5	.5	.3
Kampuchea	2	.2	.2
China	4	.4	.2
Lebanon	8	.7	.5
Madagaskar	1	.1	.0
Marocco	1	.1	.0
Nicaragua	3	.3	.4
Norway	15	1.4	.6
New Zealand	1	.1	.0
Poland	1	.1	.0
Portugal	4	.4	.4
Soviet Union	24	2.2	2.7
Spain	9	.8	.4
Sri Lanka	4	.4	.4
South Africa	5	.5	.4
Switzerland	1	.1	.0
Sweden	4	.4	.1
Syria	1	.1	.0
Czechoslovakia	4	.4	.3
Thailand	1	.1	.0
Turkey	1	.1	.0
Uganda	1	.1	.0
Vatican	5	.5	.6
			(cont...)

(...cont.)			
West Germany	23	2.1	2.4
Vietnam	1	.1	.1
Zimbabwe	3	.3	.2
Palestina	2	.2	.2
United Nations	5	.5	.2
NATO	1	.1	.0
Warsaw Pact	1	.1	.1
EEC	4	.4	.6
EFTA	1	.1	.1
Nordic Council	2	.2	.2

Table XI.7

FOREIGN NEWS-ITEMS IN PEOPLE'S PAPER

General politics	14	29.8	35.9
Foreign Affairs	1	2.1	2.4
Icelandic defence	1	2.1	.2
Military affairs/war	1	2.1	1.5
Arms trade	1	2.1	3.0
Terrorism	1	2.1	1.8
Foreign borrowing	1	2.1	2.6
Health service	3	6.4	7.5
Education	3	6.4	6.9
Industrial affairs	1	2.1	1.8
Accidents, disasters	1	2.1	1.3
Crime, judicial affairs	7	14.9	11.6
Culture and art	3	6.4	7.8
Science	2	4.3	4.1
In memoriam	2	4.3	1.8
Human interest	5	10.6	10.0

Table XI.8  
FOREIGN NEWS-ITEMS IN THE DAILY NEWSPAPER

General politics	104	19.0	25.0
Foreign Affairs	40	7.3	9.5
Peace Movements	1	.2	.4
Disarmament	13	2.4	3.2
Military affairs/war	20	3.7	4.3
Arms trade	16	2.9	2.7
Terrorism	22	4.0	3.9
General economics	4	.7	1.0
Inflation	2	.4	.5
Taxes/customs	4	.7	.5
Exchange rates	1	.2	.1
Strikes/wage neg.	7	1.3	1.0
Sexual equality	1	.2	.1
Social affairs	4	.7	.2
Aged	1	.2	.2
Health service	37	6.8	5.2
Education	1	.2	.0
Transport	11	2.0	1.4
Environment and planning	2	.4	.3
Natural preservation	11	2.0	2.1
Fishing, fishbreeding	5	.9	.7
Agriculture	3	.5	.5
Tourism	3	.5	.5
Commerce	6	1.1	.7
Foreign trade	3	.5	.3
Banks	1	.2	.4
Manufacturing industries	2	.4	.2
Energy	3	.5	.2
Accidents, disasters	57	10.4	10.0
Crime, judicial affairs	57	10.4	6.7
Culture and art	17	3.1	3.6
Mass media	4	.7	.8
Science	12	2.2	2.5
Religion, churches	8	1.5	1.2
Obituaries	2	.4	.8
Human interest	62	11.3	9.0

Table XI.8

FOREIGN NEWS-ITEMS IN MORNING PAPER

General politics	200	22.0	24.8
Foreign Affairs	110	12.1	12.3
Nuclear free Scandinavia	1	.1	.1
Disarmament	35	3.8	4.7
Military affairs/war	77	8.5	7.4
Arms trade	27	3.0	5.5
Terrorism	34	3.7	3.1
General economics	31	3.4	3.3
Inflation	3	.3	.1
Taxes/customs	1	.1	.0
Foreign borrowing	3	.3	.2
Exchange rates	8	.9	.5
Interest rates/loan market	3	.3	.6
Strikes/wage negotiations	15	1.6	1.2
Unemployment	1	.1	.1
Consumer affairs	1	.1	.1
Sexual equality	2	.2	.4
Social affairs	2	.2	.1
Health service	31	3.4	2.6
Housing	1	.1	.0
Education	6	.7	.3
Regional equality	1	.1	.1
Transport	11	1.2	.9
Environment and planning	1	.1	.1
Natural preservation	7	.8	.8
Industrial affairs	4	.4	.4
Fishing, fishbreeding	7	.8	.4
Agriculture	6	.7	.7
Tourism	5	.5	.3
Commerce	6	.7	.5
Foreign trade	26	2.9	2.0
Manufacturing industries	8	.9	.8
Energy	2	.2	.1
Accidents, disasters	60	6.6	6.1
Crime, judicial affairs	57	6.3	5.9
Culture and art	21	2.3	3.1
Mass media	7	.8	.8
Science	16	1.8	2.4
Religion, churches	11	1.2	.8
Obituaries	4	.4	.5
Human interest	59	6.5	5.6

Table XI.10

FOREIGN NEWS-ITEMS IN THE TIME

General politics	118	24.5	30.2
Foreign Affairs	87	18.1	14.5
Disarmament	21	4.4	5.3
Military affairs/war	67	13.9	9.9
Arms trade	20	4.2	3.5
Terrorism	12	2.5	.6
General economics	13	2.7	2.4
Economic direction	1	.2	.0
Taxes/customs	1	.2	.1
Exchange rates	8	1.7	.8
Interest rates/loan market	1	.2	.0
Strikes/wage negotiations	7	1.5	1.3
Social affairs	2	.4	.7
Health service	8	1.7	1.2
Education	2	.4	.4
Transport	2	.4	.8
Natural preservation	2	.4	.9
Fishing, fishbreeding	4	.8	2.2
Agriculture	3	.6	.3
Tourism	1	.2	.2
Commerce	3	.6	.7
Foreign trade	9	1.9	1.4
Energy	2	.4	.1
Accidents, disasters	16	3.3	1.5
Crime, judicial affairs	30	6.2	6.3
Culture and art	8	1.7	3.4
Mass media	2	.4	.4
Science	5	1.0	1.7
Religion, churches	1	.2	.1
Obituaries	1	.2	.0
Human interest	24	5.0	9.1

Table XI.11

FOREIGN NEWS-ITEMS IN THE NATIONAL WILL

General politics	118	37.8	42.1
Foreign Affairs	10	3.2	4.3
Nuclear free Scandinavia	2	.6	.6
Disarmament	15	4.8	6.3
Icelandic defence	1	.3	.3
Military affairs/war	28	9.0	8.6
Arms trade	9	2.9	3.4
Terrorism	3	1.0	.6
General economics	8	2.6	2.8
Inflation	1	.3	.1
Strikes/wage negotiations	2	.6	.4
Unemployment	2	.6	1.5
Sexual equality	1	.3	.3
Social affairs	2	.6	3.0
Health service	12	3.8	3.2
Education	1	.3	.2
Transport	2	.6	.4
Environment and planning	3	1.0	.3
Natural preservation	5	1.6	1.5
Fishing, fishbreeding	5	1.6	.9
Agriculture	2	.6	.2
Energy	3	1.0	.3
Accidents, disasters	2	.6	.5
Crime, judicial affairs	12	3.8	4.8
Culture and art	11	3.5	1.6
Science	10	3.2	2.8
Religion, churches	9	2.9	2.9
Human interest	33	10.6	6.2

Table XI.12

DOMESTIC NEWS-ITEMS IN THE PEOPLE'S PAPER

General politics	1	.4	.3
Icelandic election	51	19.5	26.0
Next government	1	.4	.3
Albert Gudmundsson's affair	8	3.1	5.2
Foreign Affairs	6	2.3	2.9
Nuclear free Scandinavia	6	2.3	2.0
Inflation	4	1.5	1.7
Economical direction	1	.4	.3
Taxes/customs	2	.8	1.1
Foreign loans	1	.4	.1
Interest rates/loan market	1	.4	.1
Strikes/wage negotiations	37	14.2	12.7
Unemployment	1	.4	.1
Pension funds	2	.8	.6
Consumer affairs	3	1.1	.5
Sexual equality	2	.8	.9
Aged	1	.4	.2
Nurseries	1	.4	.2
Single parents	1	.4	.4
Health service	12	4.6	3.1
Housing	5	1.9	2.0
Education	13	5.0	3.8
Student loan fund	2	.8	.4
Regional equality	1	.4	.2
Transport	7	2.7	3.2
Local government	3	1.1	1.5
Fishing, fishbreeding	5	1.9	1.7
Agriculture	6	2.3	2.1
Tourism	1	.4	.2
Commerce	6	2.3	1.4
Foreign trade	6	2.3	2.4
Banks	4	1.5	1.2
Manufacturing industries	3	1.1	.5
Energy	4	1.5	1.5
Accidents, disasters	2	.8	.2
Crime, judicial affairs	1	.4	.5
The "Hafskip" bankruptcy	2	.8	.4
Culture and art	27	10.3	11.9
Mass media	13	5.0	4.2
Science	1	.4	.2
Religion, churches	2	.8	.5
Obituaries	2	.8	.4
Human interest	3	1.1	.6

Table XI.13

DOMESTIC NEWS-ITEMS IN THE DAILY NEWSPAPER

General politics	13	1.1	.9
Icelandic election	136	11.4	19.2
Corr./honesty in politics	1	.1	.0
Accomplishments of governm.	3	.3	.6
Albert Gudmundsson's affair	51	4.3	4.9
Foreign Affairs	8	.7	.6
Nuclear free Scandinavia	7	.6	.6
Icelandic defence	7	.6	.4
General economics	2	.2	.0
Inflation	4	.3	.3
Economical direction	1	.1	.0
Taxes/customs	11	.9	.6
Exchange rates	19	1.6	1.0
Interest rates/loan market	13	1.1	.9
Strikes/wage negotiations	132	11.1	7.3
Unemployment	2	.2	.1
Pension funds	2	.2	.1
Consumer affairs	3	.3	.1
Sexual equality	2	.2	.2
Social services	1	.1	.0
Social affairs	3	.3	.1
Aged	3	.3	.1
Nurseries	2	.2	.2
Health service	32	2.7	2.7
Housing	2	.2	.3
Education	16	1.3	1.4
Student loan fund	1	.1	.1
Regional equality	1	.1	.0
Rural policy	1	.1	.0
Transport	50	4.2	3.5
Environment and planning	6	.5	.7
Local government	54	4.5	3.5
Natural preservation	8	.7	.3
Industrial affairs	2	.2	.1
Fishing, fishbreeding	81	6.8	6.8
Agriculture	23	1.9	2.1
Tourism	17	1.4	.9
Commerce	29	2.4	2.2
Foreign trade	10	.8	.5
Banks	14	1.2	1.5
Manufacturing industries	18	1.5	1.2
Energy	10	.8	.5
Accidents, disasters	121	10.1	7.5

(cont....)

(...cont.)

Crime, judicial affairs	83	7.0	6.2
The "Hafskip" bankruptcy	8	.7	1.2
Culture and art	35	2.9	3.4
Juvenile affairs	6	.5	1.9
Mass media	30	2.5	3.4
Science	3	.3	.3
Religion, churches	13	1.1	.6
Obituaries	1	.1	.0
Human interest	92	7.7	8.6

Table XI.14

DOMESTIC NEWS-ITEMS IN THE MORNING PAPER

General politics	41	1.6	2.4
Icelandic election	132	5.0	6.3
Accomplishments of governm.	1	.0	.0
Next government	3	.1	.1
Albert Gudmundsson's affair	28	1.1	1.5
Foreign Affairs	29	1.1	1.1
Nuclear free Scandinavia	14	.5	.5
Disarmament	1	.0	.0
Icelandic defence	23	.9	.7
Military affairs/war	1	.0	.0
General economics	4	.2	.2
Inflation	12	.5	.2
Economical direction	2	.1	.1
Taxes/customs	13	.5	.4
Foreign borrowing	2	.1	.1
Exchange rates	39	1.5	.4
Interest rates/loan market	10	.4	.6
Strikes/wage negotiations	197	7.5	6.8
Unemployment	3	.1	.0
Pension funds	5	.2	.1
Consumer affairs	11	.4	.7
Sexual equality	7	.3	.2
Social affairs	13	.5	.3
Retarded	3	.1	.1
Aged	6	.2	.1
Physically disabled	8	.3	.3
Nurseries	4	.2	.2
Single parents	1	.0	.0
Health service	78	3.0	2.7
Housing	9	.3	.5
Education	84	3.2	2.8
Student loan fund	5	.2	.1

(cont...)

(...cont.)

Regional equality	3	.1	.1
Transport	131	5.0	7.7
Environment and planning	22	.8	.8
Local government	81	3.1	2.6
Natural preservation	14	.5	.8
Industrial affairs	6	.2	.6
Fishing, fishbreeding	225	8.6	7.6
Agriculture	93	3.5	3.8
Tourism	38	1.4	1.5
Commerce	109	4.2	3.8
Foreign trade	21	.8	.8
Banks	47	1.8	2.1
Manufacturing industries	62	2.4	2.7
Communication	2	.1	.0
Energy	29	1.1	1.1
Accidents, disasters	162	6.2	4.2
Crime, judicial affairs	81	3.1	2.1
The "Hafskip" bankruptcy	6	.2	.8
Culture and art	350	13.3	13.9
Juvenile affairs	15	.6	.8
Mass media	64	2.4	2.2
Science	22	.8	1.2
Religion, churches	70	2.7	2.0
Obituaries	19	.7	.4
Human interest	164	6.2	7.2

Table XI.15

DOMESTIC NEWS-ITEMS IN THE TIME

General politics	10	1.2	.9
Icelandic election	66	7.6	12.2
Accomplishments of governm.	1	.1	.2
Albert Gudmundsson's affair	15	1.7	2.2
Foreign Affairs	9	1.0	.9
Nuclear free Scandinavia	11	1.3	1.0
Peace Movements	1	.1	.1
Icelandic defence	3	.3	.4
Military affairs/war	1	.1	.0
Terrorism	1	.1	.0
General economics	2	.2	.1
Inflation	6	.7	1.1
Taxes/customs	5	.6	.3
Interest rates/loan market	1	.1	.1
Strikes/wage negotiations	119	13.7	10.0
Unemployment	2	.2	.1

(cont...)

(...cont.)			
Pension funds	2	.2	.1
Consumer affairs	9	1.0	1.5
Sexual equality	5	.6	.4
Social services	2	.2	.1
Social affairs	3	.3	.3
Retarded	3	.3	.1
Aged	3	.3	.3
Nurseries	2	.2	.2
Health service	26	3.0	1.9
Housing	7	.8	1.1
Education	37	4.3	3.6
Student loan fund	1	.1	.1
Rural policy	2	.2	.5
Transport	27	3.1	3.0
Environment and planning	3	.3	.5
Local government	29	3.3	2.1
Natural preservation	9	1.0	.9
Industrial affairs	4	.5	.9
Fishing, fishbreeding	56	6.4	5.2
Agriculture	73	8.4	7.6
Tourism	15	1.7	1.5
Commerce	33	3.8	5.0
Foreign trade	10	1.2	.9
Banks	12	1.4	1.5
Manufacturing industries	22	2.5	1.7
Energy	10	1.2	1.2
Accidents, disasters	43	4.9	4.3
Crime, judicial affairs	39	4.5	2.6
The "Hafskip" bankruptcy	5	.6	1.3
Culture and art	41	4.7	6.8
Juvenile affairs	2	.2	1.1
Mass media	25	2.9	2.8
Science	4	.5	.6
Religion, churches	8	.9	1.0
Obituaries	5	.6	.2
Human interest	39	4.5	7.4

Table XI.12

DOMESTIC NEWS-ITEMS IN THE NATIONAL WILL

General politics	14	1.8	2.5
Icelandic election	91	11.7	14.5
Corr./honesty in politics	3	.4	.4
Next government	1	.1	.0
Albert Gudmundsson's affair	17	2.2	2.5
Foreign Affairs	2	.3	.1
Nuclear free Scandinavia	20	2.6	3.5
Disarmament	1	.1	.0
Icelandic defence	12	1.5	1.6
General economics	1	.1	.2
Inflation	6	.8	.4
Economical direction	2	.3	.2
Taxes/customs	4	.5	.4
Interest rates/loan market	1	.1	.1
Strikes/wage negotiations	151	19.5	17.2
Unemployment	1	.1	.0
Pension funds	1	.1	.1
Consumer affairs	6	.8	.6
Sexual equality	11	1.4	2.4
Social affairs	4	.5	.8
Retarded	2	.3	.1
Aged	2	.3	.1
Physically disabled	11	1.4	1.9
Nurseries	1	.1	.0
Single parents	2	.3	.2
Health service	19	2.5	3.0
Housing	8	1.0	.9
Education	29	3.7	4.5
Student loan fund	3	.4	.4
Regional equality	3	.4	.3
Transport	20	2.6	2.3
Environment and planning	6	.8	.9
Local government	24	3.1	2.5
Natural preservation	11	1.4	1.0
Industrial affairs	1	.1	.2
Fishing, fishbreeding	36	4.6	2.9
Agriculture	21	2.7	2.8
Tourism	5	.6	.1
Commerce	4	.5	.4
Foreign trade	2	.3	.1
Banks	5	.6	.4
Manufacturing industries	15	1.9	1.5
Communication	1	.1	.1

(cont...)

(...cont.)

Energy	6	.8	.8
Accidents, disasters	19	2.5	1.4
Crime, judicial affairs	26	3.4	2.9
The "Hafskip" bankruptcy	6	.8	.6
Culture and art	71	9.2	11.8
Juvenile affairs	11	1.4	4.0
Mass media	18	2.3	.9
Science	4	.5	.2
Religion, churches	2	.3	.1
Obituaries	5	.6	.3
Human interest	27	3.5	2.8

Table XI.17

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN NEWS IN THE PEOPLE'S PAPER

	Count										
	Percent										
	Val Pct	A	B	C	D	G	J	M	S	V	TH
REFERENCE											
Negative											
frequency		0	11	0	8	4	0	0	2	0	0
percent		0.0	16.7	0.0	12.1	6.1	0.0	0.0	3.0	0.0	0.0
valid percent		0.0	68.8	0.0	38.1	33.3	0.0	0.0	28.6	0.0	0.0
Neutral											
frequency		12	5	0	13	8	4	3	5	7	4
percent		18.2	7.6	0.0	19.7	12.1	6.1	4.5	7.6	10.6	6.1
valid percent		29.3	31.3	0.0	61.9	66.7	100	100	71.4	100	100
Positive											
frequency		29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
percent		43.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
valid percent		70.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No reference											
frequency		25	50	64	45	54	62	63	59	59	62
percent		37.7	75.8	97.0	68.2	81.8	93.9	95.5	89.4	89.4	93.9

Table XI.18

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN NEWS IN THE DAILY NEWSPAPER

PARTY→	Count											
	Val	Pct	A	B	C	D	G	J	M	S	V	TH
REFERENCE												
Negative												
frequency			6	3	0	4	6	0	0	2	0	1
percent			2.9	1.5	0.0	1.9	2.9	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.5
valid percent			10.5	5.2	0.0	4.8	12.0	0.0	0.0	3.6	0.0	4.5
Neutral												
frequency			51	54	19	70	44	14	34	50	49	21
percent			24.8	26.2	9.2	34.0	21.4	6.8	16.5	24.3	23.8	10.2
valid percent			89.5	93.1	95.0	83.3	88.0	100	100	90.9	100	95.5
Positive												
frequency			0	1	1	10	0	0	0	3	0	0
percent			0.0	0.5	0.5	4.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0
valid percent			0.0	1.7	5.0	11.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.5	0.0	0.0
No reference												
frequency			149	148	186	122	156	192	172	151	157	184
percent			72.3	71.8	90.3	59.2	75.7	93.2	83.5	73.3	76.2	89.3

Table XI.19

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN NEWS IN THE MORNING PAPER

PARTY→	Count											
	Val	Pct	A	B	C	D	G	J	M	S	V	TH
REFERENCE												
Negative												
frequency			1	1	1	1	5	0	0	7	1	0
percent			0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	2.5	0.0	0.0	3.5	0.5	0.0
valid percent			2.0	2.1	3.4	0.9	11.4	0.0	0.0	15.6	2.3	0.0
Neutral												
frequency			46	44	27	68	39	21	31	38	42	28
percent			23.1	22.1	13.6	34.2	19.6	10.6	15.6	19.1	21.1	14.1
valid percent			93.9	93.6	93.1	60.2	88.6	100	100	84.4	97.7	100
Positive												
frequency			2	2	1	44	0	0	0	0	0	0
percent			1.0	1.0	0.5	22.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
valid percent			4.1	4.3	3.4	38.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No reference												
frequency			150	152	170	86	155	178	168	154	156	171
percent			75.4	76.4	85.4	43.2	77.9	89.4	84.4	77.4	78.4	85.9

Table XI.20

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN NEWS IN THE TIME

PARTY→	Count										
	Percent	A	B	C	D	G	J	M	S	V	TH
REFERENCE	Val Pct										
Negative											
frequency		10	0	0	11	8	0	1	6	1	2
percent		9.5	0.0	0.0	10.5	7.6	0.0	1.0	5.7	1.0	1.9
valid percent		43.5	0.0	0.0	31.4	36.4	0.0	20.0	33.3	14.3	40.0
Neutral											
frequency		13	21	4	23	14	3	4	12	6	3
percent		12.4	20.0	3.8	21.9	13.3	2.9	3.8	11.4	5.7	2.9
valid percent		56.5	38.9	100	65.7	63.6	100	80.0	66.7	85.7	60.0
Positive											
frequency		0	33	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
percent		0.0	31.4	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
valid percent		0.0	61.1	0.0	2.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No reference											
frequency		82	51	101	70	83	102	100	87	98	100
percent		78.1	48.6	96.2	66.7	79.0	97.1	95.2	82.9	93.3	95.2

Table XI.21

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN NEWS IN THE NATIONAL WILL

PARTY→	Count										
	Percent	A	B	C	D	G	J	M	S	V	TH
REFERENCE	Val Pct										
Negative											
frequency		9	18	0	36	1	1	1	7	7	1
percent		6.6	13.1	0.0	26.3	0.7	0.7	0.7	5.1	5.1	0.7
valid percent		30.0	46.2	0.0	57.1	1.4	16.7	12.5	24.1	24.1	11.1
Neutral											
frequency		21	20	8	27	22	5	7	22	21	7
percent		15.3	14.6	5.8	19.7	16.1	3.6	5.1	16.1	15.3	5.1
valid percent		70.0	51.3	100	42.9	31.3	83.3	87.5	75.9	74.4	77.8
Positive											
frequency		0	1	0	0	46	0	0	0	1	1
percent		0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	33.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.7
valid percent		0.0	2.6	0.0	0.0	66.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	11.1
No reference											
frequency		107	98	129	74	68	131	129	108	108	128
percent		78.1	71.5	94.2	54.0	49.6	95.6	94.2	78.8	78.8	93.4

Table XI.22

ISSUE CATEGORIES IN EDITORIALS IN THE PEOPLE'S PAPER

General politics	2	5.4
Icelandic election	15	40.5
Gudmundsson affair	2	5.4
Nuclear free Scandinavia	1	2.7
Arms trade	1	2.7
General economics	1	2.7
Inflation	1	2.7
Economical direction	1	2.7
Taxes/customs	1	2.7
Strikes/wage negotiations	3	8.1
Health service	2	5.4
Industrial affairs	1	2.7
Fishing, fishbreeding	1	2.7
Manufacturing industries	1	2.7
Crime, judicial affairs	1	2.7
Mass media	2	5.4
Religion, churches	1	2.7

Table XI.23

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN EDITORIALS IN THE PEOPLE'S PAPER

PARTY->	Count										
	Percent	A	B	C	D	G	J	M	S	V	TH
	Val Pct										
REFERENCE											
Negative											
frequency		0	14	1	17	8	1	0	1	1	2
percent		0.0	37.8	27.0	45.9	21.6	2.7	0.0	2.7	2.7	5.4
valid percent		0.0	93.3	100	81.0	88.9	100	0.0	50.0	50.0	100
Neutral											
frequency		1	1	0	3	1	0	0	1	1	0
percent		2.7	2.7	0.0	8.1	2.7	0.0	0.0	2.7	2.7	0.0
valid percent		3.8	6.7	0.0	14.3	11.1	0.0	0.0	50.0	50.0	0.0
Positive											
frequency		25	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
percent		67.6	0.0	0.0	2.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
valid percent		96.2	0.0	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No reference											
frequency		11	22	36	16	28	36	37	35	35	35
percent		29.7	59.5	97.3	43.2	75.7	97.3	100	94.6	94.6	94.6

Table XI.24

ISSUE CATEGORIES IN EDITORIALS IN THE DAILY NEWSPAPER

General politics	2	4.7
Icelandic election	6	14.0
Accomplishm. of governm.	2	4.7
Next government	2	4.7
Guðmundsson affair	5	11.6
Foreign affairs	1	2.3
Nucl. free Scandinavia	1	2.3
Disarmament	1	2.3
Arms trade	1	2.3
General economics	2	4.7
Inflation	2	4.7
Taxes/customs	1	2.3
Strikes/wage negotiations	3	7.0
Health service	2	4.7
Housing	1	2.3
Transport	1	2.3
Agriculture	5	11.6
The "Hafskip" bankruptcy	1	2.3
Mass media	2	4.7
Religion, churches	1	2.3
Human interest	1	2.3

Table XI.25

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN EDITORIALS IN THE DAILY NEWSPAPER

PARTY→	Count										
	Percent	A	B	C	D	G	J	M	S	V	TH
REFERENCE	Val Pct										
Negative											
frequency		0	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
percent		0.0	4.7	0.0	7.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
valid percent		0.0	22.2	0.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Neutral											
frequency		5	4	2	6	3	0	0	6	3	0
percent		11.6	9.3	4.7	14.0	7.0	0.0	0.0	14.0	7.0	0.0
valid percent		71.4	44.4	100	40.0	100	0.0	0.0	85.7	100	0.0
Positive											
frequency		2	3	0	6	0	0	0	1	0	0
percent		4.7	7.0	0.0	14.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	0.0	0.0
valid percent		28.6	33.3	0.0	40.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.3	0.0	0.0
No reference											
frequency		36	34	41	28	40	43	43	36	40	43
percent		83.7	79.1	95.3	65.1	93.0	100	100	83.7	93.0	100

Table XI. 26

ISSUE CATEGORIES IN EDITORIALS IN THE MORNING PAPER

General politics	5	9.3
Icelandic election	9	16.7
Next government	3	5.6
Guðmundsson affair	4	7.4
Foreign affairs	1	1.9
Nuclear free Scandinavia	1	1.9
Disarmament	1	1.9
Icelandic defence	4	7.4
Arms trade	1	1.9
General economics	1	1.9
Inflation	1	1.9
Taxes/customs	1	1.9
Strikes/wage negotiations	9	16.7
Social affairs	1	1.9
Health service	1	1.9
Housing	1	1.9
Transport	2	3.7
Environment and planning	1	1.9
Fishing, fish-breeding	1	1.9
Manufacturing industries	1	1.9
Accidents, disasters	1	1.9
The "Hafskip" bankruptcy	1	1.9
Mass media	2	3.7
Religion, churches	1	1.9

Table XI.27

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN EDITORIALS IN THE MORNING PAPER

PARTY→	Count										
	Percent	A	B	C	D	G	J	M	S	V	TH
REFERENCE	Val Pct										
Negative											
frequency		4	0	0	0	6	0	0	4	1	0
percent		7.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.1	0.0	0.0	7.4	1.9	0.0
valid percent		57.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	75.0	0.0	0.0	57.1	33.3	0.0
Neutral											
frequency		3	4	1	5	2	1	1	3	2	1
percent		5.6	7.4	1.9	9.3	3.7	1.9	1.9	5.6	3.7	1.9
valid percent		42.9	100	100	20.0	25.0	100	100	42.9	66.7	100
Positive											
frequency		0	0	0	20	0	0	0	0	0	0
percent		0.0	0.0	0.0	37.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
valid percent		0.0	0.0	0.0	80.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No reference											
frequency		47	50	53	29	46	53	53	47	51	53
percent		87.0	92.6	98.1	53.7	85.2	98.1	98.1	87.0	94.4	98.1

Table XI.28

ISSUE CATEGORIES IN EDITORIALS IN THE TIME

Icelandic election	23	47.9
Accomplishm. of governm.	2	4.2
Guðmundsson affair	3	6.3
Foreign Affairs	2	4.2
Nuclear free Scandinavia	1	2.1
Disarmament	1	2.1
Taxes/customs	1	2.1
Strikes/wage negotiations	1	2.1
Transport	1	2.1
Fishing, fish-breeding	1	2.1
Agriculture	2	4.2
Tourism	1	2.1
Manufacturing industries	1	2.1
Crime, judicial affairs	1	2.1
The "Hafskip" bankruptcy	1	2.1
Culture and art	2	4.2
Mass media	3	6.3
Religion, churches	1	2.1

Table XI.29

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN EDITORIALS IN THE TIME

PARTY→	Count											
	Val	Pct	A	B	C	D	G	J	M	S	V	TH
REFERENCE												
Negative												
frequency	4		0	0	0	9	5	2	0	5	2	2
percent	8.3		0.0	0.0	0.0	18.8	10.4	4.2	0.0	10.4	4.2	4.2
valid percent	66.7		0.0	0.0	0.0	60.0	83.3	100	0.0	83.3	66.7	100
Neutral												
frequency	1		0	1	5	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
percent	2.1		0.0	2.1	10.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.1	2.1	0.0	0.0
valid percent	16.7		0.0	100	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.7	33.3	0.0	0.0
Positive												
frequency	1	28	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
percent	2.1	58.3	0.0	2.1	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
valid percent	16.7	100	0.0	6.7	16.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No reference												
frequency	42	20	47	33	42	46	48	42	45	46		
percent	87.5	41.7	97.9	68.8	87.5	95.8	100	87.5	93.8	95.8		

Table XI 30

ISSUE CATEGORIES IN EDITORIALS IN THE NATIONAL WILL

General politics	2	4.1
Icelandic election	13	26.5
Guðmundsson affair	3	6.1
Foreign Affairs	1	2.0
Nuclear free Scandinavia	4	8.2
Disarmament	1	2.0
Icelandic defence	2	4.1
General economics	1	2.0
Inflation	1	2.0
Economical direction	3	6.1
Strikes/wage negotiations	5	10.2
Housing	1	2.0
Regional equality	1	2.0
Industrial affairs	2	4.1
Fishing, fish-breeding	1	2.0
Agriculture	1	2.0
Manufacturing industries	1	2.0
Energy	1	2.0
Crime, judicial affairs	1	2.0
Culture and art	2	4.1
Mass media	1	2.0
Religion, churches	1	2.0

Table XI.31

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN EDITORIALS IN THE NATIONAL WILL

PARTY™>	Count										
	Percent	A	B	C	D	G	J	M	S	V	TH
REFERENCE	Val Pct										
Negative											
frequency		11	16	0	29	0	1	1	5	4	1
percent		22.4	32.7	0.0	59.2	0.0	2.0	2.0	10.2	8.2	2.0
valid percent		84.6	80.0	0.0	93.5	0.0	50.0	100	83.3	66.7	100
Neutral											
frequency		2	4	0	2	3	1	0	1	1	0
percent		4.1	8.2	0.0	4.1	6.1	2.0	0.0	2.0	2.0	0.0
valid percent		15.4	20.0	0.0	6.5	11.1	50.0	0.0	16.7	16.7	0.0
Positive											
frequency		0	0	0	0	24	0	0	0	1	0
percent		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	49.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0
valid percent		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	88.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.7	0.0
No reference											
frequency		36	29	49	18	22	47	48	43	43	48
percent		73.5	59.2	100	36.7	44.9	95.9	98.0	87.8	87.8	98.0

Table XI.32

FREQUENCY AND SIZE OF OMITTED ARTICLES - PERCENTAGE

Category	People's Paper	Daily Newspaper	Morning Paper	Time	National Will
Culture, art	19.0(20.4)	23.6(23.7)	15.5(19.2)	24.4(27.3)	19.5(28.2)
Sport	0.0( 0.0)	1.4( 1.5)	2.9( 1.7)	1.2( .9)	4.3( 6.4)
obituaries	14.3( 6.0)	.3( .1)	10.3(14.1)	12.8(13.5)	9.1(8.3)
Hum. interest	0.0( 0.0)	11.7(19.2)	14.3(16.5)	8.1(11.0)	5.5( 4.7)
Total	33.3(26.5)	36.9(44.5)	43.0(51.6)	46.5(52.8)	38.4(47.5)

Table XI.33

ISSUE CATEGORIES IN ARTICLES IN THE PEOPLE'S PAPER

General politics	1	2.4	6.6
Icelandic election	12	28.6	26.3
Foreign Affairs	1	2.4	4.4
Nuclear free Scandinavia	1	2.4	3.0
Disarmament	1	2.4	3.3
General economics	1	2.4	3.3
Sexual equality	1	2.4	3.3
Aged	1	2.4	1.7
Health service	1	2.4	3.3
Rural policy	1	2.4	4.8
Transport	1	2.4	1.0
Fishing, fishbreeding	3	7.1	6.2
Agriculture	2	4.8	4.7
Manufacturing industries	1	2.4	1.5
Culture and art	8	19.0	20.4
Obituaries	6	14.3	6.0

Table XI.34

ISSUE CATEGORIES IN ARTICLES IN THE DAILY NEWSPAPER

General politics	2	.6	.4
Icelandic election	43	11.9	7.5
Accomplishm. of governm.	5	1.4	.8
Next government	1	.3	.2
Gudmundsson's affair	4	1.1	.6
Foreign Affairs	1	.3	.2
Nuclear free Scandinavia	2	.6	.3
Disarmament	1	.3	.2
Icelandic defence	1	.3	.2
General economics	2	.6	.3

(cont....)

(...cont.)

Taxes/customs	4	1.1	.7
Strikes/wage negotiations	14	3.9	2.5
Consumer affairs	30	8.3	12.3
Sexual equality	3	.8	.5
Social affairs	5	1.4	.8
Aged	2	.6	.3
Physically disabled	3	.8	.7
Nurseries	1	.3	.2
Health service	13	3.6	2.4
Housing	11	3.1	1.9
Education	7	1.9	1.1
Student loan fund	4	1.1	.7
Regional equality	3	.8	.5
Rural policy	9	2.5	1.6
Transport	6	1.7	1.0
Environment and planning	1	.3	.5
Local government	4	1.1	.7
Natural preservation	1	.3	.2
Industrial affairs	1	.3	.2
Fishing, fishbreeding	7	1.9	1.2
Agriculture	3	.8	.5
Tourism	5	1.4	1.7
Commerce	3	.8	1.0
Energy	1	.3	.2
Accidents, disasters	1	.3	.1
Crime, judicial affairs	3	.8	.5
Culture and art	85	23.6	23.7
Sport	5	1.4	1.5
Juvenile affairs	11	3.1	9.1
Mass media	4	1.1	.7
Science	2	.6	.6
Religion, churches	3	.8	.6
Obituaries	1	.3	.1
Human interest	42	11.7	19.2

Table XI.35

ISSUE CATEGORIES IN ARTICLES IN THE MORNING PAPER

General politics	5	.5	.4
Icelandic election	105	11.4	8.3
Accomplishm. of governm.	1	.1	.1
Next government	4	.4	.3
Gudmundsson's affair	27	2.9	2.0
Foreign Affairs	4	.4	.3
Nuclear free Scandinavia	4	.4	.3
Disarmament	1	.1	.2
Icelandic defence	5	.5	.4
General economics	10	1.1	1.0
Inflation	6	.7	.5
Economical direction	1	.1	.1
Taxes/customs	10	1.1	1.2
Interest rates/loan market	1	.1	0
Strikes/wage negotiations	17	1.8	1.0
Pension funds	4	.4	.3
Consumer affairs	24	2.6	2.3
Sexual equality	5	.5	.8
Social affairs	7	.8	.6
Aged	1	.1	0
Physically disabled	7	.8	.6
Nurseries	2	.2	.2
Health service	31	3.4	3.6
Housing	10	1.1	1.0
Education	32	3.5	2.9
Student loan fund	2	.2	.2
Regional equality	2	.2	.1
Rural policy	2	.2	.1
Transport	17	1.8	1.8
Environment and planning	5	.5	.8
Local government	5	.5	.9
Natural preservation	5	.5	.5
Fishing, fishbreeding	11	1.2	1.2
Agriculture	16	1.7	2.0
Tourism	6	.7	.7
Commerce	10	1.1	.9
Foreign trade	7	.8	.8
Banks	2	.2	.3
Manufacturing industries	4	.4	.7
Energy	2	.2	.3
Accidents, disasters	6	.7	.7
Crime, judicial affairs	9	1.0	.8
Culture and art	143	15.5	19.2

(cont...)

(...cont.)			
Sport	27	2.9	1.7
Juvenile affairs	6	.7	.9
Mass media	45	4.9	2.1
Science	4	.4	.6
Religion, churches	36	3.9	3.8
Obituaries	95	10.3	14.1
Human interest	132	14.3	16.5

Table XI.36

ISSUE CATEGORIES IN ARTICLES IN THE TIME

General politics	1	.6	1.3
Icelandic election	21	12.2	10.0
Accomplishm. of governm.	1	.6	.7
Gudmundsson's affair	2	1.2	.3
Foreign Affairs	4	2.3	1.5
Nuclear free Scandinavia	1	.6	.4
Interest rates/loan market	1	.6	.3
Strikes/wage negotiations	3	1.7	1.0
Consumer affairs	6	3.5	2.1
Social affairs	1	.6	.5
Physically disabled	1	.6	.3
Health service	3	1.7	2.8
Education	4	2.3	2.5
Student loan fund	1	.6	.6
Regional equality	1	.6	.4
Transport	7	4.1	5.6
Environment and planning	1	.6	1.7
Industrial affairs	1	.6	.6
Fishing, fishbreeding	5	2.9	1.8
Agriculture	11	6.4	6.4
Tourism	1	.6	1.2
Commerce	4	2.3	2.3
Crime, judicial affairs	1	.6	.2
The "Hafskip" bankruptcy	1	.6	.1
Culture and art	42	24.4	27.3
Sport	2	1.2	.9
Juvenile affairs	1	.6	.3
Mass media	3	1.7	.9
Religion, churches	5	2.9	1.1
Obituaries	22	12.8	13.5
Human interest	14	8.1	11.0

Table XI.37

ISSUE CATEGORIES IN ARTICLES IN THE NATIONAL WILL

General politics	5	3.0	2.3
Icelandic election	19	11.6	7.7
Corr./honesty in politics	2	1.2	.2
Gudmundsson's affair	1	.6	.7
Foreign Affairs	1	.6	.6
Nuclear free Scandinavia	2	1.2	1.4
Icelandic defence	3	1.8	1.2
General economics	1	.6	.8
Inflation	1	.6	.9
Interest rates/loan market	1	.6	.1
Strikes/wage negotiations	11	6.7	3.5
Consumer affairs	1	.6	.1
Sexual equality	3	1.8	1.2
Social affairs	1	.6	.2
Retarded	2	1.2	1.0
Physically disabled	2	1.2	.5
Nurseries	1	.6	.6
Health service	2	1.2	1.5
Education	4	2.4	3.4
Student loan fund	1	.6	.5
Rural policy	1	.6	.5
Transport	2	1.2	2.7
Environment and planning	3	1.8	1.9
Natural preservation	2	1.2	1.6
Fishing, fishbreeding	5	3.0	3.1
Agriculture	12	7.3	6.6
Manufacturing industries	1	.6	1.9
Accidents, disasters	1	.6	.7
Crime, judicial affairs	2	1.2	1.5
Culture and art	32	19.5	28.2
Sport	7	4.3	6.4
Juvenile affairs	1	.6	.1
Mass media	4	2.4	.8
Religion, churches	3	1.8	3.0
Obituaries	15	9.1	8.3
Human interest	9	5.5	4.7

Table XI. 38

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN ARTICLES IN THE PEOPLE'S PAPER

PARTY→	Count Percent Val Pct	A	B	C	D	G	J	M	S	V	TH
Negative											
frequency		1	7	1	14	4	0	0	4	2	0
percent		4.5	31.8	4.5	63.6	18.2	0.0	0.0	18.2	9.1	0.0
valid percent		5.3	100	100	100	100	0.0	0.0	100	66.7	0.0
Neutral											
frequency		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
percent		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.5	0.0
valid percent		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	0.0
Positive											
frequency		18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
percent		81.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
valid percent		94.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No reference											
frequency		3	15	21	8	18	22	22	18	19	22
percent		13.6	68.2	95.5	36.4	81.8	100	100	81.8	86.4	100

Table XI. 39

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN ARTICLES IN THE DAILY NEWSPAPER

PARTY→	Count Percent Val Pct	A	B	C	D	G	J	M	S	V	TH
Negative											
frequency		16	15	0	25	6	1	0	7	2	0
percent		17.8	16.7	0.0	27.8	6.7	1.1	0.0	7.8	2.2	0.0
valid percent		61.5	57.7	0.0	65.8	31.6	33.3	0.0	31.8	13.3	0.0
Neutral											
frequency		5	7	3	6	6	1	3	6	6	3
percent		5.6	7.8	3.3	6.7	6.7	1.1	3.3	6.7	6.7	3.3
valid percent		19.2	26.9	50.0	15.8	31.6	33.3	75.0	27.3	40.0	50.0
Positive											
frequency		5	4	3	7	7	1	1	9	7	3
percent		5.6	4.4	3.3	7.8	7.8	1.1	1.1	10.0	7.8	3.3
valid percent		19.2	15.4	50.0	18.4	36.8	33.3	25.0	40.9	46.7	50.0
No reference											
frequency		64	64	84	52	71	87	86	68	75	84
percent		71.1	71.1	93.3	57.8	78.9	96.7	95.6	75.6	83.3	93.3

Table XI.40

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN ARTICLES IN THE MORNING PAPER

PARTY→	Count		A	B	C	D	G	J	M	S	V	TH
	Percent	Val Pct										
REFERENCE												
Negative												
frequency			32	26	0	43	28	0	0	35	17	0
percent			15.2	12.4	0.0	20.5	13.3	0.0	0.0	16.7	8.1	0.0
valid percent			57.1	60.5	0.0	29.7	62.2	0.0	0.0	53.0	56.7	0.0
Neutral												
frequency			8	11	4	13	3	2	2	6	4	1
percent			3.8	5.2	1.9	6.2	1.4	1.0	1.0	2.9	1.9	.5
valid percent			14.3	25.6	57.1	9.0	6.7	100	66.7	9.1	13.3	20.0
Positive												
frequency			16	6	3	89	14	0	1	25	9	4
percent			7.6	2.9	1.4	42.4	6.7	0.0	.5	11.9	4.3	1.9
valid percent			28.6	14.0	42.9	61.4	31.1	0.0	33.3	37.9	30.0	80.0
No reference												
frequency			154	167	203	65	165	208	207	144	180	205
percent			73.3	79.5	96.7	31.0	78.6	99.0	98.6	68.6	85.7	97.6

Table XI.41

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN ARTICLES IN THE TIME

PARTY→	Count		A	B	C	D	G	J	M	S	V	TH
	Percent	Val Pct										
REFERENCE												
Negative												
frequency			10	3	1	15	6	0	2	5	4	5
percent			26.3	7.9	2.6	39.5	15.8	0.0	5.3	13.2	10.5	13.2
valid percent			90.9	13.6	33.3	88.2	60.0	0.0	66.7	62.5	80.0	100
Neutral												
frequency			0	1	2	2	2	0	1	2	1	0
percent			0.0	2.6	5.3	5.3	5.3	0.0	2.6	5.3	2.6	0.0
valid percent			0.0	4.5	66.7	11.8	20.0	0.0	33.3	25.0	20.0	0.0
Positive												
frequency			1	18	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0
percent			2.6	47.4	0.0	0.0	5.3	0.0	0.0	2.6	0.0	0.0
valid percent			9.1	81.8	0.0	0.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	12.5	0.0	0.0
No reference												
frequency			27	16	35	21	28	38	35	30	33	33
percent			71.1	42.1	92.1	55.3	73.7	100	92.1	78.9	86.8	86.8

Table XI.42

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN ARTICLES IN THE NATIONAL WILL

PARTY→	Count										
	Percent	A	B	C	D	G	J	M	S	V	TH
	Val Pct										
REFERENCE											
Negative											
frequency		3	12	2	9	6	0	0	3	3	0
percent		8.6	34.3	5.7	25.7	17.1	0.0	0.0	8.6	8.6	0.0
valid percent		60.0	92.3	100	64.3	31.6	0.0	0.0	75.0	42.9	0.0
Neutral											
frequency		1	0	0	5	3	0	0	1	2	0
percent		2.9	0.0	0.0	14.3	8.6	0.0	0.0	2.9	5.7	0.0
valid percent		20.0	0.0	0.0	35.7	15.8	0.0	0.0	25.0	28.6	0.0
Positive											
frequency		1	1	0	0	10	0	0	0	2	0
percent		2.9	2.9	0.0	0.0	28.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.7	0.0
valid percent		20.0	7.7	0.0	0.0	52.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	28.6	0.0
No reference											
frequency		30	22	33	21	16	35	35	31	28	35
percent		85.7	62.9	94.3	60.0	45.7	100	100	88.6	80.0	100

Table XI.43

ISSUE CATEGORIES IN POLITICAL COLUMNS IN THE PEOPLE'S PAPER

Icelandic election	6	66.7	68.9
Gudmundsson's affair	1	11.1	16.9
Commerce	1	11.1	6.7
Crime, judicial affairs	1	11.1	7.5

Table XI.44

ISSUE CATEGORIES IN POLITICAL COLUMNS IN THE DAILY NEWSPAPER

General politics	3	3.4	1.4
Icelandic election	29	33.0	40.2
Gudmundsson's affair	19	21.6	24.1
Foreign Affairs	2	2.3	1.3
Strikes/wage negotiations	1	1.1	1.4
Sexual equality	1	1.1	1.7
Social affairs	1	1.1	.1
Health service	2	2.3	1.4
Education	1	1.1	.1
Transport	1	1.1	1.7
Manufacturing industries	1	1.1	.1
Accidents, disasters	1	1.1	.1
Crime, judicial affairs	2	2.3	1.5
The "Hafskip" bankruptcy	1	1.1	1.3
Culture and art	2	2.3	2.5
Mass media	2	2.3	2.6
Religion, churches	1	1.1	.1
Human interest	18	20.5	18.2

Table XI. 45

ISSUE CATEGORIES IN POLITICAL COLUMNS IN THE MORNING PAPER

General politics	6	12.5	23.3
Icelandic election	21	43.8	37.0
Next government	2	4.2	2.7
Albert Gudmundsson's affair	5	10.4	17.7
Nuclear free Scandinavia	1	2.1	1.2
Icelandic defence	1	2.1	1.2
General economics	1	2.1	1.2
Economical direction	1	2.1	1.1
Strikes/wage negotiations	1	2.1	1.2
Health service	1	2.1	.2
Education	2	4.2	2.1
Regional equality	1	2.1	1.6
Natural preservation	1	2.1	1.1
Industrial affairs	1	2.1	5.2
Fishing, fishbreeding	1	2.1	.8
Manufacturing indust	1	2.1	1.1
Mass media	1	2.1	1.3

Table XI.46

ISSUE CATEGORIES IN POLITICAL COLUMNS IN THE TIME

General politics	3	3.3	.3
Icelandic election	28	30.8	42.3
Accomplishments of governm.	1	1.1	2.2
Albert Gudmundsson's affair	11	12.1	12.9
Nuclear free Scandinavia	1	1.1	1.1
Disarmament	1	1.1	.1
Strikes/wage negotiations	10	11.0	7.6
Sexual equality	1	1.1	1.1
Health service	1	1.1	1.2
Housing	1	1.1	.1
Education	1	1.1	1.1
Student loan fund	2	2.2	2.3
Transport	5	5.5	3.6
Local government	3	3.3	.5
Industrial affairs	1	1.1	1.1
Fishing, fishbreeding	4	4.4	4.4
Agriculture	4	4.4	4.1
Foreign trade	1	1.1	1.1
Banks	2	2.2	.2
Crime, judicial affairs	1	1.1	1.1
The "Hafskip" bankruptcy	1	1.1	.1
Sport	1	1.1	.1
Mass media	5	5.5	9.1
Human interest	2	2.2	2.4

Table XI.47

ISSUE CATEGORIES IN POLITICAL COLUMNS IN THE NATIONAL WILL

General politics	20	24.4	23.3
Icelandic election	30	36.6	48.3
Albert Gudmundsson's affair	11	13.4	11.1
Icelandic defence	1	1.2	1.9
Strikes/wage negotiations	1	1.2	1.8
Health service	2	2.4	.3
Transport	1	1.2	.3
Natural preservation	1	1.2	.1
Commerce	1	1.2	1.8
The "Hafskip" bankruptcy	2	2.4	.4
Culture and art	1	1.2	1.8
Sport	1	1.2	.3
Mass media	6	7.3	8.0
Science	1	1.2	.1
Human interest	3	3.7	.5

Table XI.48

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN POLITICAL COLUMNS IN THE PEOPLE'S PAPER

Four parties were never referred to, the Democratic Alliance, the split from the Progressive Party, the Humanist Party, and the Women's List. The National Party and the Citizen's Party were both referred to once, negatively, and the People's Party once also, but positively. The People's Alliance was referred to three times negatively. The governing parties were most often referred to, the Independence Party four times negatively and twice neutrally, and the Progressive Party four times, in all cases negative references.

Table XI.49

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN POLITICAL COLUMNS IN THE DAILY NEWSPAPER

PARTY→	Count		A	B	C	D	G	J	M	S	V	TH
	Val	Pct										
REFERENCE												
Negative												
frequency	3	1	1	10	5	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
percent	3.4	1.1	1.1	11.2	5.6	0.0	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1
valid percent	21.4	5.6	25.0	27.0	38.5	0.0	33.3	4.3	16.7	25.0		
Neutral												
frequency	10	16	3	24	8	1	2	22	4	13		
percent	11.2	18.0	3.4	27.0	9.0	1.1	2.2	24.7	4.5	3.4		
valid percent	71.4	88.9	75.0	64.9	61.5	100	66.7	95.7	66.7	75.0		
Positive												
frequency	1	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
percent	1.1	1.1	0.0	3.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0
valid percent	7.1	5.6	0.0	8.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.7	0.0	0.0
No reference												
frequency	75	71	85	52	76	88	86	66	83	85		
percent	84.3	79.8	95.5	58.4	85.4	98.9	96.6	74.2	93.3	95.5		

Table XI.50

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN POLITICAL COLUMNS IN THE MORNING PAPER

PARTY™>	Count		A	B	C	D	G	J	M	S	V	TH
	Percent	Val Pct										
REFERENCE												
Negative												
frequency			9	12	0	0	27	0	0	9	4	0
percent			18.8	25.0	0.0	0.0	56.3	0.0	0.0	18.8	8.3	0.0
valid percent			45.0	66.7	0.0	0.0	90.0	0.0	0.0	56.3	40.0	0.0
Neutral												
frequency			10	6	3	6	3	3	3	7	6	3
percent			20.8	12.5	6.3	12.5	6.3	6.3	6.3	14.6	12.5	6.3
valid percent			50.0	33.3	23.1	23.1	10.0	100	100	43.8	60.0	100
Positive												
frequency			1	0	0	20	0	0	0	0	0	0
percent			2.1	0.0	0.0	41.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
valid percent			5.0	0.0	0.0	76.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No reference												
frequency			28	30	45	22	18	45	45	32	38	45
percent			58.3	62.5	93.8	45.8	37.5	93.8	93.8	66.7	79.2	93.8

Table XI.51

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN POLITICAL COLUMNS IN THE TIME

PARTY™>	Count		A	B	C	D	G	J	M	S	V	TH
	Percent	Val Pct										
REFERENCE												
Negative												
frequency			16	1	1	25	15	0	0	12	2	1
percent			17.2	1.1	1.1	26.9	16.1	0.0	0.0	12.9	2.2	1.1
valid percent			72.7	4.0	100	78.1	83.3	0.0	0.0	66.7	66.7	100
Neutral												
frequency			6	2	0	7	3	0	0	6	1	0
percent			6.5	2.2	0.0	7.5	3.2	0.0	0.0	6.5	1.1	0.0
valid percent			27.3	8.0	0.0	21.9	16.7	0.0	0.0	33.3	33.3	0.0
Positive												
frequency			0	22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
percent			0.0	23.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
valid percent			0.0	88.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No reference												
frequency			71	68	92	61	75	93	93	75	90	92
percent			76.3	73.1	98.9	65.5	80.6	100	100	80.6	96.8	98.9

Table XI.52

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN POLITICAL COLUMNS IN THE NATIONAL WILL

PARTY→	Count											
	Val	Pct	A	B	C	D	G	J	M	S	V	TH
REFERENCE												
Negative												
frequency			9	10	3	28	1	1	1	12	2	0
percent			10.6	11.8	3.5	32.9	1.2	1.2	1.2	14.1	2.4	0.0
valid percent			47.4	62.5	75.0	77.8	9.1	50.0	100	70.6	40.0	0.0
Neutral												
frequency			9	6	1	8	4	1	0	5	3	0
percent			10.6	7.1	1.2	9.4	4.7	1.2	0.0	5.9	3.5	0.0
valid percent			47.4	37.5	25.0	22.2	36.4	50.0	0.0	29.4	60.0	0.0
Positive												
frequency			1	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	1
percent			1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2
valid percent			5.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	54.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100
No reference												
frequency			66	69	81	49	74	83	84	68	80	84
percent			77.6	81.2	95.3	57.6	87.1	97.6	98.8	80.0	94.1	98.8

Table XI.53

POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENTS IN NEWSPAPERS

NEWSPAPER	Count Row Pct Col Pct	People's Daily Paper	Daily News- paper	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Row Total
PARTY							
People's Party	5.156 49.3 79.9	2.746 26.2 15.1	2.070 19.8 7.5	195 1.9 1.6	295 2.8 2.5	10.462	
Progressive Party	0 0.0 0.0	3.585 21.0 19.7	2.830 16.6 10.3	10.141 59.5 82.2	490 2.9 4.2	17.046	
Democratic Alliance	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	
Independence Party	95 0.4 0.8	4.207 18.9 23.1	17.695 79.9 64.5	100 0.4 0.8	95 0.4 0.8	22.192	
People's Alliance	0 0.0 0.0	4.573 30.6 25.1	1.044 7.0 3.8	0 0.0 0.0	9.307 62.4 79.6	14.924	
Split from Progressive P.	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	
Humanist Party	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	
Citizen's Party	216 5.9 1.8	1.337 36.9 7.3	1.441 39.9 5.2	415 11.4 3.4	216 5.9 1.8	3.625	
Women's List	0 0.0 0.0	295 33.3 1.6	395 44.6 1.4	195 22.1 1.6	0 0.0 0.0	885	
National Party	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0	
Not related to any political party	987 14.3 15.3	1.455 21.1 8.0	1.975 28.6 7.2	1.205 17.5 9.8	1.282 18.6 11.0	6.904	
column Total	6.454 8.5	18.198 23.9	27.450 36.2	12.251 16.1	11.685 15.4	76.038	

Table XI.54

NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS AND INTERVIEWEES IN THE PEOPLE'S PAPER

Number of interviews	Number of individuals
1	65
2	10
3	7
6	1
-----	
112	83

Table XI.55

INDIVIDUALS MOST OFTEN SPOKEN TO IN THE PEOPLE'S PAPER

6 times: Jón Baldvin Hannibalsson, leader of the People's Party.

3 times: Guðlaugur Þorvaldsson, State Arbitrator  
 Kristján Thorlacíus, leader of Teachers' Union  
 Lára V. Júlíusdóttir, lawyer of TUC, and the People's Party's parliamentary candidate.  
 Björn Bjarnason, Economist at the TUC  
 Bjarni P. Magnússon, Local Councillor for the People's Party, and election administrator  
 Kjartan Jóhannsson, MP for the People's Party  
 Ingi Ú. Magnússon, Chief Road Administrator in Reykjavík

Table XI. 56

SEX OF INTERVIEWEES IN THE PEOPLE'S PAPER

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
male	95	84.8
female	17	15.2
	-----	-----
	112	100.0

Table XI.57

<u>STATUS OF INTERVIEWEES IN THE PEOPLE'S PAPER</u>		
Value Label	Frequency	Percent
Teachers	1	0.9
Bankdeputies, office managers	3	2.7
Artists	6	5.3
Natural scientists	5	4.5
Department managers	21	18.7
Entrepreneurs	4	3.6
Self-employed	1	0.9
Seamen	1	0.9
Trade-unionists	20	17.9
Local governors	3	2.7
Party workers	11	9.8
MPs	24	21.4
Parliamentary candidates	7	6.2
Leaders of interest groups	4	3.6
Priests, religious workers	1	0.9
	-----	-----
TOTAL	112	100.0

Table XI.58

PROPORTION OF INTERVIEWS RELATED TO, AND NOT RELATED TO  
THE ELECTION IN THE DAILY NEWSPAPER

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
related to election	35	31.4
not related to election	77	68.6
	-----	-----
TOTAL	112	100.0

Table XI.59

NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS AND INTERVIEWEES IN THE DAILY  
NEWSPAPER

Number of interviews	Number of individuals
1	321
2	40
3	10
4	2
5	1
6	3
7	2
9	1
10	1
13	2
16	1
	-----
537	384

Table XI.60

INDIVIDUALS MOST OFTEN SPOKEN TO IN THE DAILY NEWSPAPER

16 times: Þorsteinn Pálsson, leader of Independence Party  
 13 times: Albert Guðmundsson, Minister of Industry (resigned during the campaign, left the Independence Party and formed a new party Steingrímur Hermannsson, PM and leader of Progressive Party  
 10 times: Guðlaugur Þorvaldsson, State Arbitrator  
 9 times: Jón Baldvin Hannibalsson, leader of the People's Party  
 7 times: Helena Albertsdóttir, daughter of Albert Guðmundsson, primus motor behind his new party  
 Kristján Thorlacíus, leader of Teachers' Union  
 6 times: Svavar Gestsson, leader of People's Alliance  
 Sverrir Hermannsson, Minister of Education and Culture  
 Halldór Ásgrímsson, Minister of Fisheries

Table XI.61

SEX OF INTERVIEWEES IN THE DAILY NEWSPAPER

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
male	460	85.6
female	77	14.4
	-----	-----
TOTAL	537	100.0

Table XI.62  
STATUS OF INTERVIEWEES IN THE DAILY NEWSPAPER

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
Workers	1	.2
Shopping clerks	1	.2
Skilled workers	6	1.1
Foremen, housekeepers	25	4.7
Accountants, cashiers	2	.4
Nurses	1	.2
Teachers	5	.9
Bankdeputies, office managers	12	2.2
Social scientists	1	.2
Artists	24	4.5
Natural scientists	22	4.1
Department managers	96	17.9
Entrepreneurs	65	12.1
Seamen	15	2.8
Farmers	4	.7
Salesmen	4	.7
Housewives	4	.7
Students	8	1.5
Patients	3	.6
Trade-unionists	39	7.3
Local governors	18	3.3
Party workers	31	5.8
MPs	108	20.1
Parliamentary candidates	19	3.5
Leaders of interest groups	20	3.7
Priests, religious workers	3	.6
	-----	-----
TOTAL	537	100.0

Table XI.63  
PROPORTION OF INTERVIEWS RELATED TO, AND NOT RELATED TO  
 THE ELECTION IN THE DAILY NEWSPAPER

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
related to election	144	26.8
not related to elect	393	73.2
	-----	-----
TOTAL	537	100.0

Table XI.64

NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS AND INTERVIEWEES IN THE MORNING PAPER

Number of interviews	Number of individuals
1	517
2	78
3	27
4	7
5	5
7	6
9	2
10	1
18	1
-----	
892	641

Table XI.65

INDIVIDUALS MOST OFTEN INTERVIEWED IN THE MORNING PAPER

- 18 times: Þorsteinn Pálsson, leader of Independence Party
- 10 times: Steingrímur Hermannsson, PM and leader of Progressive Party
- 9 times: Albert Guðmundsson, Minister of Industry (resigned during the campaign, left the Independence Party and formed a new party  
Kristján Thorlacíus, leader of Teachers' Union
- 7 times: Guðlaugur Þorvaldsson, State Arbitrator  
Indriði H. Þorláksson, the state's leading negotiator in wage disputes  
Hörður Sigurgestsson, Director of Eimskip, the largest shipping company  
Sigurður Helgason, Director of Icelandair, the largest airline  
Davíð Oddsson, Mayor of Reykjavík, a leading figure in Independence Party  
Haraldur Hannesson, leader of Public Official's Union

Table XI.66

SEX OF INTERVIEWEES IN THE MORNING PAPER

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
male	781	87.6
female	111	12.4
	-----	-----
TOTAL	892	100.0

Table XI.67

STATUS OF INTERVIEWEES IN THE MORNING PAPER

Value label	Frequency	Percent
Workers	2	.2
Skilled workers	8	.9
Foremen, housekeepers	31	3.5
Nurses	6	.7
Teachers	6	.7
Bankdeputies, office managers	13	1.5
Air stewardesses, catering st.	1	.1
Social scientists	1	.1
Artists	61	6.8
Natural scientists	37	4.1
Department managers	47	27.7
Entrepreneurs	60	17.9
Self-employed	1	.1
Seamen	28	3.1
Farmers	24	2.7
Salesmen	6	.7
Housewives	7	.8
Students	17	1.9
Trade-unionists	70	7.9
Local governors	29	3.2
Party workers	15	1.7
MPs	84	9.4
Parliamentary candidates	5	.6
Leaders of interest groups	18	2.0
University teachers	4	.5
Priests, religious workers	11	1.2
	-----	-----
TOTAL	892	100.0

Table XI.68

PROPORTION OF INTERVIEWS RELATED TO, AND NOT RELATED TO  
THE ELECTION IN THE MORNING PAPER

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
related to election	70	7.9
not related to election	822	92.1
	-----	-----
TOTAL	892	100.0

Table XI.69

NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS AND INTERVIEWEES IN THE TIME

Number of interviews	Number of individuals
1	150
2	9
3	6
4	1
5	4
8	1
-----	-----
218	171

Table XI.70

INDIVIDUALS MOST OFTEN INTERVIEWED IN THE DAILY NEWSPAPER

- 8 times: Steingrímur Hermannsson, PM and leader of Progressive Party
- 5 times: Albert Guðmundsson, Minister of Industry (resigned during the campaign, left the Independence Party and formed a new party)  
Magnús Friðgeirsson, director of export department of SÍS, The Federation of Iceland Co-operative societies  
Jón Helgason, Minister of Agriculture  
Halldór Ásgrímsson, Minister of Fisheries
- 4 times: Kristján Thorlacíus, leader of Teachers' Union
- 3 times: Guðlaugur Þorvaldsson, State Arbitrator  
Sverrir Hermannsson, Minister of Education and Culture  
Helena Albertsdóttir, daughter of Albert Guðmundsson, primus motor behind his new party  
Guðmundur J. Guðmundsson, Chairman of Workers' Assoc.  
Kristján Ragnarsson, Chairman, Federation of Fishship owners

Table XI.71

SEX OF INTERVIEWEES IN THE TIME

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
male	185	84.9
female	33	15.1
	-----	-----
TOTAL	218	100.0

Table XI.72

STATUS OF INTERVIEWEE OM THE TIME

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
Foremen, housekeepers	11	5.1
Nurses	1	.5
Teachers	1	.5
Bankdeputies, office managers	7	3.2
Artists	4	1.8
Natural scientists	8	3.7
Department managers	43	19.7
Entrepreneurs	15	6.9
Seamen	2	.9
Farmers	2	.9
Salesmen	2	.9
Students	2	.9
Pensioners	2	.9
Patients	4	1.8
Trade-unionists	41	18.8
Local governors	5	2.3
Party workers	7	3.2
MPs	39	17.9
Parliamentary candidates	9	4.1
Leaders of interest groups	10	4.6
University teachers	2	.9
Priests, religious workers	1	.5
	-----	-----
TOTAL	218	100.0

Table XI.73

PROPORTION OF INTERVIEWS RELATED TO, AND NOT RELATED TO  
THE ELECTION IN THE TIME

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
related to election	38	17.6
not related to election	180	82.4
	-----	-----
TOTAL	212	100.0

Table XI.74

NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS AND INTERVIEWEES IN THE NATIONAL  
WILL

Number of interviews	Number of individuals
1	194
2	46
3	13
4	5
5	1
6	3
7	1
13	1
	-----
438	264

Table XI.75  
INDIVIDUALS MOST OFTEN INTERVIEWED IN THE NATIONAL WILL

13 times: Svavar Gestsson, leader of People's Alliance  
 7 times: Ásmundur Stefánsson, President of TUC,  
 Parliamentary candidate for People's  
 Alliance  
 6 times: Albert Guðmundsson, Minister of Industry  
 (resigned during the campaign, left the  
 Independence Party and formed a new party  
 Þórunn Sigurðardóttir, Election coordinator  
 for the People's Alliance  
 Kristján Thorlacíus, leader of Teachers'  
 Union  
 5 times: Margrét P. Ólafsdóttir, wage negotiator for  
 child nurses  
 4 times: Davíð Á. Gunnarsson, Director of State  
 Hospitals  
 Jón Páll Sigmarsson, 'strongest man in the  
 world'!!  
 Þóra K. Jónsdóttir, wage negotiator for  
 Nurses  
 Gunnlaugur Ástgeirsson, wage negotiator for  
 teachers  
 Heimir Pálsson, wage negotiator for teachers

Table XI.76  
SEX OF INTERVIEWEES IN THE NATIONAL WILL

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
male	322	73.5
female	116	26.5
	438	100.0
TOTAL	438	100.0

Table XI.77

STATUS OF INTERVIEWEES IN THE NATIONAL WILL

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
Workers	3	.7
Shopping clerks	1	.2
Foremen, housekeepers	18	4.1
Office clerks	2	.5
Accountants, cashiers	2	.5
Teachers	3	.7
Bankdeputies, office managers	15	3.4
Social scientists	1	.2
Artists	20	4.6
Natural scientists	18	4.1
Department managers	74	16.9
Entrepreneurs	26	5.9
Seamen	2	.5
Farmers	2	.5
Housewives	1	.2
Students	2	.5
Patients	6	1.4
Trade-unionists	110	25.1
Local governors	19	4.3
Party workers	26	5.9
MPs	37	8.4
Parliamentary candidates	16	3.7
Leaders of interest groups	28	6.4
University teachers	5	1.1
Priests, religious workers	1	.2
	-----	-----
TOTAL	438	100.0

Table XI.78

PROPORTION OF INTERVIEWS RELATED TO, AND NOT RELATED TO THE ELECTION IN THE NATIONAL WILL

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
related to election	83	19.0
not related to election	355	81.0
	-----	-----
TOTAL	438	100.0

Table XI.79

ARTISTIC MATERIAL IN NEWSPAPERS

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	Minimum	Maximum	Sum	N	%
People's Paper	195.00	.	195	195	195.00	1	.2
Daily Newsp.	166.23	129.41	8	318	14628.00	88	2.3
Morning Paper	101.94	78.41	12	780	20082.00	197	1.9
Time	114.76	36.15	10	155	5279.00	46	3.1
National Will	45.65	26.07	4	84	2876.00	63	2.8

Table XI.80

CARTOONS IN NEWSPAPERS

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	Minimum	Maximum	Sum	N	%
People's Paper	50.00	.	50	50	50.00	1	.2
Daily Newsp.	136.80	69.40	52	195	684.00	5	.1
Morning Paper	115.68	87.70	20	390	2892.00	25	.1
Time	100.50	78.49	45	156	201.00	2	.9
National Will	115.83	54.87	30	195	2085.00	18	.3

Table XI.81

"OTHER" MATERIAL IN NEWSPAPERS

Papers	Mean	Std Dev	Minimum	Maximum	Sum	N	%
People's P.	195.00	.	195	195	195.00	1	.4
Daily Newsp.	236.59	116.13	8	390	53943.00	228	12.9
Morning P.	156.41	101.07	9	585	40355.00	258	5.4
The Time	173.63	56.86	14	390	18057.00	104	10.9
National w.	96.40	79.06	9	555	9158.00	95	6.1

Table XI.82

ORIGINS OF NEWS ON RÚVTV

Value Label	Frequency	Weighted	
		Percent	Percent
Iceland	457	69.3	75.9
Argentina	6	.9	.7
Australia	1	.2	.0
The USA	54	8.2	7.0
Belgium	1	.2	.0
Brazil	1	.2	.1
Britain	28	4.2	3.5
Chad	2	.3	.1
Chile	3	.5	.3
Djibuti	1	.2	.1
Ecuador	1	.2	.1
El Salvador	1	.2	.1
Philippines	4	.6	.3
Finland	9	1.4	1.4
France	3	.5	.3
Greece	5	.8	.5
Greenland	2	.3	.2
Honduras	1	.2	.2
India	2	.3	.2
Iran	2	.3	.3
Ireland	1	.2	.2
Israel	7	1.1	.8
Italia	5	.8	.4
Japan	4	.6	.5
Yugoslavia	1	.2	.2
China	1	.2	.1
Laos	1	.2	.1
Lebanon	2	.3	.2
Norway	6	.9	.6
Poland	1	.2	.1
Soviet Union	16	2.4	1.9
Spain	2	.3	.2
Sri Lanka	2	.3	.2
South Africa	6	.9	.8
Sweden	5	.8	.7
Syria	1	.2	.1
Czechoslovakia	2	.3	.4
Vatican	3	.5	.4
West Germany	2	.3	.1
Vietnam	1	.2	.2

(con....)

(...cont.)			
Zimbabwe	1	.2	.1
Palestine	3	.5	.3
United Nations	1	.2	.1
EEC	1	.2	.2
	-----	-----	
TOTAL	659	100.0	

Table XI.83

ORIGINS OF NEWS ON CHANNEL 2

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Weighted Percent
Iceland	409	58.8	75.0
Afghanistan	1	.1	.1
Argentina	9	1.3	.6
Australia	2	.3	.2
The USA	69	9.9	6.9
Bangladesh	1	.1	.1
Brazil	1	.1	.1
Britain	41	5.9	4.6
Chad	4	.6	.3
Chile	5	.7	.4
Danemark	3	.4	.2
Djibuti	1	.1	.1
Ecuador	4	.6	.3
El Salvador	2	.3	.1
Fiji	1	.1	.1
Philippines	7	1.0	.5
Finland	4	.6	.4
France	8	1.1	.6
Greece	3	.4	.2
India	2	.3	.1
Iran	2	.3	.1
Iraq	1	.1	.1
Ireland	2	.3	.1
Israel	9	1.3	.8
Italia	8	1.1	.3
Japan	6	.9	.5
China	7	1.0	.4
Lebanon	8	1.1	.7
Libya	4	.6	.5
Mexico	1	.1	.1
Mozambique	1	.1	.1
Norway	3	.4	.1

(cont....)

(...cont.)			
New Zealand	1	.1	.1
Portugal	2	.3	.1
Saudi Arabia	3	.4	.4
Sierra Leone	1	.1	.0
Soviet Union	24	3.4	1.9
Spain	1	.1	.1
Sri Lanka	4	.6	.3
South Africa	11	1.6	1.1
South Korea	3	.4	.3
Sweden	2	.3	.2
Thailand	1	.1	.2
Turkey	1	.1	.1
Vatican	6	.9	.3
West Germany	2	.3	.2
Palestine	2	.3	.1
Tunisia	1	.1	.0
NATO	1	.1	.2
Warsaw Pact	1	.1	.1
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	696	100.0	

Table XI.84  
FOREIGN NEWS-ITEMS ON RÚVTV

Weighted Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Percent
General politics	53	26.2	25.8
Foreign Affairs	31	15.3	16.6
Disarmament	16	7.9	10.7
Military affairs/war	20	9.9	8.9
Arms trade	10	5.0	5.7
Terrorism	12	5.9	4.2
General economics	1	.5	.5
Exchange rates	3	1.5	1.3
Strikes/wage negotiations	3	1.5	1.5
Health service	4	2.0	2.0
Education	1	.5	.5
Natural preservation	1	.5	.3
Fishing, fishbreeding	3	1.5	1.2
Agriculture	1	.5	.2
Foreign trade	4	2.0	2.1
Accidents, disasters	12	5.9	6.4
Crime, judicial affairs	5	2.5	2.5
Culture and art	2	1.0	1.0

(con...)

(...cont.)			
Sport	1	.5	.2
Mass media	2	1.0	.7
Science	3	1.5	1.3
Religion, churches	3	1.5	1.0
Obituaries	1	.5	.2
Human interest	10	5.0	5.2
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	202	100.0	100.0

Table XI.85  
FOREIGN NEWS-ITEMS ON CHANNEL 2

Value Label	Frequency	Weighted Percent	Percent
General politics	47	16.4	15.3
Foreign Affairs	45	15.7	15.4
Disarmament	15	5.2	7.4
Military affairs/war	35	12.2	12.7
Arms trade	10	3.5	2.7
Terrorism	25	8.7	7.9
General economics	1	.3	.2
Exchange rates	3	1.0	1.6
Strikes/wage negotiations	3	1.0	.7
Health service	4	1.4	1.7
Education	1	.3	.1
Transport	1	.3	.2
Natural preservation	3	1.0	.9
Foreign trade	3	1.0	1.4
Accidents, disasters	35	12.2	13.5
Crime, judicial affairs	8	2.8	2.5
Culture and art	4	1.4	1.3
Science	1	.3	.2
Religion, churches	3	1.0	.7
Obituaries	1	.3	.1
Human interest	39	13.6	13.5
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	287	100.0	100.0

Table XI.86

DOMESTIC NEWS-ITEMS ON RÚVTV

Value Label	Frequency	Weighted	
		Percent	Percent
General politics	10	2.2	2.2
Icelandic election	43	9.4	11.8
Albert Gudmundsson's affair	10	2.2	6.2
Foreign Affairs	4	.9	1.3
Nuclear free Scandinavia	6	1.3	2.0
Icelandic defence	2	.4	.6
General economics	3	.7	.8
Inflation	4	.9	.7
Economical direction	2	.4	.6
Taxes/customs	5	1.1	1.2
Interest rates/loan market	7	1.5	1.9
Strikes/wage negotiations	62	13.6	12.7
Unemployment	1	.2	.1
Pension funds	1	.2	.3
Consumer affairs	6	1.3	1.2
Sexual equality	2	.4	.5
Retarded	1	.2	.1
Aged	1	.2	.1
Physically disabled	3	.7	.6
Single parents	1	.2	.2
Health service	10	2.2	2.5
Housing	1	.2	.0
Education	4	.9	.6
Transport	16	3.5	3.1
Environment and planning	1	.2	.2
Local government	2	.4	.2
Natural preservation	7	1.5	1.7
Industrial affairs	1	.2	1.4
Fishing, fishbreeding	34	7.4	7.7
Agriculture	13	2.8	2.6
Tourism	3	.7	.5
Commerce	3	.7	.7
Foreign trade	4	.9	.9
Banks	6	1.3	1.3
Manufacturing industries	8	1.8	2.1
Energy	3	.7	.7
Accidents, disasters	27	5.9	3.7
Crime, judicial affairs	16	3.5	2.6
The "Hafskip" bankruptcy	2	.4	.8
Culture and art	30	6.6	5.9
Sport	31	6.8	4.7

(con....)

(...cont.)			
Mass media	14	3.1	2.6
Science	3	.7	.6
Religion, churches	7	1.5	1.2
Obituaries	1	.2	.1
Human interest	36	7.9	6.4
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	457	100.0	100.0

Table XI.87

DOMESTIC NEWS-ITEMS ON CHANNEL 2

General politics	8	2.0	2.8
Icelandic election	34	8.3	9.5
Next government	1	.2	.2
Albert Gudmundsson's affair	18	4.4	10.4
Foreign Affairs	3	.7	1.2
Nuclear free Scandinavia	4	1.0	1.1
Icelandic defence	2	.5	.1
Inflation	3	.7	.4
Taxes/customs	1	.2	.2
Interest rates/loan market	2	.5	.6
Strikes/wage negotiations	71	17.4	17.2
Consumer affairs	1	.2	.2
Physically disabled	3	.7	.8
Health service	17	4.2	4.0
Housing	2	.5	.3
Education	4	1.0	1.0
Regional equality	1	.2	.2
Transport	14	3.4	3.5
Environment and planning	3	.7	.9
Local government	2	.5	.6
Natural preservation	3	.7	.4
Industrial affairs	1	.2	.4
Fishing, fishbreeding	23	5.6	4.4
Agriculture	11	2.7	2.4
Tourism	3	.7	.7
Commerce	7	1.7	1.4
Foreign trade	6	1.5	1.9
Banks	7	1.7	1.1
Manufacturing industries	12	2.9	2.6
Energy	2	.5	.6
Accidents, disasters	17	4.2	3.5
Crime, judicial affairs	15	3.7	2.3
The "Hafskip" bankruptcy	5	1.2	2.7
Culture and art	22	5.4	5.8

(con...)

(...cont.)

Sport	14	3.4	2.1
Juvenile affairs	2	.5	.4
Mass media	10	2.4	1.8
Science	3	.7	.8
Religion, churches	12	2.9	2.7
Human interest	40	9.8	7.1
	-----	-----	
TOTAL	409	100.0	

Table XI.88

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN NEWS ON RÚVTV<sup>1</sup>

PARTY->	Count													
	Val	Pct	A	B	C	D	G	J	M	S	V	TH		
REFERENCE														
Neutral														
frequency					18	17	10	29	15	7	9	17	17	10
percent					26.1	24.6	14.4	42.0	21.7	10.1	13.0	24.6	24.6	14.5
No reference														
frequency					51	52	59	40	54	62	60	52	52	59
percent					73.9	75.4	85.5	58.0	78.3	89.9	87.0	75.4	75.4	85.5

Table XI.89

POLITICAL DIRECTION IN NEWS ON CHANNEL 2

PARTY->	Count											
	Val	Pct	A	B	C	D	G	J	M	S	V	TH
REFERENCE												
Neutral												
frequency			21	21	8	38	22	6	6	23	15	7
percent			32.8	32.8	12.5	59.4	34.4	9.4	9.4	35.9	23.4	10.9
No reference												
frequency			43	43	56	26	42	58	58	41	49	57
percent			67.2	67.2	87.5	40.0	65.6	90.6	90.6	64.1	76.6	89.1

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<sup>1</sup> The parties are given a letter each, the same letter as they were given on the ballot paper: A=People's Party, B=Progressive Party, C=Democratic Alliance, D=Independence Party, G=People's Alliance, J=Split from Progr. P., M=Humanist Party, S=Citizen's Party, V=Women's List, TH=National Party.

Table XI.90

NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS AND INTERVIEWEES ON RÚVTV

Number of interviews	Number of individuals
1	245
2	25
3	3
4	3
7	2
11	1
14	1
-----	
355	280

Table XI.91

INDIVIDUALS MOST OFTEN INTERVIEWED ON RÚVTV

14 times: Þorsteinn Pálsson, leader of Independence Party  
 11 times: Indriði H. Þorláksson, the state's leading negotiator  
 7 times: Kristján Thorlacíus, leader of Teachers' Union  
 Steingrímur Hermannsson, PM and leader of Progressive  
 Party

Table XI.92

SEX OF INTERVIEWEES ON RÚVTV

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
male	310	87.4
female	45	12.6
-----		-----
TOTAL	355	100.0

Table XI.93

<u>STATUS OF INTERVIEWEES ON RÚVTV</u>		
Value Label	Frequency	Percent
Workers	1	.3
Skilled workers	5	1.4
Foremen, housekeeper	15	4.2
Office clerks	1	.3
Teachers	1	.3
Bankdeputies, office	10	2.8
Social scientists	1	.3
Artists	12	3.4
Natural scientists	20	5.6
Department managers	86	24.3
Entrepreneurs	37	10.4
Seamen	9	2.5
Farmers	1	.3
Housewives	3	.8
Students	6	1.7
Patients	1	.3
Trade-unionists	33	9.3
Local governors	3	.8
Party workers	19	5.3
MPs	51	14.5
Parliamentary candidates	2	.6
Leaders of interest groups	24	6.7
University teachers	4	1.1
Priests, religious workers	4	1.1
	6	1.7
	-----	-----
TOTAL	355	100.0

Table XI.94

NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS AND INTERVIEWEES ON CHANNEL 2

Number of interviews	Number of individuals
1	207
2	13
3	7
4	2
5	1
6	1
8	2
-----	-----
289	233

Table XI.95  
INDIVIDUALS MOST OFTEN INTERVIEWED ON CHANNEL 2

8 times: Þorsteinn Pálsson, leader of Independence Party  
 Indriði H. Þorláksson, the state's leading negotiator  
 6 times: Steingrímur Hermannsson, PM and leader of Progressive  
 Party  
 5 times: Kristján Thorlacíus, leader of Teachers' Union

Table XI.96  
SEX OF INTERVIEWEES ON CHANNEL 2

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
male	245	84.8
female	44	15.2
	-----	-----
TOTAL	289	100.0

Table XI.97

STATUS OF INTERVIEWEES ON CHANNEL 2

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
Workers	1	.3
Skilled workers	1	.3
Foremen, housekeepers	6	2.1
Teachers	4	1.4
Bankdeputies, office clerks	9	3.1
Social scientists	4	1.4
Artists	22	7.6
Natural scientists	17	5.9
Department managers	57	19.9
Entrepreneurs	30	10.4
Self-employed	2	.7
Seamen	8	2.8
Farmers	3	1.0
Salesmen	3	1.0
Students	8	2.8
Trade-unionists	24	8.2
Local governors	4	1.4
Party workers	10	3.5
MPs	43	14.8
Parliamentary candidates	4	1.4
Leaders of interest groups	17	5.9
Priests, religious workers	3	1.0
University teachers	9	3.1
	-----	-----
TOTAL	289	100.0

Table XI.97

ISSUES IN CURRENT AFFAIRS ON RÚVTV

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Weighed Percent
General politics	2	9.1	5.0
Icelandic election	5	22.7	34.6
Albert Guðmundsson's affair	3	13.6	22.2
Strikes/wage negotiations	2	9.1	13.5
Health service	2	9.1	3.1
Education	1	4.5	4.0
Transport	3	13.6	7.9
Fishing, fishbreeding	2	9.1	4.4
Crime, judicial affairs	2	9.1	5.2
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	22	100.0	100.0

Table XI.98

ISSUES IN CURRENT AFFAIRS ON CHANNEL 2

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Weighted Percent
Icelandic election	4	33.3	29.4
Albert Guðmundsson's affair	3	25.0	24.1
Social affairs	1	8.3	9.5
Aged	1	8.3	10.4
Crime, judicial affairs	1	8.3	10.6
The "Hafskip" bankruptcy	1	8.3	6.9
Human interest	1	8.3	9.0
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	12	100.0	100.0

# Appendix XII

TABLE XII.1  
SECOND MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE IN FIRST SURVEY (LIST 2)

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Nothing	131	41.7	41.7
General politics	1	.3	.3
The general election	2	.6	.6
The Gudmundsson affair	27	8.6	8.6
Nuclear free Scandinavia	130	41.4	41.4
General economics	1	.3	.3
Inflation	2	.6	.6
Taxes/customs	1	.3	.3
Strikes/wage negotiations	11	3.5	3.5
Aged	1	.3	.3
Rural policy	3	1.0	1.0
Transport	1	.3	.3
Hafskip bankruptcy	1	.3	.3
Sport	2	.6	.6
TOTAL	314	100.0	100.0
Valid Cases	314	Missing Cases	0

TABLE XII.2

THIRD MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE IN FIRST SURVEY (LIST 1)

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Nothing	271	86.3	86.3
General politics	2	.6	.6
The general election	4	1.3	1.3
The Gudmundsson affair	1	.3	.3
Nuclear free Scandinavia	7	2.2	2.2
General economics	3	1.0	1.0
Taxes/customs	2	.6	.6
Interest rates/loans	1	.3	.3
Strikes/wage negotiations	15	4.8	4.8
Sexual equality	1	.3	.3
Aged	2	.6	.6
Housing	1	.3	.3
Rural policy	1	.3	.3
Transport	2	.6	.6
Agriculture	1	.3	.3
-----			
TOTAL	314	100.0	100.0
Valid Cases	314	Missing Cases	0

TABLE XII. 3  
SECOND MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE IN FIRST SURVEY (LIST 2)

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Nothing	214	64.7	64.7
The general election	3	.9	.9
Next government	1	.3	.3
The Gudmundsson affair	12	3.6	3.6
Nuclear free Scandinavia	2	.6	.6
Inflation	69	20.8	20.8
Interest rates/loans	1	.3	.3
Strikes/wage negotiations	16	4.8	4.8
Pension funds	1	.3	.3
Equality between sex	1	.3	.3
Health service	2	.6	.6
Industrial affairs	1	.3	.3
Fishing/fishbreeding	1	.3	.3
Agriculture	2	.6	.6
Foreign trade	3	.9	.9
Sport	2	.6	.6
	TOTAL	331	100.0
Valid Cases	331	Missing Cases	0

TABLE XII. 4

THIRD MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE IN FIRST SURVEY (LIST 3)

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Nothing	317	95.8	95.8
The general election	3	.9	.9
Next government	1	.3	.3
The Gudmundsson affair	1	.3	.3
General economics	1	.3	.3
Inflation	1	.3	.3
Sexual equality	2	.6	.6
Physically disabled	1	.3	.3
Health service	1	.3	.3
Industrial affairs	1	.3	.3
Fishing/fishbreeding	1	.3	.3
Agriculture	1	.3	.3
	-----	-----	-----
Valid Cases	331	100.0	100.0
	TOTAL	331	100.0
	Missing Cases	0	0

TABLE XII. 5  
SECOND MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE IN FIRST SURVEY (LIST 3)

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Nothing	261	65.7	65.7
General politics	1	.3	.3
The general election	12	3.0	3.0
Next government	1	.3	.3
The Gudmundsson affair	18	4.5	4.5
Foreign affairs	2	.5	.5
Nuclear free Scandinavia	3	.8	.8
General economics	4	1.0	1.0
Inflation	2	.5	.5
Taxes/customs	1	.3	.3
Foreign loans	1	.3	.3
Interest rates/loans	1	.3	.3
Strikes/wage negotiations	34	8.6	8.6
Pension funds	1	.3	.3
Sexual equality	2	.5	.5
National insurance	1	.3	.3
Aged	3	.8	.8
Physically disabled	2	.5	.5
Health service	4	1.0	1.0
Housing	4	1.0	1.0
Education	7	1.8	1.8
Regional equality	3	.8	.8
Rural policy	7	1.8	1.8
Transport	2	.5	.5
Environment and planning	1	.3	.3
Industrial affairs	5	1.3	1.3
Fishing/fishbreeding	2	.5	.5
Agriculture	7	1.8	1.8
Tourism	1	.3	.3
Foreign trade	1	.3	.3
Culture and art	1	.3	.3
Juvenile affairs	1	.3	.3
Mass media	1	.3	.3
	-----	-----	-----
	TOTAL	397	100.0
Valid Cases	397	Missing Cases	0

TABLE XII. 6

THIRD MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE IN FIRST SURVEY (LIST 3)

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Nothing	368	92.7	92.7
The Gudmundsson affairs	1	.3	.3
Foreign affairs	1	.3	.3
Inflation	1	.3	.3
Foreign loans	1	.3	.3
Strikes/wage negotiations	3	.8	.8
Sexual equality	1	.3	.3
Aged	1	.3	.3
Health service	2	.5	.5
Housing	2	.5	.5
Education	3	.8	.8
Rural policy	3	.8	.8
Transport	1	.3	.3
Industrial affairs	1	.3	.3
Fishing/fishbreeding	2	.5	.5
Agriculture	3	.8	.8
Foreign trade	1	.3	.3
Crime	1	.3	.3
Mass media	1	.3	.3
	-----	-----	-----
	TOTAL	397	100.0
Valid Cases	397	Missing Cases	0

TABLE XII. 7  
SECOND MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE IN SURVEY 2

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Nothing	706	79.4	79.4
General politics	3	.3	.3
The general election	19	2.1	2.1
Next government	1	.1	.1
The Gudmundsson affairs	8	.9	.9
Foreign affairs	6	.7	.7
Nuclear free Scandinavia	7	.8	.8
General economics	13	1.5	1.5
Inflation	10	1.1	1.1
Taxes/customs	3	.3	.3
Foreign loans	3	.3	.3
Interest rates/loans	4	.4	.4
Strikes/wage negotiations	38	4.3	4.3
Pension funds	2	.2	.2
Sexual equality	1	.1	.1
Aged	2	.2	.2
Physically disabled	2	.2	.2
Health service	5	.6	.6
Housing	8	.9	.9
Education	2	.2	.2
Regional equality	3	.3	.3
Rural policy	8	.9	.9
Transport	3	.3	.3
Environment and planning	3	.3	.3
Industrial affairs	7	.8	.8
Fishing/fishbreeding	7	.8	.8
Agriculture	11	1.2	1.2
Hafskip bankruptcy	4	.4	.4
	-----	-----	-----
Valid Cases	889	100.0	100.0
Missing Cases		0	

TABLE XII. 8  
SECOND MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE IN THIRD SURVEY

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Nothing	592	70.9	70.9
Inflation	14	1.7	1.7
Taxes/customs	5	.6	.6
Foreign loans	1	.1	.1
Interest rates/loans	7	.8	.8
Strikes/wage negotiations	53	6.3	6.3
Pension funds	3	.4	.4
Sexual equality	10	1.2	1.2
Aged	4	.5	.5
Physically disabled	3	.4	.4
Health service	31	3.7	3.7
Housing	45	5.4	5.4
Education	21	2.5	2.5
Regional equality	5	.6	.6
Rural policy	16	1.9	1.9
Transport	1	.1	.1
Environment and planning	2	.2	.2
Industrial affairs	3	.4	.4
Fishing/fishbreeding	10	1.2	1.2
Agriculture	9	1.1	1.1
	-----	-----	-----
	TOTAL	835	100.0
Valid Cases	835	Missing Cases	0

TABLE XII. 9  
THIRD MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE IN THIRD SURVEY

Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Nothing	770	92.2	92.2
Inflation	2	.2	.2
Foreign loans	1	.1	.1
Interest rates/loans	4	.5	.5
Strikes/wage negotiations	8	1.0	1.0
Pension funds	1	.1	.1
Sexual equality	7	.8	.8
Aged	2	.2	.2
Physically disabled	3	.4	.4
Health service	8	1.0	1.0
Housing	7	.8	.8
Education	8	1.0	1.0
Regional equality	1	.1	.1
Rural policy	2	.2	.2
Industrial affairs	4	.5	.5
Fishing/fishbreeding	2	.2	.2
Agriculture	5	.6	.6
	TOTAL	835	100.0
Valid Cases	835	Missing Cases	0

# APPENDIX XIII

TABLE XIII.1

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PRINTED PROPAGANDA AND NEWS COVERAGE

PARTY	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	Nat. Will	RÚVTV	Channel 2
SDP	.01	.24	.23	.12	.15	.41	.24
PP	.26	.29	.54	.30	.25	.35	.28
IP	.43	.49	.68	.44	.41	.55	.38
PA	.33	.08	.17	.15	.46	.25	.05
WL	-.05	-.18	.22	.10	.34	.08	-.14
BP	.20	.50	.71	.61	.33	.60	.39

TABLE XIII.2

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA AND NEWS COVERAGE

PARTY	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	Nat. Will	RÚVTV	Channel 2
SDP	.33	.42	.30	.33	.25	.46	.26
PP	.30	.48	.41	.36	.15	.58	.34
IP	.41	.70	.72	.62	.32	.70	.54
PA	.50	.56	.48	.53	.47	.72	.43
SDA	.07	.32	.29	.30	.19	.21	.07
WL	.09	-.03	.09	.14	.35	.09	-.17
HP	.44	.34	.22	.30	.45	.54	.32
MCE	.18	.19	.34	.36	.45	.11	.07
NP	.37	.44	.51	.55	.10	.32	.22
BP	.52	.80	.46	.60	.34	.75	.69

TABLE XIII.3

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE FIRST FOUR WEEKS AND VOTER AGENDA IN FIRST SURVEY IN TERMS OF SEX (MEN)

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúvtv	Channel 2
Week 1	.18	.23	.23	.23	.07	.47	.08
Week 2	.36	.40	.30	.20	.26	.52	.32
Week 3	.63	.72	.40	.46	.43	.68	.61
Week 4	.68	.71	.53	.56	.73	.78	.64

TABLE XIII.4

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE FIRST FOUR WEEKS AND VOTER AGENDA IN FIRST SURVEY IN TERMS OF SEX (WOMEN)

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúvtv	Channel 2
Week 1	.17	.06	.03	.09	.16	.44	.04
Week 2	.30	.14	-.01	.08	.18	.20	.20
Week 3	.76	.52	.19	.27	.32	.43	.44
Week 4	.82	.67	.32	.68	.76	.67	.84

TABLE XIII.5

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE FIRST FOUR WEEKS  
AND VOTER AGENDA IN FIRST SURVEY IN TERMS OF AGE (OLDEST)

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúvtv	Channel 2
Week 1	.14	.20	.19	.19	.08	.47	.14
Week 2	.34	.30	.20	.18	.21	.47	.30
Week 3	.73	.72	.34	.39	.41	.65	.62
Week 4	.69	.72	.51	.64	.80	.80	.71

TABLE XIII.6

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE FIRST FOUR WEEKS  
AND VOTER AGENDA IN FIRST SURVEY IN TERMS OF AGE (MIDDLE-AGE)

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúvtv	Channel 2
Week 1	.17	.14	.14	.19	.15	.43	.06
Week 2	.49	.26	.19	.22	.33	.31	.30
Week 3	.74	.60	.33	.39	.39	.61	.53
Week 4	.76	.73	.46	.64	.70	.74	.75

TABLE XIII.7

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE FIRST FOUR WEEKS  
AND VOTER AGENDA IN FIRST SURVEY IN TERMS OF AGE (YOUNGEST)

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúvtv	Channel 2
Week 1	.14	.14	.08	.04	.05	.47	.10
Week 2	.16	.23	.01	.08	.07	.36	.22
Week 3	.63	.57	.14	.18	.15	.43	.41
Week 4	.82	.60	.34	.59	.71	.68	.74

TABLE XIII.8

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE FIRST FOUR WEEKS  
AND VOTER AGENDA IN FIRST SURVEY IN TERMS OF RESIDENCE (URBAN)

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúvtv	Channel 2
Week 1	.16	.01	.0	.06	.03	.39	.0
Week 2	.35	.15	.03	.03	.13	.25	.16
Week 3	.78	.55	.16	.26	.35	.49	.51
Week 4	.78	.63	.32	.61	.76	.70	.78

TABLE XIII.9

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE FIRST FOUR WEEKS  
AND VOTER AGENDA IN FIRST SURVEY IN TERMS OF RESIDENCE (RURAL)

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúvtv	Channel 2
Week 1	.29	.42	.41	.39	.32	.59	.31
Week 2	.39	.49	.40	.47	.48	.52	.53
Week 3	.63	.73	.52	.54	.39	.71	.59
Week 4	.78	.78	.64	.73	.70	.78	.64

TABLE XIII.10

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE FIRST SEVEN WEEKS  
AND VOTER AGENDA IN SECOND SURVEY IN TERMS OF SEX (MEN)

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúvtv	Channel 2
Week 1	.35	.46	.36	.31	.26	.62	.22
Week 2	.39	.61	.40	.40	.39	.67	.46
Week 3	.53	.66	.41	.34	.38	.58	.53
Week 4	.57	.51	.37	.49	.58	.60	.49
Week 5	.30	.59	.41	.46	.52	.52	.43
Week 6	.48	.48	.30	.27	.23	.51	.46
Week 7	.36	.66	.60	.52	.79	.48	.73

TABLE XIII.11

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE FIRST SEVEN WEEKS  
AND VOTER AGENDA IN SECOND SURVEY IN TERMS OF SEX (WOMEN)

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúvtv	Channel 2
Week 1	.60	.47	.41	.46	.39	.68	.34
Week 2	.55	.52	.40	.46	.53	.50	.54
Week 3	.69	.53	.46	.45	.58	.61	.62
Week 4	.55	.49	.39	.62	.65	.60	.48
Week 5	.48	.61	.44	.36	.51	.58	.49
Week 6	.56	.63	.38	.52	.44	.65	.51
Week 7	.48	.63	.55	.64	.75	.46	.72

TABLE XIII.12

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE FIRST SEVEN WEEKS  
AND VOTER AGENDA IN SECOND SURVEY IN TERMS OF AGE (OLDEST)

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúvtv	Channel 2
Week 1	.38	.54	.45	.49	.40	.73	.42
Week 2	.53	.63	.49	.48	.50	.78	.56
Week 3	.71	.67	.55	.47	.62	.64	.65
Week 4	.52	.51	.49	.58	.77	.67	.62
Week 5	.41	.65	.48	.32	.49	.65	.52
Week 6	.50	.57	.39	.43	.42	.64	.50
Week 7	.53	.63	.56	.68	.79	.64	.75

TABLE XIII.13

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE FIRST SEVEN WEEKS  
AND VOTER AGENDA IN SECOND SURVEY IN TERMS OF AGE (MIDDLE-AGE)

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúvtv	Channel 2
Week 1	.51	.44	.40	.42	.28	.60	.18
Week 2	.57	.63	.49	.48	.53	.59	.48
Week 3	.52	.55	.45	.42	.48	.66	.59
Week 4	.52	.43	.36	.34	.46	.57	.45
Week 5	.45	.62	.42	.53	.56	.57	.45
Week 6	.61	.61	.38	.43	.40	.58	.53
Week 7	.49	.74	.64	.60	.84	.52	.77

TABLE XIII.14

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE FIRST SEVEN WEEKS  
AND VOTER AGENDA IN SECOND SURVEY IN TERMS OF AGE (YOUNGEST)

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúvtv	Channel 2
Week 1	.50	.43	.27	.27	.40	.64	.25
Week 2	.40	.55	.26	.32	.36	.54	.45
Week 3	.58	.62	.33	.30	.42	.62	.58
Week 4	.64	.53	.28	.58	.60	.64	.60
Week 5	.36	.64	.40	.47	.60	.54	.49
Week 6	.53	.50	.24	.29	.28	.52	.49
Week 7	.37	.65	.54	.53	.75	.42	.71

TABLE XIII.15

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE FIRST SEVEN WEEKS  
AND VOTER AGENDA IN SECOND SURVEY IN TERMS OF RESIDENCE (URBAN)

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúvtv	Channel 2
Week 1	.42	.36	.26	.25	.17	.58	.20
Week 2	.46	.48	.27	.27	.31	.53	.39
Week 3	.62	.57	.26	.26	.41	.59	.57
Week 4	.65	.49	.30	.47	.64	.65	.55
Week 5	.29	.53	.30	.71	.42	.50	.46
Week 6	.49	.49	.18	.40	.31	.53	.41
Week 7	.39	.63	.47	.53	.74	.44	.67

TABLE XIII.16

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE FIRST SEVEN WEEKS  
AND VOTER AGENDA IN SECOND SURVEY IN TERMS OF RESIDENCE (RURAL)

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúvtv	Channel 2
Week 1	.59	.67	.62	.61	.55	.82	.46
Week 2	.58	.77	.59	.61	.65	.72	.70
Week 3	.71	.72	.62	.66	.64	.79	.72
Week 4	.69	.71	.61	.70	.74	.80	.64
Week 5	.54	.76	.61	.61	.68	.71	.63
Week 6	.68	.71	.51	.57	.51	.70	.63
Week 7	.58	.85	.76	.73	.90	.62	.82

TABLE XIII.17

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE CAMPAIGN AND VOTER AGENDA IN THIRD  
SURVEY IN TERMS OF AGE, SEX AND RESIDENCE

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúvtv	Channel 2
men	-.16	-.07	.07	-.09	-.09	-.02	-.09
women	-.09	-.16	-.04	-.14	.01	-.11	-.14
youngest	-.18	-.19	-.04	-.18	.03	-.11	-.19
middle	-.17	-.17	-.05	-.25	-.25	-.07	-.18
oldest	-.15	-.24	.02	-.17	.0	-.20	-.15
urban	-.29	-.37	-.22	-.45	-.24	-.28	-.33
rural	-.24	-.18	.03	-.19	-.14	-.14	-.21

TABLE XIII.18

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PRINTED PROPAGANDA AND CONCERNS OF VOTERS IN THE FIRST WAVE

VOTERS	SDP	PP	IP	PA	WL	BP
all	.24	.29	.31	.38	.12	.03
men	.26	.21	.29	.34	.09	.22
women	.26	.22	.21	.38	.17	-.09
oldest	.23	.24	.28	.28	.05	.12
middle	.09	.28	.28	.41	.15	.06
youngest	.38	.07	.07	.28	-.09	-.11
urban	.23	.20	.29	.42	.12	.12
rural	.23	.25	.20	.25	.0	.20

TABLE XIII.19

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PRINTED PROPAGANDA AND CONCERNS OF VOTERS IN THE SECOND WAVE

VOTERS	SDP	PP	IP	PA	WL	BP
all	.48	.24	.47	.38	-.08	.19
men	.57	.33	.42	.37	.05	.29
women	.55	.48	.70	.52	.21	.31
oldest	.63	.51	.55	.44	.31	.43
middle	.39	.31	.59	.54	.09	.36
youngest	.49	.13	.35	.27	-.16	.05
urban	.44	.21	.52	.44	-.03	.16
rural	.38	.32	.48	.31	-.04	.37

TABLE XIII.20

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PRINTED PROPAGANDA AND CONCERNS OF VOTERS IN THE THIRD WAVE

VOTERS	SDP	PP	IP	PA	WL	BP
all	.62	.22	.05	.16	.33	-.04
men	.72	.29	.10	.25	.41	.03
women	.53	.21	.05	.21	.45	-.04
oldest	.67	.16	.05	.10	.45	-.05
middle	.66	.24	.10	.13	.39	.12
youngest	.61	.21	.0	.13	.36	.02
urban	.52	.18	.06	.24	.42	-.18
rural	.57	.25	.02	.04	.38	.01

TABLE XIII.21

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA AND CONCERNS OF VOTERS IN THE FIRST WAVE

VOTERS	SDP	PP	IP	PA	SDA	WL	HP	MCE	NP	BP
all	.27	.11	.05	.42	-.20	-.10	.62	-.09	.0	.48
men	.38	.26	.29	.55	-.08	-.11	.65	-.17	.10	.66
women	.26	-.02	.02	.34	-.16	-.04	.65	.06	-.02	.37
oldest	.23	.13	.16	.44	-.26	-.07	.40	-.18	-.06	.61
middle	.20	.11	.13	.45	-.30	.04	.56	-.12	.01	.46
youngest	.36	.29	.08	.40	.04	-.25	.68	-.09	.05	.49
urban	.28	.06	.06	.38	-.21	-.03	.68	-.03	-.07	.43
rural	.33	.30	.30	.49	-.12	-.13	.55	-.10	.24	.63

TABLE XIII.22

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA AND CONCERNS OF VOTERS IN THE SECOND WAVE

VOTERS	SDP	PP	IP	PA	SDA	WL	HP	MCE	NP	BP
all	.64	.65	.47	.69	.27	.03	.83	.02	.35	.67
men	.66	.66	.50	.72	.32	-.01	.80	.05	.48	.64
women	.54	.55	.55	.62	.21	.25	.76	.33	.36	.42
oldest	.49	.46	.47	.70	.12	.11	.80	.07	.20	.57
middle	.71	.75	.58	.82	.29	.27	.77	.15	.60	.60
youngest	.66	.59	.45	.57	.30	-.07	.79	.26	.44	.62
urban	.61	.60	.41	.67	.24	.07	.85	.13	.36	.59
rural	.59	.62	.60	.76	.30	.11	.78	.23	.52	.80

TABLE XIII.23

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA AND CONCERNS OF VOTERS IN THE THIRD WAVE

VOTERS	SDP	PP	IP	PA	SDA	WL	HP	MCE	NP	BP
all	.27	.16	.05	-.16	.06	-.17	.05	.29	.21	-.28
men	.33	.24	.14	-.03	.15	-.29	.11	.25	.25	-.25
women	.84	.15	.0	-.17	-.04	-.09	-.03	.27	.16	-.33
oldest	.29	.12	.0	-.16	.14	-.03	-.08	.38	.15	-.32
middle	.23	.24	.19	-.16	-.03	-.14	.06	.21	.17	-.10
youngest	.23	.16	.04	-.13	.08	-.20	.03	.25	.23	-.34
urban	.12	.02	-.09	-.25	-.11	-.22	-.04	.12	.04	-.55
rural	.16	.10	.05	-.20	.01	-.21	-.07	.22	.22	-.39

TABLE XIII.24

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE FIRST FOUR WEEKS AND VOTER AGENDA IN FIRST SURVEY (PEOPLE'S PARTY'S SUPPORTERS)

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúvttv	Channel 2
Week 1	.15	.12	.06	.10	.21	.51	.08
Week 2	.40	.32	.05	.10	.22	.28	.23
Week 3	.76	.50	.20	.23	.26	.48	.41
Week 4	.80	.64	.31	.68	.70	.68	.87

TABLE XIII.25

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE FIRST FOUR WEEKS AND VOTER AGENDA IN FIRST SURVEY (PROGRESSIVE PARTY'S SUPPORTERS)

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúvttv	Channel 2
Week 1	.24	.36	.32	.30	.24	.54	.21
Week 2	.41	.46	.37	.38	.41	.64	.44
Week 3	.68	.75	.50	.50	.42	.74	.62
Week 4	.73	.80	.57	.71	.67	.78	.68

TABLE XIII.26

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE FIRST FOUR WEEKS  
AND VOTER AGENDA IN FIRST SURVEY (INDEPENDENCE PARTY'S  
SUPPORTERS)

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúvtv	Channel 2
Week 1	.20	.18	.18	.21	.10	.47	.03
Week 2	.42	.37	.25	.23	.28	.44	.29
Week 3	.70	.75	.38	.44	.46	.68	.60
Week 4	.69	.70	.47	.57	.70	.76	.69

TABLE XIII.27

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE FIRST FOUR WEEKS  
AND VOTER AGENDA IN FIRST SURVEY (PEOPLE'S ALLIANCE'S SUPPORTERS)

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúvtv	Channel 2
Week 1	.09	-.07	-.10	-.09	-.01	.26	-.04
Week 2	.26	-.04	-.16	-.04	.09	.10	.10
Week 3	.57	.49	-.03	.03	.0	.33	.31
Week 4	.83	.52	.18	.50	.59	.56	.60

TABLE XIII.28

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE FIRST FOUR WEEKS  
AND VOTER AGENDA IN FIRST SURVEY (WOMEN'S LIST'S SUPPORTERS)

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúvtv	Channel 2
Week 1	.0	-.04	-.10	-.06	.07	.41	-.07
Week 2	.28	.10	-.16	-.08	.08	.24	.06
Week 3	.50	.38	-.06	-.03	-.02	.32	.22
Week 4	.72	.39	.10	.44	.65	.55	.66

TABLE XIII.29

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE FIRST FOUR WEEKS  
AND VOTER AGENDA IN FIRST SURVEY (CITIZENS' PARTY'S SUPPORTERS)

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúvtv	Channel 2
Week 1	.13	.04	.04	.07	.0	.35	.04
Week 2	.20	.11	.0	.04	.09	.23	.16
Week 3	.70	.61	.14	.28	.29	.47	.50
Week 4	.81	.69	.39	.60	.79	.73	.75

TABLE XIII.30

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE FIRST SEVEN WEEKS  
AND VOTER AGENDA IN SECOND SURVEY (PEOPLE'S PARTY'S SUPPORTERS)

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúvtv	Channel 2
Week 1	.45	.34	.16	.12	.09	.40	.18
Week 2	.37	.39	.28	.25	.22	.46	.26
Week 3	.55	.69	.23	.17	.28	.58	.61
Week 4	.41	.34	.13	.37	.25	.42	.14
Week 5	.13	.68	.40	.49	.52	.35	.50
Week 6	.52	.49	.28	.23	.03	.49	.51
Week 7	.49	.58	.56	.38	.61	.58	.72

TABLE XIII.31

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE FIRST SEVEN WEEKS  
AND VOTER AGENDA IN SECOND SURVEY (PROGRESSIVE PARTY'S  
SUPPORTERS)

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúv tv	Channel 2
Week 1	.54	.83	.71	.69	.56	.80	.57
Week 2	.61	.89	.83	.71	.69	.80	.65
Week 3	.64	.55	.76	.57	.57	.75	.64
Week 4	.27	.47	.53	.58	.39	.52	.24
Week 5	.54	.82	.74	.62	.71	.63	.54
Week 6	.77	.85	.66	.66	.37	.79	.71
Week 7	.68	.81	.82	.79	.90	.74	.74

TABLE XIII.32

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE FIRST SEVEN WEEKS  
AND VOTER AGENDA IN SECOND SURVEY (INDEPENDENCE PARTY'S  
SUPPORTERS)

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúv tv	Channel 2
Week 1	.38	.34	.28	.29	.16	.57	.08
Week 2	.47	.53	.36	.30	.36	.49	.30
Week 3	.61	.59	.37	.36	.37	.67	.57
Week 4	.67	.55	.33	.45	.51	.65	.44
Week 5	.24	.51	.38	.47	.47	.39	.46
Week 6	.48	.43	.26	.27	.25	.45	.37
Week 7	.57	.74	.53	.47	.77	.49	.65

TABLE XIII.33

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE FIRST SEVEN WEEKS  
AND VOTER AGENDA IN SECOND SURVEY (PEOPLE'S ALLIANCE'S  
SUPPORTERS)

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúv tv	Channel 2
Week 1	.38	.17	.18	.30	.29	.66	.03
Week 2	.44	.38	.17	.17	.30	.40	.19
Week 3	.69	.30	.26	.27	.46	.37	.38
Week 4	.55	.36	.14	.41	.66	.47	.57
Week 5	.24	.35	.19	.11	.34	.42	.18
Week 6	.24	.32	.15	.27	.31	.39	.16
Week 7	.56	.40	.20	.46	.64	.36	.54

TABLE XIII.34

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE FIRST SEVEN WEEKS  
AND VOTER AGENDA IN SECOND SURVEY (WOMEN'S LIST'S SUPPORTERS)

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	Rúv tv	Channel 2
Week 1	.36	.06	.04	.10	.25	.37	.09
Week 2	.42	.16	-.09	.06	.20	.13	.18
Week 3	.62	.18	-.02	.03	.08	.25	.23
Week 4	.78	.31	.11	.45	.52	.47	.58
Week 5	.22	.23	.06	.14	.22	.20	.27
Week 6	.23	.07	-.09	.06	.09	.19	.17
Week 7	.24	.30	.14	.18	.41	.09	.31

TABLE XIII.35

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE FIRST SEVEN WEEKS  
AND VOTER AGENDA IN SECOND SURVEY (CITIZENS' PARTY'S SUPPORTERS)

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	RúvTv	Channel 2
Week 1	.54	.58	.57	.53	.35	.76	.37
Week 2	.43	.74	.56	.52	.45	.78	.49
Week 3	.51	.47	.51	.39	.43	.53	.51
Week 4	.36	.24	.36	.34	.50	.47	.16
Week 5	.28	.69	.47	.44	.61	.72	.36
Week 6	.66	.64	.48	.43	.42	.71	.59
Week 7	.58	.69	.61	.68	.85	.68	.86

TABLE XIII.36

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEDIA AGENDAS IN THE FIRST SEVEN WEEKS  
AND VOTER AGENDA IN THIRD SURVEY (PARTIES' SUPPORTERS)

	People's Paper	Daily Newsp.	Morning Paper	Time	National Will	RúvTv	Channel 2
SDP	-.05	.04	.17	-.07	-.14	-.06	.07
PP	-.15	.06	.06	.01	.05	.10	.03
IP	-.20	-.22	-.03	-.23	-.07	-.16	-.20
PA	.04	.0	.14	-.04	-.07	-.01	-.03
WL	-.33	-.43	-.20	-.39	-.10	-.30	-.36
BP	-.26	-.22	-.08	-.28	-.16	-.12	-.26

TABLE XIII.37

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PRINTED PROPAGANDA AND CONCERNS OF PARTY SUPPORTERS IN THE  
FIRST WAVE

VOTERS	SDP	PP	IP	PA	WL	BP
SDP	.19	.17	.15	.39	.03	-.14
PP	.20	.27	.25	.26	.02	.19
IP	.17	.21	.29	.43	.08	.14
PA	.24	.01	-.02	.26	-.07	-.31
WL	.31	-.06	.0	.29	-.16	-.29
BP	.23	.19	.23	.28	.09	-.01

TABLE XIII.38

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA AND CONCERNS OF PARTY SUPPORTERS IN  
THE FIRST WAVE

VOTERS	SDP	PP	IP	PA	SDA	WL	HP	MCE	NP	BP
SDP	.24	.07	.08	.42	-.13	-.03	.64	-.03	.01	.41
PP	.32	.23	.32	.51	-.16	-.10	.55	-.14	.20	.63
IP	.35	.18	.28	.55	-.18	-.03	.65	-.12	.08	.59
PA	.21	.30	.04	.34	.09	-.21	.55	-.11	-.03	.34
WL	.25	.22	-.20	.40	-.06	.06	.64	-.16	-.06	.40
BP	.26	.13	.02	.33	.15	-.07	.64	-.01	-.04	.50

TABLE XIII.39

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PRINTED PROPAGANDA AND CONCERNS OF PARTY SUPPORTERS IN THE SECOND WAVE

VOTERS	SDP	PP	IP	PA	WL	BP
SDP	.56	.18	.43	.10	-.17	.09
PP	.39	.54	.67	.23	.03	.57
IP	.33	.18	.45	.39	-.07	.21
PA	.55	.31	.56	.68	.31	.14
WL	.29	-.03	.13	.46	-.13	-.32
BP	.70	.34	.59	.65	.06	.44

TABLE XIII.40

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA AND CONCERNS OF PARTY SUPPORTERS IN THE SECOND WAVE

VOTERS	SDP	PP	IP	PA	SDA	WL	HP	MCE	NP	BP
SDP	.64	.62	.50	.36	.04	-.16	.58	.10	.47	.55
PP	.49	.65	.82	.73	.23	.06	.50	.17	.60	.60
IP	.68	.63	.51	.72	.22	.10	.79	.11	.51	.70
PA	.67	.50	.38	.71	.32	.31	.95	.38	.30	.40
WL	.40	.36	.03	.43	.28	.15	.69	.25	.18	.24
BP	.73	.90	.65	.81	.53	.17	.78	.22	.53	.57

TABLE XIII.41

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PRINTED PROPAGANDA AND CONCERNS OF PARTY SUPPORTERS IN THE THIRD WAVE

VOTERS	SDP	PP	IP	PA	WL	BP
SDP	.71	.33	.15	.05	.31	.13
PP	.80	.30	.19	.07	.40	.23
IP	.62	.23	.07	.19	.44	-.06
PA	.55	.25	.06	.23	.36	.03
WL	.32	-.04	-.13	.22	.35	-.28
BP	.63	.14	.0	.17	.38	-.05

TABLE XIII.42

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN TELEVIZED PROPAGANDA AND CONCERNS OF PARTY SUPPORTERS IN THE THIRD WAVE

VOTERS	SDP	PP	IP	PA	SDA	WL	HP	MCE	NP	BP
SDP	.21	.27	.17	-.11	.07	-.41	-.07	.10	.23	-.22
PP	.37	.28	.20	-.08	.27	-.35	.17	.35	.24	-.12
IP	.21	.07	.01	-.20	.06	-.24	.07	.30	.15	-.43
PA	.29	.24	.14	.02	.05	-.13	.09	.17	.33	-.23
WL	.01	-.09	-.23	-.31	-.17	-.05	-.15	.15	-.07	-.55
BP	.31	.23	.03	-.06	.08	-.05	.14	.22	.22	-.22

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