

Constructing a television format: the case of the *Telenotícies* news programme on Catalan public television (TV3)

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Article received on 13/05/18 and accepted on 20/07/18

Abstract

The consolidation of any television format requires a long period of time in broadcast, so that the audience can recognize the narrative conventions used. This article contemplates the evolution of 33 years of *Telenotícies* newscast on the Catalan public channel TV3 from the perspective of the format, analysing the factors that have made it a product with its own entity. Based on the analysis of a sample of editions, complemented with interviews with the actors directly involved in their development, there is a significant influence of the shape on the content and an outstanding role of technology in the art of explaining the news.

Keywords

Audiovisual journalism, newscast, format, public service, TV3.

Resum

La consolidació d'un format requereix una llarga trajectòria d'emissions que faciliti el reconeixement de les convencions narratives emprades per l'audiència. Aquest article aborda l'evolució dels 33 anys de *Telenotícies* a TV3 des de la perspectiva del format, analitzant els diferents factors que l'han convertit en un producte amb entitat pròpia. A partir de l'anàlisi d'una mostra d'edicions, complementades amb entrevistes als actors directament implicats en el seu desenvolupament, es constata la significativa influència de la forma sobre el contingut i com la tecnologia participa de l'art d'explicar notícies.

Paraules clau

Periodisme audiovisual, teleinformatiu, format, servei públic, TV3.

1. Introduction

TV3 began regular broadcasting on 16 January 1984 with a programme that remains in TV listings today: *Telenotícies*. Those behind the TV3 project created the channel as a tool for Catalan linguistic and cultural normalisation, thus making the most of television's prominent position as a mass media. News had to be the backbone of the channel's scheduling and *Telenotícies* the showcase programme. The main challenge was to consolidate a universal kind of television channel that provided global news from a Catalan point of view. TV3's creators looked to various European and North American channels, which served as technological, organisational and structural examples to follow.

Over these 33 years, *Telenotícies* has evolved in timing with society's technological, social and cultural trends. TV3 has had to overcome internal and external difficulties¹ to remain a news

leader in an increasingly competitive and complex environment. Overall, quantitative and qualitative audience data combined with a historical perspective can corroborate the consolidation of TV3 daily newscasts as a benchmark for news in Catalonia.

2. Theoretical framework

The term 'format' in a television context has been interpreted in disparate ways by different authors, but almost always in reference to entertainment and fiction products. Saló (2003, p. 15) defines it as "the shell, the packaging or structure in which the content is wrapped", while other definitions, such as Schmitt's (2005), limit this label to a programme that has been exported to at least one country outside its country of origin (Schmitt 2005).

This study on the evolution of *Telenotícies* has also taken

into account aspects of news production, not just structural elements of the programme. For this reason, the chosen approach coincides with that of Villafañe, Bustamante and Prado (1987), who define format from a broad perspective, including production routines. With this approach, the elements of each stage of news production can influence the boundaries of the format.

The process of creating a running order for any news programme involves selecting certain stories and ruling out others. Editing teams use news values to choose the pieces to include in the programme, define their duration and place them within the running order. However, news criteria are not the only elements that decide these variables. Extra-journalistic criteria, such as the editorial line and the audience at which the message is aimed, competitors' content and the availability of resources to cover a story (Wolf 1987) also carry weight.

Faced with the need to select some stories and rule out others, the media carries out an information filtering function. It acts as a "gatekeeper" (Lewin 1943) or selector of the stories that will reach the audience. For this reason, many consider that the media determines the agenda for the society at which it is aimed, as put forward by the "agenda setting" theory (McCombs and Shaw 1968). This influence is especially relevant in terms of political parties and lobbies, which often see the media as a tool to spread their ideas. "The most important communication channel between the political system and the citizens is the mass media, the leader of which is television". (Castells 2008).

Unlike the written press, broadcasting television messages involves two dimensions: semantics, or the *what*, and aesthetics, or the *how*. The former includes the content of the newsworthy story, while the latter covers staging and adaptation to television format. A balance between the two perspectives must be struck to maintain journalistic rigour and avoid spectacularisation.

The transformation of a journalistic message into an element of a television spectacle can occur in various situations. Some of the most common techniques to create this effect are personalisation, protagonism and dramatisation of the news (Rodríguez 2003); meanwhile, Luzón and Ferrer (2007, 2008) highlight the use of shocking images and content hybridisation.

Apart from these resources, instances of spectacularisation can be found in the use of new technologies, which have gained a place in the news in recent years. They manifest both as the generation and insertion of television effects (bumpers, transitions and opening sequences) that define the format's style and exert a direct influence on the narrative structure, and as the regular use of computer graphics (diagrams, text boxes, maps) and virtual and augmented reality techniques to illustrate content. Although newscast staging has been improved by audiovisual aesthetics that are more attractive for viewers, overuse of these technologies in a news context can contribute to the spectacularisation of the information disseminated.

Within this context, television has both a need to inform and a desire to transform reality into a consumable object and spectacle (Imbert 2003). At this point, the noun 'spectacle'

must be differentiated from the verb 'spectacularise', which may be understood as distorting the spectacle (Rossell and Pineda 2014).

The need to achieve high audience ratings to increase advertising revenue tends to be evidenced more clearly on private television networks, where content is mainly determined by commercial and audience criteria. Public television networks, meanwhile, must balance their public service programming, which loses money, with other, commercial content to achieve high audience figures and, therefore, more advertising revenue (Ramonell 2006).

However, the rise of private channels has inevitably pushed many channels to redefine their public service scheduling (Olmo 2012). The search for financial profitability has had a negative effect on some public television channels, which have looked to their private counterparts for ways to increase audience figures (Hill 2005). This factor clashes with European public television networks' foundational aims of guaranteeing pluralism of information, the promotion of cultural identity and the respect of minorities (HMSO 1994; CCMA 2010).

The need to flee from the spectacularisation of the message, both from a content point of view and from a staging perspective, encourages rigidity of format in news programmes, supported by authors such as Sabarís (2002). The new, multi-platform nature of digital communication, with content accessible from various windows, opens the door to innovative news formats (Vicente and Monclús 2009).

Since its creation in 1983, TV3 has been studied on various occasions: from the definition of the television project and the first years of broadcasting (García Altadill 1989) to the analysis of production routines following the rise of the internet (Luzón 2001) and Mateo, Bergés and Sabater's (2007) comparative study on production-related aspects. More recently, Montoya (2011) has analysed how the channel has adapted structures to new routines and to cross-media content in its scheduling, both in newscasts and entertainment and fiction programmes.

Beyond accompanying viewers for 34 years, for many, *Telenotícies* has given a name to the daily television news format. The choice of name was not random; according to Ràfols, the director of TN, "it could have been called *Telediari*, but to differentiate from TVE's *Telediario*, *Telenotícies* was chosen". Initially, the programme was broadcast once daily in the evening. Other editions at different time slots were later added; the Catalan public television channel decided to maintain the *Telenotícies* name for each slot and add the time of day at which it goes out (*Telenotícies Migdia*, *Telenotícies Vespre*, etc.). This expansion has led to clearly different versions of the same format.

3. Methodology

This research was carried out within the field of television newscasts. The main objective was to demonstrate the

interrelation between the aesthetic and semantic dimensions in the definition of a daily news format, through an analysis of the evolution of TV3's news programme: *Telenotícies*.² As a public channel, TV3 is run as a public service that is "committed to ethical and democratic principles and to the promotion of the Catalan culture and language" (CCMA).³ This study aims to provide an answer to the following questions: 1) which variables have had the most influence on the definition of the format? and 2) how have these variables affected the organisational structure and production processes?

The sample was defined in line with the following factors: 1) the edition that represents the 'access prime time' slot and 2)

the oldest variant of the programme and, therefore, the version that gave the format its name. In accordance with these criteria, *TV Vespre*, the edition broadcast from Monday to Friday, was selected for analysis. From the first regular broadcasts in 1984 to the 2016 season, based on the set aesthetics⁴, a total of eleven stages have been counted (Table 1) that illustrate the evolution of the format.

To analyse the format, a sample of 17 programmes broadcast between January 1984 and February 2016 was chosen at random, with a minimum interval of two years between each programme. Prior to analysis, in order to ensure the sample did not include any special editions that may skew the results due

Table 1. Time period of each stage and visual identity

Stage	Time period	Examples	Visual identity
First	16/01/1984 to 08/04/1985	16/01/1984	
Second	09/04/1985 to 28/02/1986	04/02/1986	
Third	03/03/1986 to 30/05/1988	05/04/1988	
Fourth	01/06/1988 to 14/10/1990	01/01/1990	
Fifth	15/10/1990 to 23/01/1994	02/03/1992 and 10/01/1994	
Sixth	24/01/1994 to 22/09/1996	20/02/1996	

Table 1. Time period of each stage and visual identity (continues)

Seventh	23/09/1996 to 23/02/1999	23/02/1998	
Eighth	24/02/1999 to 17/03/2002	28/01/2000 and 04/02/2002	
Ninth	18/03/2002 to 08/05/2005	13/02/2004	
Tenth	09/05/2005 to 19/01/2014	02/03/2006, 26/03/2008, 10/02/2010 and 03/02/2012	
Eleventh	From 20/01/2014	24/02/2014 and 19/02/2016	

Source: Created by the authors, using images from the TV3 archive.

to changes to the usual structure and rhythm, all the material was viewed.

In terms of methodology, an instrument that combines quantitative and qualitative parameters was created. The former allowed in-depth analysis of the format through viewing and completing a report made up of three variables:

- **Formal structure of the content:** articulated through subvariables that affect the duration and order of each of the programme's constituent parts.
- **Presentation of stories:** observed through the formal treatment of the content (videos, sound with voice-over, newsreader, etc.).
- **Roundup:** given its importance, extracting this segment from the whole was deemed essential so that it could be observed separately and subvariables such as number of stories, type of opening, etc., could be noted.

Qualitative parameters applied through a series of semi-structured interviews highlighted professionals' involvement in

the format's creation. The sample group was composed of a total of 24 professionals, including presenters, editors, writers, producers, directors and technicians. Through a combination of participant observation, which facilitated access to the channel's own documentary archives, and the use of semi-structured interviews, the aim was to compare and contrast the results of the analysis with views from various perspectives, all within the context of daily professional life at a public television station.⁵

4. Results

4.1. Formal structure of the content

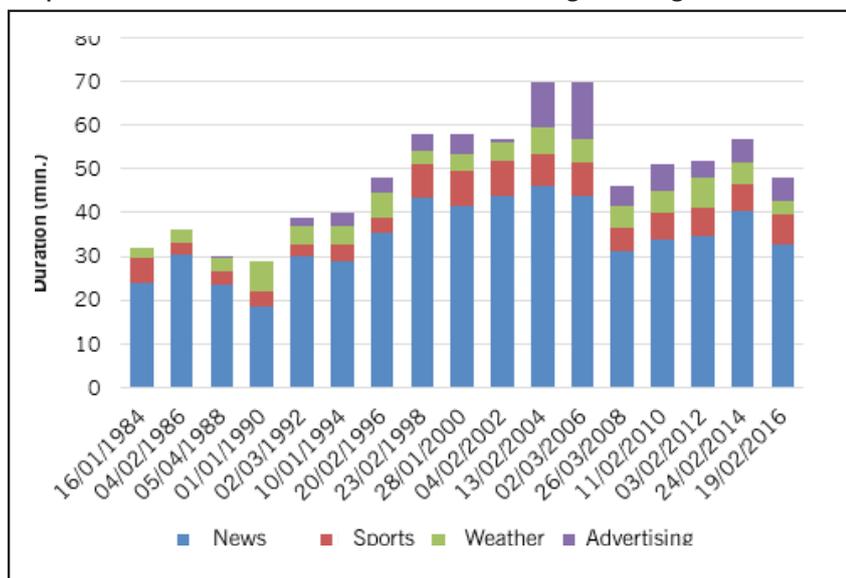
Currently, a standard edition of TN is made up of four different formal sections, around which the content is assembled: News (political, economic, social, etc.), *Esports* (Sports), *El Temps* (*Weather*) and Advertising (slot for advertisements). Initially, TV3 was inspired by newscasts on the main European

television channels, which, at that time, broadcast bulletins of 30 minutes. However, Graphic 1 demonstrates that, from 1992, the total duration was increased; this mainly affected the news segment, which, on the other hand, is the section that occupies the most airtime in the programme, varying between 60% and 85% depending on the stage. These developments were mainly associated with scheduling criteria. A prime example is the case of the significant reduction in early 2007, caused by the implementation of a series of measures, such as a change in director and editorial team,⁶ to combat a loss of audience to Antena 3 TV news in the preceding months.

Over time, the presence and duration of all four sections have been altered for reasons strictly related to their corresponding

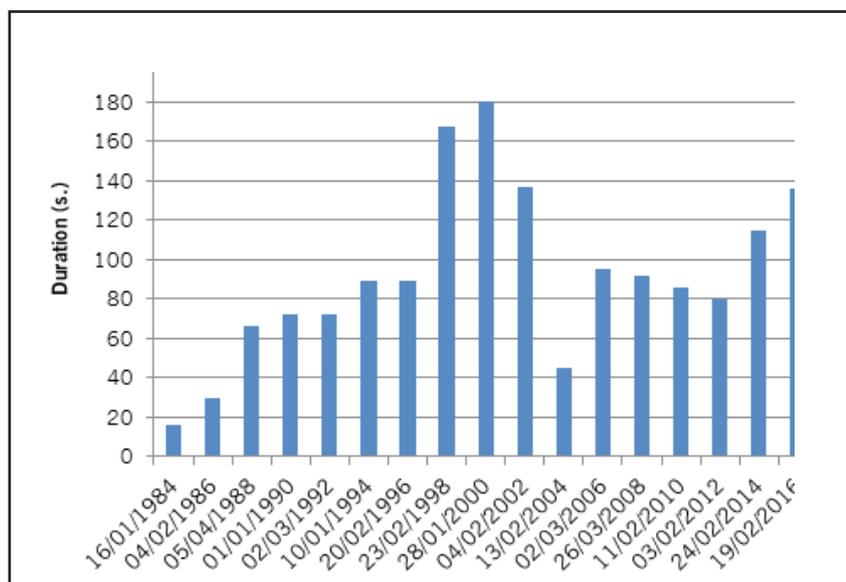
stage (Graphic 1). It was not until 1986 that TN began to broadcast advertisements; until then, legislation did not allow advertising in news programmes, political debates or broadcasts of civic or religious ceremonies (García Altadill 1989).⁷ Although the insertion of advertising did not significantly affect the total duration of the programmes,⁸ with the exception of seasons between 2004 and 2006,⁹ it generated other effects as a form of public television content. The explosion of private national networks¹⁰ on the Spanish television market increased direct competition at prime time and modified the usual advertisement contracting criteria. This situation was a blow to TN's financial profitability; as a public network, its advertising time was limited. The strategy taken was to sponsor the sports

Graphic 1. Evolution of the total duration of TN through the stages



Source: Sañas (2017, p. 87).

Graphic 2. Evolution of roundup duration



Source: Sañas (2017, p. 97).

and weather sections, which led to the separation of the *Sports* and *Weather* sections with their own opening sequences, thus modifying the structure of TN.

The news section always begins with the roundup, during which the most significant events from a news standpoint are highlighted in hierarchical order depending on news criteria. According to the data, this segment has generally been extended (Graphic 2) as its structure has been modified.

The trend towards longer roundups, from 15 seconds in the first broadcasts to three minutes in 2000, was broken in the ninth stage (2002), when the roundup was limited to 40 seconds to adapt the voice-over to the rhythm of the opening music. This translated into eight-second slots for each story, with a view to making this segment as dynamic as the main body of TN. These stories were read out live by the newsreaders themselves as part of a musical-verbal montage that adapted the spoken words to the opening music, generating dynamism to enhance the images. It must be noted that the structure predetermined a duration of eight seconds per story, from which the time needed for the transition animation must be subtracted, leaving six seconds for the verbal text. Voice-overs were thus incorporated as a formal element of the roundups. This strategy enriches the TN format as, regardless of the order of the news in the roundup, the voice-over meant that certain stories could be highlighted over others. Similarly, greater importance is usually attributed to a news piece when, before the images are shown, the newsreader is seen on the set. The way the news was presented, and not just its position in the roundup, created a hierarchy between stories. Another enriching factor detected in the final two editions analysed (2014 and 2016) that has also extended the roundup is the addition of live transmissions from the scene during broadcast.

The roundups that opened the first TN programmes included 3 news pieces from different sections, one of them being Catalan news and another international. Later, the duration increased (Graphic 2) along with the number of highlighted stories, which has remained fairly stable over the years; generally, between 6 and 8 pieces have been observed. The treatment of these highlighted stories at the beginning has undoubtedly been one of the aspects of the programme that has changed most radically (stories read out by both newsreaders, start with images and voice-over, newsreader segueing into images, live transmissions from correspondents, etc.).

As for *Weather*, its duration has not increased significantly over the years, though its narrative has varied due to the incorporation of technological resources. From this point of view, it is evident that any evolution in the treatment of content has been associated with the general news section, which, nonetheless, has maintained a similar percentage of airtime within TN over the analysed period.

4.2. Presentation of newsworthy stories

Beyond the programme's structure and the organisation and

duration of each of its segments in the running order, its information presentation techniques were examined and are detailed as follows: 1) reading without images, 2) voice-over and concealed voice-over, 3) video without lead, 4) video with lead, 5) voice-over with video wall and 6) live transmission.¹¹ The evolution of the number of news stories has followed a trend that corresponds to the duration of TN. The edition with the most news stories (24) is from 2004, which coincides with the programme's maximum duration (70 minutes) (Graphics 1 and 3). This datum suggests the duration of each piece has not varied significantly over the years, despite the incorporation of new presentation techniques.

Another notable feature is the correspondence between the number of news stories and the number of pieces into which the story is divided. A news story may be developed through one or more separate pieces, depending on the relevance attributed to it or the resources available. This relationship has evolved unevenly overall, with a striking trend towards separation from 2004¹² (Graphic 3). This indicates that the overall duration of each news story has not varied over the period, but the duration of each constituent piece has, in general, fluctuated.

From 2006, the incorporation of new story presentation formats was observed, mainly due to the digitalisation of the image editing process and the definitive obsolescence of tapes. This system meant both audio and video pieces could be segmented and editing could be carried out in parallel; for this reason, increasing the number of pieces that made up a news story was viable. With a greater, more diverse wealth of options, the most traditional presentation method – video with lead – has lost popularity over the years.

A type of introduction that has practically disappeared is the verbal piece with no images, as this may be considered a solution for reporting a story when the channel cannot obtain any related images or graphics. Digital technology and the internet have simplified the process of finding resources – whether they come from the channel itself, agencies or even social media – to add images to breaking news. As a final resort, a map illustrating the location of the event may be displayed with a voice-over as a solution for breaking news stories.

4.3. Presence across the territory

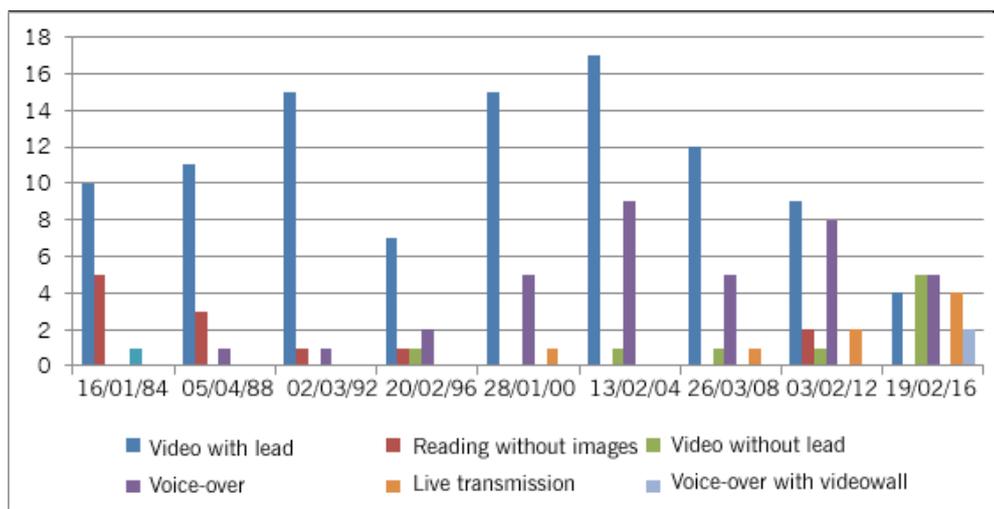
Although coverage of events outside Catalonia evidenced the universal nature of the Catalan television model, moving it away from localism, the programme needed to travel all over the Catalan territory to increase its visibility and strengthen emotional ties with its potential audience. This focus set the Catalan public television model apart from that of Spanish state public television. The adoption of Betacam cameras was a key part of this process; this equipment was light and therefore allowed professionals to move around “just like photographers and other European television channels did” (Marqueta, head of news and director of TN). This strategic decision was one of the pillars of this television model, influencing its news narrative

Graphic 3. Evolution of number of stories and informative pieces



Source: Sañas (2017, p. 92).

Graphic 4. Evolution of news presentation techniques



Source: Authors, using Sañas (2017, p. 94).

significantly,¹³ facilitating the movement of ENG teams around Catalonia to cover events in person and, therefore, familiarising the audience with TV3's image.

To further strengthen its connection with the territory, in 1990, TV3 set up regional delegations. Each functioned like a mini news team, with its own staff and resources, initially integrated and coordinated from the Catalonia section. This strategy aimed to broaden the local news provided, as a response to criticism that the programme was too Barcelona-centric.¹⁴

This willingness to make the presence and coverage of the whole territory clear to viewers also influenced staging and the formula used to close reports, still used today, that “includes mention of the location from which the news has been reported, along with the reporter’s name and the channel” (Sañas 2017, p. 30).

4.4. Immediacy

The incorporation of ENG teams made up of two professionals equipped with Betacam cameras who, taking turns, carried out all the news production tasks, from recording images to reading the story, reduced the time needed to produce the news. According to Marqueta (head of news and director of TN), TV3 chose the British model, sending small teams out to cover all kinds of event. This circumstance has influenced the channel's method of dealing with news narration and has created a sense of ubiquity in the eyes of the viewer, thanks to the production's immediacy.

Another formula employed to highlight this ubiquity is live transmissions from correspondents. Currently, a significant proportion of these transmissions is ensured by a series of

devices known as a '4G backpack', which broadcasts via the 4G network. Thanks to their technical viability and agile production, the use of live, on-the-scene transmissions complies with practically all format and editorial criteria decisions. In this sense, considerable variation was observed in the number of live transmissions, depending on the news team.

An analysis of the programmes and the TN editorial team's own experience do not corroborate Peralta's (2005) proposal; he defines live transmissions as the production of news simultaneously with the occurrence of the event and from the location in which it takes place. In most cases, the newsworthy event had passed or appeared as a secondary element. Questions such as 'Is a live transmission necessary from a protest that has already finished?' and 'Is it worth reporting live from a motorway with no traffic to illustrate the measures taken to reduce holiday traffic?' have been and still are part of the debate within TN news teams, which make the final decision. The answer usually depends on a consideration of two factors: news value and physical presence in the territory. The definitive question is: what does this live transmission achieve?

Apart from live transmissions, other resources have been used over the programme's history to evoke the idea of immediacy. In 1994, for the first time, images of the editorial team were shown on a green screen, creating the illusion that they were located behind the newsreaders. Viewers could see the editors working and deduced that they would be informed of all the latest news. For the same purpose, the use of communication devices by TN newsreaders – including telephones, laptops and tablets, depending on the era – made this up-to-the-minute communication clear to viewers.

4.5 Graphic design

The birth of TV3 coincided with a renaissance in graphic design, thanks to the introduction of the first computers. From the beginning, the channel created a news programme where graphic design played a leading role, keeping the TN brand visible at all times. In fact, Roure (producer) reveals that the great graphic designers from the written press ended up working in Catalan television. The first opening sequence designed by TV3 graphic designers is that of the third stage, as before this time, the necessary infrastructure and qualified professionals were not available at the channel. From this moment on, graphic design is present in most of TN's opening sequences, which seek to accentuate the ideology of Catalan public television. For

Matas (digital archive administrator and producer), one of the opening sequences that best represents the universal nature and multiperspective approach of this television project (Image 1) is that of the tenth stage.

In the early years, a sort of 'lectern' held a graphic element that identified the news story being reported. Unlike TVE, this was not a photograph, but rather a graphic creation or infographic. This method of illustrating the news through a fixed image has been maintained throughout the years, though technological advances have gradually improved this technique.

Creating an in-house graphic design team meant that this discipline could be integrated into the news itself. According to Sansa (TN producer), the decision was taken following the 11 September terrorist attacks in New York. That day's TN edition was hours long, and the need to provide graphic material clashed with logistical limitations, due to the lack of in-house team.

This was a highly significant step, as it meant graphic design was incorporated into the news team's journalistic production routines. It ceased to be exclusively a source of images and became part of the news itself. Graphic design as an element of the news has evolved towards highly complex virtual and augmented reality representations, the origins of which lie in a simple screen: the video wall.

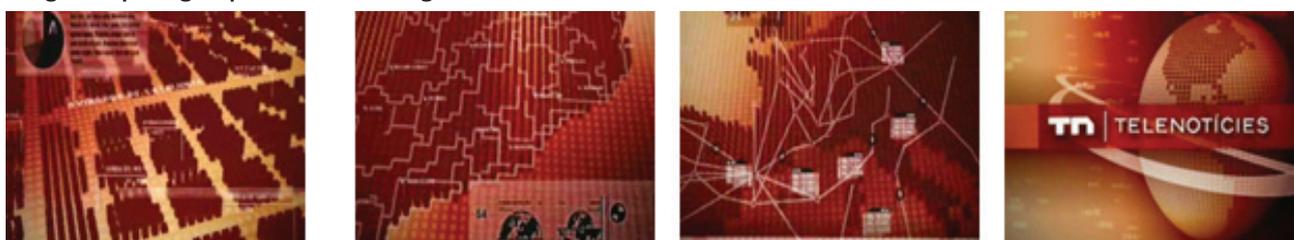
The video wall was introduced in 1999 to facilitate live transmissions from correspondents. However, over the years, it stopped being just a support tool and became another key part of news narration. In the ninth stage, the newsreaders moved around the set and interacted with the video wall. New graphic design techniques made it possible to illustrate complex stories, especially those of an economic nature, in a much clearer way.

4.6. Production processes

The newscast creation process has changed significantly over TN's more than 30 years on the airwaves. In this period, production routines have been adapted to technological advances, which can be summed up by 3 main changes: the computerisation of reports, the internet and the digitalisation of images.

The last typewriters were replaced by computers in the early 1990s. According to Grau (engineer), this transformation encouraged coordination between all the teams, who could access the running order from any computer in the office. For example, this meant that linguists could work on the original text

Image 1. Opening sequences. Tenth stage (2005 to 2014)



Source: Created by authors, using Sañas (2017, p. 109).

directly, without making corrections by hand. It also favoured the democratisation of information (Luzón 2001), as all the journalists had access to the information provided by agencies, which, until then, were filtered through the head of department.

Internet access made websites a new type of information source and, over time, resulted in the creation of new professional profiles (Luzón 2001). With a view to optimising the task of research, a database was created with the website addresses of political parties, institutions and associations. This new content, accessible to all users in the editorial department through the Intranet, was met with reticence from some professionals, who were used to having their own sources and even keeping information under lock and key.

In the early twenty-first century, the digital transformation of images meant that video tapes were replaced by data that could be created, transported, edited and shared electronically. Within the production routines, images were integrated into a system that had been computerised years before, through the introduction of Basys and devices connected through a network. Taking into account the status of images as a raw material in television, digitalisation must be understood as a transformation in all phases of news creation, from locating sources to the final TN broadcast.

4.7. A new way of informing: *El Temps*

From a Catalan language perspective, the role played by the weather forecast over the years must be highlighted. This section, designed as an opportunity to offer viewers day-to-day, useful, local information, normalised meteorological language in Catalan, using the nomenclature proposed by Eduard Fonserè (1948), founder of the Meteorological Service of Catalonia in 1921. Terms such as *calamarsa* [hail] and *clarianes* [patches of blue sky] were thus introduced into everyday language (Sañas 2017, 30). Another significant feature was the fact that the professionals who presented the weather were meteorologists, not specialised journalists; this criterion has been maintained throughout the years.

The digital technology evolution has led to improvement and diversification in the resources used for weather forecasting. A notable example of innovation is the introduction of Meteosat images to show how the weather is evolving, which has altered the narrative structure of the section. Over time, this space has ceased to be destined exclusively to the weather forecast, and now includes meteorological information from the past – through maps showing weather changes – and the present – through live pictures from certain locations.

Audience interaction was included from the mid-1990s onwards, coinciding with the popularisation of the internet and email throughout the population. Thanks to new technology, viewers could send in images and videos much more easily and quickly.

5. Conclusions

The main change observed in this analysis is probably not directly identifiable for the viewer. Digitalisation transformed professional tasks and every stage of TN production routines and, of course, influenced the shaping of the format. The eradication of tapes as a physical medium meant that audiovisual content could be found, edited and shared easily and in parallel among various users. Furthermore, an increase in narrative resources altered the information and editorial relevance protocols applied when devising the TN running order, which traditionally focused on position within the order and the duration of the piece.

In a similar vein, the main technological innovations were accompanied by professionals' willingness to implement them and, above all, make them visible to viewers. The use of technological potential as a prestigious tool resulted, on some occasions, in the overuse of new gadgets, especially in the first few weeks of their implementation. The "desire to try out the new toy", as defined by some sources, has not always been compatible with the protocols that govern the news on a public television channel. Overall, this analysis has demonstrated that time and learning have enabled the programme to harness new technology while striking the right balance between content and staging: a balance that, up to now, has guaranteed journalistic rigour.

TN has been a showpiece for the channel ever since it was founded; for this reason, the changes made must be understood from an organisational, logistical and, above all, strategic standpoint. Each piece of new technology has therefore not been incorporated until it has been proven effective in other programmes.¹⁵ On another note, the need to advance with new TN projects while broadcasting the existing programmes has also been a considerable obstacle.

The rigid format called for in newscasts by authors such as Sabarís (2002) has also been observed in TN, especially in the ninth stage. A change in posture for the newsreaders, from sitting down to standing up, increased both the diversity of the staging (set design, travelling, etc.) and the narrative possibilities.

Beyond TN as a television programme, there has been a desire to create a distinct brand for TV3 news. The editorial team's experience and know-how have created and consolidated a unique style of news creation and presentation, separate from the more media-oriented figure of the newsreaders. The strategic decisions taken over the years have contributed towards creating a continuous news model, with the aim of making viewers loyal and differentiating the product from that of the competition.

The *El Temps* weather section has played a highly relevant role in the search for closeness to and empathy with the audience, thus strengthening the emotional link with the TV brand. The incorporation of technological resources has generated new narratives in a space in which the weather forecast itself has relinquished quantitative weight in favour of audience

interaction. The consolidation of the internet and mobile phones in the late 1990s meant that viewers could collaborate by providing images, with the incentive of seeing their contribution on the television.

This study has highlighted that technology, while remaining an important element that participates in the definition and evolution of a format, is not a decisive factor. Without a coherent project based on journalistic rigour, it is difficult to avoid technological innovations becoming a simple aesthetic element that encourages spectacularisation. Before adopting a new piece of technology, its potential contribution to the television news narrative must be weighed up. This analysis has also revealed the importance of involving the audience: sometimes as a protagonist, sometimes as a spectator. This challenge must be considered and planned carefully, both quantitatively and, especially, in terms of recognising interests and expectations between the channel and the audience. Given the results, this analysis has evidenced that TN continues to prove its ability to adapt to the future: an essential quality for any format.

Notes

1. Tension between the Catalan and Spanish governments threatened the Catalan television model on numerous occasions, at a time when the only television reference points in Catalonia were the two Televisión Española channels.
2. From this point onwards, 'TN' will be used as a synonym of Telenotícies.
3. <<http://www.ccma.cat/corporatiu/ca/missio-i-principis/>>
4. Except on one occasion, set changes coincide with the introduction of a new opening sequence.
5. The authors would like to thank TV3 and all the interviewed professionals for their willingness to collaborate with the study.
6. In addition, the winter and summer time slots were unified, at 9 p.m.
7. As compensation, advertising airtime could be increased by 50% in the hour before and after TN.
8. The duration is defined as the time between the opening clock and the final credits.
9. In this period, it reached 13 minutes, prolonging TN to 70 minutes.
10. Between 1989 and 1990, three media groups created their own television channels: Atresmedia (Antena 3), Mediaset España (Telecinco) and Prisa (Canal+).
11. In the sample viewed, no representation of augmented reality was observed live on the set. For this reason, it has not been included in this analysis.
12. The clear difference between the number of stories and individual pieces observed in 1986 is neither representative nor conclusive. A second analysis of this programme revealed that the reason for this deviation is the news story on the debate in the Congress of Deputies. In just one news story, up to seven short pieces were included, most of which being declarations from each political entity with parliamentary representation.
13. One of the stories with the most international resonance in the first months was the arrest of El Vaquilla in 1984, which a TV3 ENG team covered live from the centre of Barcelona to provide the latest information.
14. In 1986, a group of teachers from Lleida endorsed a text entitled *El català, llengua nacional o idioma municipal?* [Catalan: a national or municipal language?], which accused the Catalan used on TV3 of being dominated by language used in Barcelona.
15. The potential of augmented reality was initially tested in electoral programmes. 4G backpacks, meanwhile, were introduced for the first time in non-news programmes.

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