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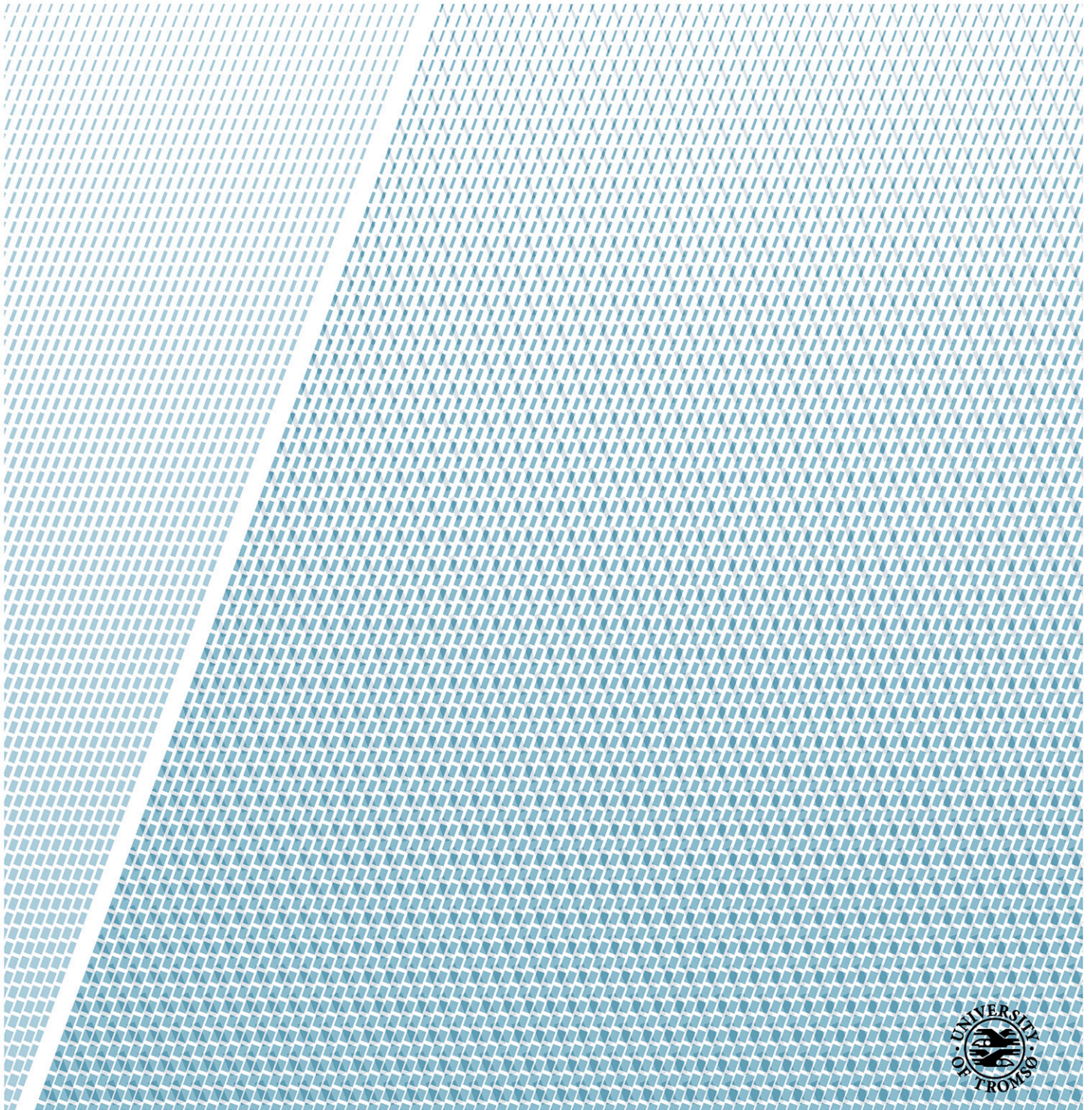
NRK TV-AKSJONEN

The Norwegian self-perception and world image

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ABSTRACT

TV-aksjonen is an annual telethon hosted by the Norwegian state-channel NRK. Since 1974, the telethon's aim has been to fundraise money for humanitarian purposes, and enlighten the Norwegian people about world issues. This thesis examines the role TV-aksjonen plays in the Norwegian self-perception. Further, the aim of this project has also been to identify the possible consequences for how the Norwegians perceive the world through the lens of TV-aksjonen. The concepts of collective identity, cosmopolitanism and power have provided the theoretical framework for this project. These theoretical concepts, and through qualitative interviews and analysing of commending speeches for TV-aksjonen I have examined the role TV-aksjonen plays in the Norwegian self-perception and its representations of the world. The analysis show that TV-aksjonen plays a role in Norwegian self-perception to gather the Norwegian people under the national collective identity of being a good and generous. In order to maintain or even create this collective identity, my findings show that TV-aksjonen uses common references points such the Norwegian tradition to volunteer. Further, my findings imply that TV-aksjonen is duplex. On the one side TV-aksjonen is based on an altruistic idea, and can be stated is held for a *they*, who will benefit from the money. On the other side, TV-aksjonen is also held for Norwegians to have the opportunity to reflect or even confirm their Norwegian self-perception of being good and generous.

Keywords: TV-aksjonen, telethon, self-perception, world image, collective identity, cosmopolitanism, power, humanitarian, generosity, Norwegian, volunteer effort, simplified presentations

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In memory of Percy Oware (1966-2016)

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1. INTRODUCTION

This is a national effort, with deep roots in our country. Everyone can contribute, and many wish to do so. On the day of TV-aksjonen we stand together as something greater than ourselves, and united across our differences (...).

(Kronprins Haakon Magnus, 2011)¹

1.1 TOPIC DESCRIPTION

TV-aksjonen is the name of the annual fundraising event hosted by the Norwegian state channel *Norsk rikskringkasting* (NRK). *TV-aksjonen* is an example of a telethon, which is a concept combined by the two words *television* and *marathon*. Telethon is a collective term for TV programmes which stretch out for several hours and where the purpose is to fundraise money. The Irish media sociologist, Eoin Devereux states that a telethon is different from other television genres in a number of respects. The broadcaster puts on a fundraising role, and involves the suspense of normal television programming. The telethon is lengthy, therefore the association to the term marathon. A telethon involves the participation of celebrities, and relies on the corporate sector both national and international to contribute. The broadcasting involves a great amount of audience participation both as fundraisers and as subscribers in different ways and the broadcast emphasises on portraying individuals, groups or communities, which have made an effort for the good cause. In theory, a telethon offers the opportunity to gain a greater insight of the world's poor through the use of interviews and film segments. To supplement the informative part of telethons, there are often entertaining segments using humour to engage the public even more. In general, telethons do not attempt to challenge the status quo, and instead proffers the idea that charitable donations are the answered to global issues such as poverty (Devereux, 1996). In addition to NRK's *TV-aksjonen*, there are other telethons in Norway. The television broadcaster TV2, hosts the annual telethon *Artistgalla* usually in March. One non-profit organisation gets the money from TV2's telethon, and the goal is to enlist as many sponsors ²as possible during the telethon. The same accounts for another Norwegian television broadcaster, TVNorge which

¹ The source is from a webpage; in printed version the quote is on page 1.

² In this context, a sponsor means a person, which donates money to a volunteer organisation on a regular basis, usually this entails donating a specific amount once a month or every 6 months.

host an annual telethon in December together with UNICEF (The United Nations Children's Fund), named *Unicef Humorkveld* (UNICEF Night of Humour) The purpose of TVNorge's telethon is also to enlist sponsors. NRK TV-aksjonen differs from the mentioned other telethons that they do not promote sponsorships for the annual organisations that receives TV-aksjonen. The purpose is rather to promote the cause, instead of the organisation.

NRK refers to TV-aksjonen as *Verdens største dugnad*, which can be translated into *the world's greatest volunteer effort*. Truly, TV-aksjonen is the largest fundraising event measured in funds donated per capita, and number of participants. It has therefore become one of the most effective ways for Norwegian volunteer organisations to finance their projects. According to NRK's webpage about TV-aksjonen (NRK, 2016a), the young, the old, the business sector, the government, the royal family, politicians, the schools, the unions participate in the fundraising. In other words, TV-aksjonen unfolds in a space between the public and the private. TV-aksjonen represents a bridge between the official and unofficial. Before and during the direct broadcast acknowledged experts and politicians, both national and international, talk about the importance of the work and the financial contribution the Norwegian people make in the fundraising event. TV-aksjonen portrays the Norwegian people as a people who sees development - and environmental issues as collective, and global concerns. Although altruism, which in this context means "a behaviour that shows a desire to help other people and a lack of selfishness" (Meeriam-Webster, 2016), is not unique to Norway, no other country has organised a similar large-scale collective effort year after year. This portrait can be linked up to the concept of Norway's self-image as a superpower within development and peace, to examine in which way TV-aksjonen plays a part in confirming this image. I will therefore discuss how the Norwegian self-perception and their world image is possibly influenced by TV-aksjonen. This brings us to my research question,

Which role does TV-aksjonen play in the Norwegian self-perception, and what are the consequences for how Norwegians perceive and portray the world?

In this thesis, I choose to use the Norwegian name *TV-aksjonen* instead of the English translation *NRK telethon* to make it clear that I am talking about a specific telethon, and not of telethons in general. Further, the term *Norwegian self-perception* is in this paper connected to the references of being good, generous and benevolent, since these features are a repeated theme through telethons in general, as Devereux stated. Additionally, the discussion carried

out in this thesis will be concerned with TV-aksjonen's international development-related causes in mind. Further, the research question is based on the fact that certain factors are taken for granted. As mentioned in the previous paragraph it is based on the understanding that Norway has an agenda linked to its self-perception as a nation for humanitarian efforts and peace. TV-aksjonen's role will therefore be examined through the lens of this understanding. The research question is also based on the assumption that Norway's self-image *is* as a peace and development nation. Furthermore, it is also based on the assumption that TV-aksjonen does play a role in this self-perception, however *which* role it plays is the core of the discussion. Additionally, the notion that TV-aksjonen's portrayal of the different topics each year have consequences for how we understand and portray the world. The aim of this study is to identify and discuss these consequences.

The theoretical foundation within a master thesis helps situate your topic within the field of academia. A theory can also guide your research or be altered to fit new situations. In order to answer my research question, I will employ the three main concepts of collective identity, cosmopolitanism and power. I argue that collective identity theory is relevant as it provides a theoretical understanding of TV-aksjonen's role in the Norwegian self-perception. Further, TV-aksjonen plays on humanitarian values to engage the Norwegian people around the annual cause, cosmopolitanism therefore serves as a useful concept to discuss these values and the possible consequences for how Norwegians perceive the world. Moreover, is also relevant to discuss the consequences for how Norwegians perceive the world through power theory. My assumption is that TV-aksjonen plays on cosmopolitan values, however at the same time has aspects of power by representing the annual cause in a way that possible results in simplified representations of the world.

A challenge with TV-aksjonen is that it is an event which have been present in the Norwegian media landscape for decades, and therefore has a broad composition of TV-shows, documentaries, radio shows, news and debate articles, used as an example in different academic writing and more. A prerequisite for my data collection is that it is comprehensive, which makes it representative of an overall picture of TV-aksjonen throughout history. Additionally, it had to be feasible to collect the data due to the limitation of time and the length of this project. The data analysed for this study was therefore collected through two main avenues. Firstly, qualitative research by conducting semi-structured interviews with

eight criteria-based informants. The informants have key positions ³at their workplace, which are in one way or the other related to the development field either in a non-governmental organisation or in a governmental institution. Furthermore, based on their work position, the key informants have been identified as relevant interview objects to answer and elaborate on questions related to my research. The interviewees will not be identified by name, a choice which will be elaborated upon in the method chapter. Secondly, five commending speeches⁴, which have been held for TV-aksjonen from different representatives of the Norwegian society will be analysed through discourse analysis. Secondary sources in the form of existing literature on this issue, as well as watching the broadcast from TV-aksjonen 2014: *vann forandrer alt* (Water changes everything), are also part of the data used in the project. The data are complementary and have been strategically chosen to ensure a variety of data, in order to have a balanced analysis to discuss my research question. The data collection has provided me with a strong basis for my study. However, it also has its limitations and challenges, such as the data's reliability and validity (see chapter 2 for more on the method and process of this project).

1.2 MOTIVATION

During my bachelor degree in development studies, I was introduced to the image of Norway as a superpower within peace and development. I found it fascinating that a country identifies itself with these concepts. The reasons for this I have often discussed during my master studies in Peace and Conflict Transformation. Furthermore, working as an intern at the Royal Norwegian Embassy in Malawi, I was able to get an insight and get direct experience with Norwegian foreign politics, public affairs and diplomacy in relation to development cooperation with another country. Together, my academic background and my experience working at an embassy in a developing country has evoked my fascination for exploring the reasons for why Norway has the self-image as a humanitarian, peace nation. I therefore wished to continue my interest in this field by discussing which part TV-aksjonen plays in the Norwegian self-perception.

³ Key positions are understood as the position the informants have at their workplace which make them capable to address questions related to this project based on own background and experience working within the field of development. Such key position could be as an adviser or a leader.

⁴ I have coined the term *commending speech* from the Norwegian word *appell*, which in this context means a speech which aims to encourage people to donate or volunteer for a good cause

1.3 PRIOR RESEARCH

TV-aksjonen has many times been the subject of research and discussion before this study. The historian Terje Tvedt has been an active voice in the TV-aksjonen debate throughout the years. His research on NRK-TV-aksjonen is linked to the field of humanitarian communication, and one pamphlet worth mentioning is *Den norske samaritan: Ritualer, selvbilder og utviklingshjelp* (The Norwegian Samaritan: rituals, self-images and development aid). In this pamphlet Tvedt claims that TV-aksjonen confirms the Norwegian people's image of being world champions in goodness (Tvedt, 1995). In 2003, Tvedt's perspective on TV-aksjonen is also mentioned in the book *Utviklingshjelp, utenrikspolitikk og makt: Den norske modellen* (Development aid, foreign policy and power: The Norwegian model), where he defines the term goodness regime (Tvedt, 2009). A term I will further highlight in chapter 6 concerning the power aspects of TV-aksjonen. In 2008, Tvedt's article *Speilbildenes speilbilde. Norsk mentalhistorie, NRK og journalistikkens sammenbrudd* (The mirror image of mirror images: Norwegian mental history, NRK and the breakdown of journalism) (Tvedt, 2008), sparked the criticism around NRK TV-aksjonen. The criticism was concerned with how NRK TV-aksjonen portrayed the western world as superior to countries in the south, and reproduced an untrue world image. Also, in this article, Tvedt criticised NRK for using journalists as hosts for TV-aksjonen and claimed it to be inconsistent with the journalistic demand to be independent and objective.

One PhD dissertation has been written about TV-aksjonen, namely Siri Lindøe's dissertation from 2016 *Lidelse på TV: en undersøkelse av audiovisuelle fortellergrep og narrative strukturer i NRK TV-aksjonen* (Suffering on Television: Audio-visual representations and narratives structures in Norway's public broadcasting's annual charity appeal), where she investigated how human suffering is mediated in TV-aksjonen. The purpose of her dissertation has been to increase the knowledge about the audio-visual representations and narratives that are used to represent suffering in TV-aksjonen (Lindøe, 2016).

Additionally, six master theses have been written on the subject of TV-aksjonen. These are Skeie (1996), Olsen (2007), Hytten (2010), Hegna (2010) Tobiassen (2011) and Grimsrud (2013). The theses touch upon a broad spectre of theoretical approaches. Strategic communication, journalistic approaches, rhetoric and discourse analysis have been central in

their work. In addition to Lindøe's dissertation, these theses more or less explicitly discuss the telethon's legitimacy and which values are challenged through TV-aksjonen.

NRK og den norske dugnaden. Ein analyse av TV-aksjonen Grenseløs omsorg (NRK and the Norwegian volunteer effort. An analysis of TV-aksjonen's unlimited care) is a rhetoric analysis examining how NRK's need for legitimacy was mirrored during the live broadcast of TV-aksjonen titled *Grenseløs omsorg* in 1993 (Skeie, 1996). *Bistand og journalistikk: en sammenligning av tv-aksjonen Redd Barna 2003 og tv-aksjonen Hjerterom 2004 med utgangspunkt i kritisk diskursanalyse* (Aid and journalism: a comparative critical discourse analysis between TV-aksjonen Save the Children in 2003 and TV-aksjonen *Hjerterom* in 2004), highlights the differences between the two broadcasts by discussing the representation of the receiver and the construction of *us* in relation to *them* (Olsen, 2007). In 2010, Siri Hytten wrote in her master thesis *Journalistikkens sammenbrudd* (The breakdown of journalism), about TV-aksjonen as an arena for conflict between different journalistic ideals, and she criticised NRK for lacking political depth and critical journalism around the event, where she asked "should journalism be the watchdog or the glue of the society?" (Hytten, 2010). The same year, Line Hegna, criticised TV-aksjonen in her master thesis *Bøssebærere eller meningsbærere* (Standard collector or collector of meaning?)⁵ by focusing on TV-aksjonen's deliberative rhetoric and discussing the lack of deliberative potentials (Hegna, 2010). In her master thesis *Medlidenhet vs. ansvarlighet* (Pity vs. responsibility) from 2011, Silje Tobiassen, discussed how the Norwegian Refugee Council's TV-aksjon 2010, was related to the mainstream asylum and refugee debate in Norway at the time (Tobiassen, 2011). In 2012, Stine Grimsrud discussed the rhetoric terms of TV-aksjonen, focusing on the broadcast, which illustrated either entertainment or suffering, in her master thesis *Retoriske vilkår i TV-aksjonen 2012* (Rhetorical terms in TV-aksjonen 2012) (Grimsrud, 2013).

Inspired by previous research and following the debate in the media about TV-aksjonen led me to my research focus. My project differs from prior research and debates by focusing on TV-aksjonen as a concept, and my research question has been examined through a theoretical framework, which to my knowledge have not been used in previous analysis of TV-aksjonen.

⁵ Bøssebærere in Norwegian refers to a person going from door to door with a container called "bøsse", in its literal meaning "container carrier".

1.4 RELEVANCE FOR PEACE STUDIES

The field of peace and conflict studies is interdisciplinary, and similarly this study relies on different disciplines hereby history, social psychology and political science. In relation to peace studies, development is an important concept within this field, for instance as part of peace transformation development mechanisms are used to establish sustainable peace. In Norway, development aid has a strong position, both in their foreign politics, and for the national self-image. The image as a peace nation is often associated as a forerunner within peace negotiations and humanitarian efforts. This image can be argued to be built on certain values and beliefs in Norway, which I wish to identify by discussing the role TV-aksjonen plays in this self-perception. Since TV-aksjonen can be interpreted as Norway's collective confirmation of these values and beliefs, this study is therefore relevant for peace studies to further understand how peace and development can be used as a self-image for a country and in return contribute to the process of peace and development in the world.

1.5 OUTLINE OF THESIS

This chapter has given a short background to TV-aksjonen, an introduction to the topic of the thesis, and discussed what prior research has been done on the topic of TV-aksjonen in general, and on the Norwegian self-image in relation to TV-aksjonen specifically.

Furthermore, this chapter has explained the scope of the project, introduced my research question, and discussed the operationalisation of this thesis. The relevance to peace studies and my motivation for the topic has also been introduced.

Chapter 2 will outline the methodological approach taken in this project, as well reflections and limitations around my choice of data collection.

Chapter 3 focuses on contextualising TV-aksjonen within Norway's history concerning humanitarianism and being a peace nation. The chapter provides relevant background of the humanitarian discourse in Norway, and background about TV-aksjonen itself.

The theoretical backdrop and the analysis will be elaborated in chapters 4, 5 and 6. Initially, each of these chapters are theoretical based, a choice made to provide a backdrop which situates the analysis. In chapter 4, the analysis is discussed through the lens of collective identity, and focuses on the role the TV-aksjonen plays in the Norwegian self-perception. Chapter 5 uses cosmopolitan theory as a basis to discuss the research question. Power theory

provides the theoretical framework of the analysis in chapter 6, where the consequences for how Norwegians perceive the world are the focus.

Chapter 7 sums up my findings and arguments made throughout the main three chapters. The chapter will also provide further reflections around the topic I have discussed, as well as suggestions to further research.

2. METHOD AND REFLECTIONS

Curiosity and necessity drive human inquiry. We may seek to understand the world around us for the sake of knowledge, or we seek to understand it so that we may protect or better our lot in it.

(Manheim et al., 2006: 1)

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In research, method plays an important part. This is also very true when a thesis is planned and written, a process that can be demanding and intense. The aim of this chapter is to clarify and justify the reasons for how I attempt to answer my research question: *Which role does TV-aksjonen play in the Norwegian self-perception, and what are the consequences for how Norwegians perceive and portray the world?* by introducing this project's research design. Moreover, I will also engage in some reflections around the data collection. The method of my project was altered during the course of my data collection, and the process through which I arrived at my research question will be discussed in the first section of this chapter. The data has been collected through three categories: qualitative interviews, commending speeches⁶ and commercials from TV-aksjonen 2014: *vann forandrer alt* (water changes everything). The primary source of analysis is semi-structured interviews, and I will therefore in the section on data collection elaborate on the choice of informants and the interview process. Additionally, I will introduce discourse analysis as a methodical approach to analyse commending speeches, as well as the commercials from TV-aksjonen 2014.

2.2 METHOD AND PROCESS

In the field of humanities and social science, qualitative research is often used as an alternative to quantitative research. Alan Bryman (2008) claims that qualitative research differs from quantitative research by emphasising words rather than numbers. The epistemological feature is described as interpretivist, where the goal is to understand and interpret the meanings in human behaviour rather than to generalise and predict causes and effects. The qualitative research's ontological foundation is based on the idea that the world is not given but constructed (Bryman, 2008).

⁶ Recall from the introduction chapter, I have coined the term "commending speech" from the Norwegian word "appell", which in this context means a speech which aims to encourage people to donate or volunteer for a good cause

In my project I have chosen to approach the research through the qualitative method of semi-structured interviews. I chose to have eight semi-structured interviews to gain insight to the opinions of those working in the development and aid business about TV-aksjonen⁷. In addition, I will use qualitative discourse analysis of five commending speeches in the timeline between 2011-2015. Through discourse analysis method⁸ I aim to identify what the people who speaks on behalf of TV-aksjonen chooses to highlight when they speak about the cause, and encourage people to volunteer. Further, I seek to examine the arguments, in these speeches to identify if there are any similarities in these arguments since it is different people who hold these speeches every year. Furthermore, I have chosen two commercials for TV-aksjonen 2014. The commercials are based on a normative aspect, where people suffering in one way the other are conveyed through these commercials. I will therefore attempt to use discourse analysis to examine the effects used to encourage the Norwegian people to donate and/or volunteer for TV-aksjonen.

In my project I use a triangulation approach, as I have chosen the two methods of semi-structured interviews and discourse analysis. The expression *triangulation* comes from navigation and land surveying, where triangulation maps an area by dividing it into triangles. In social science, the term entails using more than one source or method of data in the study of a social phenomenon. Sociologist Sigmund Grønmo (2004) calls this the method-triangulation and argues that this approach sheds light on the research question from different angles through the use of different data and methods. Additionally, he argues for three benefits for using this approach. Firstly, the combination of data and method provide opportunities for theoretic diversity. Different theories can require different sets of data and methods. By contributing to a nuanced and ample understanding of these phenomena, which are to be studied, the triangulation approach helps situating these phenomena in light of different theoretical perspectives. Secondly, the triangulation approach can strengthen the trust to the method used and the results in a study. If the analysis is based on different data and methods, but yields identical results, Grønmo argues that we can have then trust that the method used is relevant and fruitful, and that the results are reliable. The third, and final benefit, is that the triangulation can establish the foundation for academic renewal. For

⁷ The choice of qualitative interviews, selection of informants, and the interview process and is further outlined within sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2

⁸ The reason for choosing these commending speeches and examine two commercials from TV-aksjonen 2014 is further elaborated in section 2.3.3

instance, if there is a deviation between the analysis results which are built on different methods, this can result in new interpretations and develop new approaches (Grønmo, 2004). Before I will further elaborate on my data sources, I will firstly give a backdrop to the process of development of my research question, as this changed along the way due to unforeseen events.

The initial plan for my project was based on the primary research question *how accessible is the information on what happens with the fundraising money once the TV-aksjonen broadcast is over for the general public?* with the secondary question being *has the general public shown any interest in knowing what happens after the fundraising, and what could the reason for doing so/not doing so be.* Therefore, the initial plan was to have a case study of one of the organisations that received TV-aksjonen from a period back in order to have a discussion on the results achieved and lessons learned from their experience with TV-aksjonen. My case study was supposed to be Save the Children, which had TV-aksjonen in 2003. I would ask Save the Children whether or not anyone had contacted them to get information about the results TV-aksjonen had contributed to. The same question was also discussed with NRK. In this research design, the main sources of data were supposed to be documents from the archives of Save the Children in addition to semi-structured interviews with NRK and Save the Children.

During the data collection I initially started in May/June 2015 it became evident that the access to documents informing how the money had been spent was transparent. By contacting NRK, I received all the documents I asked for, namely the budgets and yearly reports from Save the Children on how the money was spent. In relation to my secondary question, both NRK and Save the Children answered that no one had contacted them to get information on what happened with the money after TV-aksjonen. In other words, the assumption I had in advanced, that the information about the results of the fundraised money was not easily accessible, was wrong. Based on these findings I chose to alter the focus of my research question, and shifting the collection of data slightly. The research question was adjusted to evolve around the role TV-aksjonen plays in the Norwegian self-perception as altruistic and generous. In addition, I added the question of which consequences TV-aksjonen can have for how the Norwegians perceive and portray the world. A researcher needs to be aware of possible unforeseen events and/or results and therefore be prepared for possible changes of focus in the project. This became the case for my initially project, which led to an adjustment

of focus, which still evolved around the same general topic. Nevertheless, part of the data collected during the initially research, is interesting to further discuss and will be focused upon in chapter 6. Furthermore, after the preliminary data collection in May and June 2015, my second data collection involving semi-structured interviews took place in December 2015.

2.3 DATA COLLECTION

The primary data source for this project has been interviews in order to gather information and reflections regarding the interplay between TV-aksjonen and the Norwegian identity, as well identifying possible consequences of TV-aksjonen representations of the world. I interviewed eight informants, all of them were interviewed once, but I contacted two of them by email at a later time to ask them to clarify some of their answers. The interviews lasted between 40 minutes to one hour. Supplementary sources are discourse analysis of five commending speeches, and two commercials from *TV-aksjonen 2014: vann forandrer alt*.

2.3.1 Choosing informants

The selected informants for this project were done through a mix of purposive and snowball sampling. Purposive sampling was done by reading newsletters or other publications, around the topic of TV-aksjonen to identify relevant informants who had expressed their opinion about the telethon. Through the snowball method, I was also able to contact relevant informants. Grønmo (2004) states this is a form of strategic selection of informants with the help of the informants themselves, by asking them to suggest other informants to contact. I had a limited overview and insight to who could be relevant to interview other than those found through publications, I therefore considered it valuable to exploit the informants own assessments of who they considered relevant informants for my project. The criteria I set for my informants was that they worked within the field of aid and development, and therefore possibly had an opinion about TV-aksjonen in relation to the Norwegian self-perception and the way TV-aksjonen portrays the annual cause each year affects how the viewer understand the world. Additionally, I sought a diversity of informants, which could represent different viewpoints on TV-aksjonen.

As mentioned, I interviewed eight informants for this project. Three out of eight informants wished to be anonymous. I have therefore decided to anonymise all my informants, as I believe that if I had chosen to use name for some but not all, these statements and quotations could be more emphasised on and believed to be more valid than statements from the

anonymous sources. A possible consequence with this anonymising is that the method's verifiability and reliability weakens. Although more interviews could have been conducted to gather more anonymous sources to balance out those statements with names, due to the limited time of data collection this was not feasible. Nevertheless, without breaking the anonymity of my informants, I will in the analysis use quotes, which identifies their work place. I chose to do so to provide the background the informant speaks from. All my informants have a key position⁹ in a governmental institution or non-governmental organisation. Their workplace is either related to the development field in general, and to TV-aksjonen specifically, which provides them with the capacity to be interviewed for my project concerning TV-aksjonen.

Out of the eight informants there are two women and six men. I interviewed all of them in person except one, which I interviewed over the phone. Before the interviews, I corresponded through email and/or phone with my informants where I introduced my project. I gave all my informants the opportunity to decide where they wanted the interview to take place, this was either at their office or in a public area such as at a café. This was a strategic choice to create a comfortable atmosphere for the informants to be interviewed.

All my informants were informed about by my connection to the master programme in *Peace and Conflict Transformation*, at the University of Tromsø and agreed to participate. All of the informants I only met in an interview situation, and I met all of them only once. This is pointed out to highlight what I see as objective circumstances where the relation between the informants and I, have been guided by the interview situation and not by other relations.

2.3.2 Interviews

In-depth interviews where the informants get the opportunity to give detailed responses and reflections can provide a better understanding of different processes (Gerring, 2007).

Sociologist Asbjørn Johannessen et al (2009) defines semi-structured interviews as an overall interview guide which sets the foundation for the interview, while questions, topics and order varies. Political scientist Beth L. Leech (2002) argues that choosing semi-structured interviews is a middle ground which can provide detail, depth, and an insider's perspective. In

⁹ Recall, in this context key positions are understood as positions which makes the informant capable to answer based on the background/experience of working with TV-aksjonen specifically or within development/aid field in general.

addition, Leech claims that semi-structured interviews allow the informant to be the expert and to inform the researcher. Choosing semi-structured interviews¹⁰ made it possible for me as the researcher to control the path of the interview. Furthermore, I could also maintain a certain degree of flexibility during the interviews if the informant made statements I found interesting to further engage with. This results in as Grønmo (2004) argues, a form of analysis that takes place at the same time as the data collection. Due to my position as a researcher I interpreted the responses from my informants with the aim to form new or follow-up questions during the interview.

After the first two interviews I realised that some of the questions could be unclear or leading. I therefore changed the structure of the interview guide to be more flexible, where the questions did not have to be answered in a particular order. The reason for this choice was as Grønmo (2004) states, to make the interview more driven by the informants and the result was that the questions became more adaptable to the thematic development of the interview. This development was a result of how I as the interviewer became more comfortable in my role. Furthermore, as my confidence as an interviewer grew I became qualified to better understand the development of the interview. For instance, I felt comfortable in guiding the interview back to the relevant topics for my project, when the conversation started to derail.

During my interviews I was allowed by informants to use audio recording. The possible negative side with using audio recording is that the informants might feel uncomfortable about speaking openly around certain topics. The topic of TV-aksjonen can be seen as a sensitive topic, as it involves criticising an event, which aims to fundraise for humanitarian purposes, and make the Norwegian people do good deeds. As a measurement to make the informant feel comfortable to speak openly and gaining trust I initially in every interview stated that the recording was only available for me to listen to. Further, the records would be deleted after I had transcribed the interviews. Despite the possible negative consequences of audio recording, I chose this tool, because it made me as an interviewer more relaxed and I did not have to think about writing detailed notes. One exception was, when I had one phone interview, I was not able to use audio record, and therefore took notes. Using audio recording also made it possible for me to listen to the conversation later on and make an accurate transcription of the interviews, and I will therefore not run the risk of misquoting the

¹⁰ An example of how my semi-structured interview guide could look like is provided in the appendix

interview objects. I transcribed all my interviews shortly after the interview had taken place, I was therefore able to make adjustments either to add or clarify questions for the next interview. This part of the process can be seen as an analysis interlinked with the data collection itself, where notes and records are transcribed and analysed along the way as the data collection develops. According to Grønmo (2004), it gives an increased insight to the project's research question as well as methodological experiences of value for the further data collection.

2.3.3 Discourse analysis

As a supplementary source to the qualitative interviews, I have used the approach of discourse analysis, by examining the content text in five commending speeches and two commercials from TV-aksjonen 2014: *vann foranderer alt*. Furthermore, to create a historical context, I have used existing literature in forms of newsletter and publications by other scholars which will be presented in the background chapter. Also, this literature will be used as supplement to my other data in my analysis.

Discourse analysis is a broad term, and there are several approaches, rather than a single one, says Bryman (2008). Sociologist Fran Tonkiss (2012) states that discourse analysis takes place within the social and cultural research by focusing on the production of meaning through text and talk. In this context, the term *discourse analysis* understood as the systematic and thorough review of the content in a certain text. Discourse analysis does in this regard aim to clarify how the text as a whole is structured by a larger mindset. In general, texts can be chosen text quotations, images from a broadcast and other context elements, which aim to highlight specific research questions. It can for example evolve around getting an insight into which arguments, standpoints, attitudes and values are emphasised on in different texts (Grønmo, 2004).

The term *discourse* I refer to in this context as “a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – i.e a way of representing – a particular kind of about a topic” (Hall, 1992: 290, cited in Tonkiss, 2012). The group of statements used in this project is the five commending speeches, which have been held for TV-aksjonen in the timeline between 2011-2015. I chose from the timeline from 2011 up to TV-aksjonen 2015, to make it topical to understand how these speakers encourages the Norwegian people to contribute in Norway today and not in 1974. Although it would be interesting to possible compare commending

speeches from previously years, it demands a data collection I was not able to do due to the limited time of the master process. Further, I have chosen these commending speeches as they represent the public discourse of what is said about TV-aksjonen. These speeches illustrate arguments presented for the Norwegian public, while the qualitative interviews represent information I have received first-hand, which is possibly not presented in the public. My assumption is that the discourse used in the official space will to some extent vary to what the informants says about TV-aksjonen. I could have chosen several commending speeches to analyse, however as this data serves as a supplementary source I made the strategic choice of selecting five. I chose the commending speeches based on who held them, hence not only the organisation itself which had TV-aksjonen but also actors of the Norwegian society such as the Royal Family and celebrities. The purpose is to illustrate how TV-aksjonen is talked about and to examine whether or not there are certain terms, which are repeated in a context to encourage the Norwegian people to contribute. In other words, I wish to examine the commending speeches through the use of discourse analysis to assess how these might play a role in upholding the Norwegian identity. Additionally, I wish to examine the content, which illustrated the cause of TV-aksjonen 2014: *vann forandrer alt*. The purpose here is to add a third variable, in addition to the interviews of informants and the commending speeches. By examining the representations used in these two commercials will provide a basis for the discussion concerning which consequences TV-aksjonen's portrayal of one cause can affect the viewers understanding the world, in this context the developing countries.

Both semi-structured interviews and discourse analysis are forms of qualitative methods and an inductive approach is used in this thesis. A deductive approach aims to deduce or divert hypothesis from the theory which are to be tested. Studies which emphasise on interpretation or generating theory uses often an inductive approach. The latter approach focuses on inducing or building up a certain theoretical framework based on the empirical analyses which are carried out. The methodological approaches of inductive and deductive are not necessarily dichotomies, as they can interplay where inductive can have elements of the deductive and vice versa (Grønmo, 2004). My project focuses on inducing what TV-aksjonen might tell us about Norwegian identity, and how this might be connected to the national identity of Norway as a peace and development nation.

2.4 CHALLENGES AND EXPERIENCES

In addition to altering the focus of the research after my preliminary data collection, there were also other factors which impacted the process of the data collection. Since I will analyse a concept I will focus on challenges and limitations rather than assumptions or hypotheses. My project will not focus on a yes/no answer but rather be an analysis of a concept based on data, literature and theory. One pitfall could be to come with unfounded claims in order to address this discussion. Therefore, one challenge is to make sure that my analysis holds relevance with my chosen literature and data collection. This section will elaborate on the factors of the researcher's role, the data's validity and reliability.

Often, what passes for analysis is merely an expression of one's life experiences applied to a specific issue. From that sin stems another – that of selecting facts and insights to defend a particular vision. To this dilemma there may be no solution (Kaplan, 2003: Preface).

The above quotation illustrates how depictions affect representations. During the process of working with this project, I have attempted to be aware of the fact that representations usually arrive based on place, context and/or with a purpose. I have therefore tried to approach this project open-mindedly seeking to understand the role TV-aksjonen plays in the Norwegian self-perception. In addition, I will discuss what consequences TV-aksjonen's portrayal of the world affects the viewers. One pitfall is to become normative in the discussion, as part of the analysis will reflect upon the critics of TV-aksjonen. One measurement to avoid this pitfall is my attempt of interviewing informants, which represent different opinions about TV-aksjonen.

As the above paragraph reflects, the researcher's positionality is important to consider when doing research. My position when I started to research TV-aksjonen came from a background in development studies, where studying different development mechanisms such as fundraising was focused upon, yet I had a position on the *outside* in the interview setting. I had some, but limited knowledge around the processes of TV-aksjonen in contrast to the informants. The weakness of being on the outside of aid experts, is that during the interview they might have decided not to share certain assessments or opinions about TV-aksjonen, but to focus on other elements of TV-aksjonen which still were valuable for my research. The strength can be that I as a researcher had a critical distance to the topic, which might not have had over time if I had been socialising in the aid/development environment.

Representations are always contingent, and pose a possible challenge for a researcher. All representations come from a place but it can be argued that a researcher on a certain concept can have a broader understanding to make an assessment to whether or not different statements are concurring. In order to contribute to a representation which seems to be as close to a representative truth, given the information collected in the research process. In order to write in a critical manner, it is necessary to be aware of your own role as a researcher, and to be conscious about your understanding and interpretation of data (Hay, 2010). My analysis will as all other analyses be coloured by the presentations given and those experiences I have made working on this project. As a Norwegian, I have grown up with TV-aksjonen seeing it as this annual event when someone will knock on the door and ask if we (my family) would like to contribute. I have never really followed the broadcast, however being a Norwegian, positions me as *insider* in terms of the context TV-aksjonen takes place, namely Norway. As a Norwegian, I can have blindspots as I have grown up in a *Norwegian collective we*. My assumptions of what is Norwegian, the Norwegian self-perception and on what entails the Norwegian self-perception is possibly coloured by my national identity as Norwegian. Nevertheless, the strength is possibly that I am able to identify and recognise the collective references points TV-aksjonen plays on within the Norwegian self-perception than a person who is not Norwegian. Throughout the process I have therefore attempted to be aware about my own attitude and approach to the informants and texts. I have tried to have an open and explorative approach to the various tracks which have occurred during the research and writing process. As I am possibly coloured by being a Norwegian, the informants for this thesis is also coloured by their background and experience working with TV-aksjonen specifically or within the aid/development field in general.

Throughout the years TV-aksjonen has been criticised. In 2008, TV-aksjonen was the focal point for the massive debate on whether or not the fundraising event was forerunner or an obstacle for long-term development. During that year several actors were on the forefront of the debate: NRK, non-governmental organisations, volunteer organisations and scholars such as the historian Terje Tvedt. I am mentioning this to highlight that I did not follow this debate that year as I was currently outside of the country. I therefore had no strong opinion of TV-aksjonen before I started researching for this project and tracked this debate in the aftermath searching through articles, and debates. These representations of TV-aksjonen have been leading for my approach to my project, together with my informants. I choose to see this *pre-*

debate approach as an advance as I had a more neutral approach to TV-aksjonen than I might have had if I had followed this debate closely when it was topical in the media.

Since my primary data was collected in an interview setting, a possible challenge is related to my data collection's and analysis' reliability and validity. Reliability is regarding the data's credibility and confirmability. Validity is concerning the data's transferability in regards to concrete situations or theoretical assumptions (Andersen, 2006). These two terms are often the centre of discussion concerning data that are generated, how they are coded and interpreted in the analysis.

In a context where data is collected in a special situation such as through an interview, the question of reliability and validity should be handled on two levels. Firstly, whether or not what is said during the interview is correctly understood and perceived. Documentation is therefore necessary, in order to separate between actual facts, and statements which can express interpretations and evaluations (Anderson, 2006). In order to meet this first requirement, I did as mentioned earlier use audio recorder. Although this could create a certain degree of discomfort for the informants being aware that everything he/she said would be recorded. Nevertheless, I was therefore also relying on supplementary sources of discourse analysis and existing literature to underbuild any claims I make in the analysis. However, as Andersen (2006) argues that interviews can be used as a background to interpret and understand, and not only as a source to document facts. Secondly, reliability and validity rely on that those facts and assessments, which are used to describe, interpret and analyse, are verifiable and durable in regard to research purpose and terms of reference. The number of informants for my project could have been higher, but due to limited time following the change of research question I was not able to conduct more interviews. Another challenge is that the informants are possible coloured by factors, which is sensitive material. As briefly mentioned in section 2.3.2, concerning the use of audio recorder, the informants might not speak openly about what can be seen as sensitive material. The informants might consciously or unconsciously base their representations of TV-aksjonen on the critics of TV-aksjonen in the media. For instance as mentioned in the introduction chapter, Terje Tvedt sparked the debate about TV-aksjonen in 2008, criticising the telethon. Tvedt received support by some, but also criticism was directed towards his claims. Further, as the informants work with development and aid issues, they might have aimed to be loyal to their work place by not criticising TV-aksjonen. Still, I find the value of the interviews of my informants as high as

they represent different viewpoints of TV-aksjonen and their assessments of TV-aksjonen has been based on their own experience working within the development environment. Although, the informants' opinions are subjective, and they speak as individuals, they also represent the viewpoints of those working with aid and development. In other words, these viewpoints can illustrate a representative understanding on behalf of those who work within this field. The informants have been interviewed regardless of each other; they had different opinions about TV-aksjonen, but also several coinciding assessments, which strengthens the reliability. Quotations used in the analysis are representative as one quotation can reflect the opinions of the other informants. The same accounts for the quotations used from the commending speeches. If there are contradicting opinions, these will be highlighted. Additionally, by using a triangulation approach, which entails using different types of data to interpret and analyse, makes the conclusion of the project more reliable.

2.5 SUMMARY

In a master thesis, both the research design and the process of the data collection are significant. The educational and existing process of the data collection was evident for this project, and through adapting to the unforeseen findings for my initial research question lay the foundation for an analysis of TV-aksjonen and the Norwegian self-perception. In this chapter I have introduced and discussed my data collection, where my primary data has been semi-structured interviews. I have clarified the choice of informants and my supplementary sources which will be analysing five commending speeches, as well as two commercials from TV-aksjonen in 2014 by using discourse analysis as part of a method-triangulation approach. Additionally, I have discussed the researcher's role and the data's validity and reliability.

3. BACKGROUND

These refugees need our help. Therefore, an unconditional yes to the Refugee campaign 1966

Former Norwegian Prime Minister, Per Borten (1966: 09:10)

3.1 INTRODUCTION

On the UN day, 24 October 1966, the Norwegian state channel Norsk rikskringkasting (NRK) hosted the TV show, *Flyktning -66* (Refugee -66) by inviting to a performance at the National theatre in Oslo, to fundraise money for the world's refugees. This TV-show and a similar one for refugees in 1971 are seen as the predecessors of NRK TV-aksjonen (Lindøe, 2016). Since TV-aksjonen was formalised in 1974, the event has become a tradition in Norway, and can be seen as a media phenomenon, as it is able to gather the public engagement around an important cause. As this thesis examines TV-aksjonen as a concept, it necessary to provide a background chapter which provides a deeper insight and overview of where TV-aksjonen emerged from. As TV-aksjonen plays on fundraising for humanitarian purposes, it is relevant to introduce how the Norwegian humanitarian commitment is based on a history of ideas. Furthermore, I will elaborate on the historical and political lines through the lens of Norway's humanitarian and solidarity traditions to clarify why Norway identifies itself as a peace nation. Third, and finally I will introduce the programme concept of TV-aksjonen and elaborate on how the establishment of the annual event was connected to a concrete conflict.

3.2 HUMANITARIANISM

TV-aksjonen, as we know it today, was aired officially for the first time in 1974 and was based on a humanitarian engagement which had become firmly rooted in the Norwegian society. The development of the welfare state and the establishment of the television as a mass medium had contributed to the focus of economical and humanitarian needs across the world. The beginning of Norwegian development commitment can be said to have started in 1952, when the Norwegian Parliament gave a go-ahead to the *Fund for helping under-developed countries* to assist under-developed areas, and appropriated 10 million Norwegian kroner. The Fund was known as the Kerala Fund, as the activities were gathered around a fishery project in Kerala, India. In 1962, the institution for Norwegian Development Aid was established, which was the predecessor to today's Norwegian Agency for Development

Cooperation (Norad)(Balsvik, 2016)¹¹. After 1965, the commitment from the Norwegian side increased, and in the following years, Norway was involved in conflicts in Biafra in Nigeria, Vietnam, Greece and South Africa (Tamnes, 1997).

In addition to the establishment of the Kerala fund and Norad, the humanitarian engagement in Norway is also based on other historical lines. Both the ideas from the Enlightenment as well as traditions within pietism and socialism led to that humanitarian and religious organisations made fundraising a part of their business. For instance, the establishment of the Norwegian Red Cross in 1863 (Røde kors, 2016) and the Norwegian Mission Society (NMS) in 1842 (Norwegian Missionary Society, 2016). The latter was a result of pietism which was movement within Lutheranism and arrived in the period between 1730 to 1754 while Norway still was in union with Denmark. Pietism was a subjective and individualistic reaction to the institutionalised and collective church of Christianity. In parallel with pietism, the Enlightenment movement evolved with the same tendency to church criticism and promotion of individualism. Nevertheless, the movement denounced the religious connotations and rather focused on human reason (Molland and Flottorp, 2016). In addition with Christian traditions, Norway also has secular traditions of humanitarian engagement, such as through the organisation Norwegian People's aid, which was established in 1939 initially providing first aid and rescue services (Folkehjelp, 2016).

In this context the term *humanitarianism* is understood as attitudes and actions which reflect a moral engagement focusing on reducing suffering of other people who are not close social connections, but as Richard Wilson and Richard Brown (2009) put it *the distant others*. Historically, before the Enlightenment, a number of religions have encouraged assisting people in dire need. Both Christianity, Judaism and Islam have a theological tradition for helping others based on their belief that all humans are created in God's image (Wilson and Brown, 2009). This is for instance expressed in the parable of the good Samaritan in The New Testament, Luke 10:25-37 (1978). However, it was not before the end of the eighteenth century that a fundamental vision for a social conscious outside the religious framework was established. Inspired by the Enlightenment ideals of freedom and equality, founded upon human reasoning, humanitarianism became the framework for the *United States Declaration of Independence* (1776) and the French *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*

¹¹ For more on Norway's aid history see (Balsvik, 2016).

(1789) (Bristow, 2016). Connected with the term humanitarianism is the concept of human rights which also is based on the intellectual origin of liberal philosophy during the 1700s. “As a rule, humanitarians, like human rights advocates, reject the relativist view that suffering is acceptable when it is part of an established way of life” (Wilson and Brown, 2009:5). The Norwegian Constitution was established in 1814, and its conceptual basis is inspired by the American and the French constitutions as well as the principle of human rights. Among the constitutional principles, the Norwegian Constitution builds on popular sovereignty and the separation of power principle. Additionally, the Constitution also has the principle of human rights included, such as by emphasising on freedom of speech, forbidding torture and stating that no one can be convicted without a fair trial (Gisle, 2014). The history of ideas with inspiration from the Enlightenment period influenced the development of the Norwegian self-image as a humanitarian, peace nation. This self-perception will be further elaborated in the next section.

3.3 NORWAY’S SELF-IMAGE AS A PEACE NATION

Interlinked with the Norway’s self-image as humanitarian, is also the perception of being a peace nation. According to researcher at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Halvard Leira et al (2007), the Norwegian self-image as a peace nation goes back more than a 100 years, and is possibly the oldest consistent self-image in Norwegian foreign affair politics. From the 1890s until the Second World War a collective image of Norway as peaceful was developed. During the World War I Norway was neutral, and they tried to be neutral during World War II as well. The beginning of this can be seen through the national-democratic Leftist-tradition with emphasis on rule of law, international organisation and liberal trade. Later on, a social democratic understanding of Norway as a peace nation was encompassed with a focus on solidarity and redistribution. The Christian community which had strong roots in Norway since Christianity was first introduced in the year 800, also contributed to shape this image. Through the Christian thought of the *Golden Rule*; “do unto others as you would have them do unto you”, where peace engagement and humanitarian work emerged through missionary work. Already in the 1890s, there existed a discourse of Norway as a peace nation being in a unique position as a small country, with a relatively homogenous population, a well-developed democracy, a strong civil society and a modern history without conflicts and an imperialistic past (Leira et al., 2007).

Moving forward in time, closer to the beginning of TV-aksjonen, from the middle of the 1960s Norway's peace and humanitarian engagement evolved in the wake of decolonisation and western economic growth. The United Nations (UN), declared the 1960s as the international development decade. Historian Rolf Tamnes has tried to answer the question of why Norway's engagement bloomed during this time. He claims one of the reasons was due to the small state perspective, where the multilateralism underbuilt Norwegian ideals and interests. An organised world society, built on the principles of the rule of law about nations inviolability, juxtaposing international agreed rules for middle-state economic cooperation, was seen as a counterpart to military power and as a shield for small states (Tamnes, 1997).

Another reason for why Norway's humanitarian engagement increased during the 1960s was that the engagement reflected historical traditions and the Norwegian self-image. Following Leira, Tamnes pinpoints that the humanitarian and solidarity tradition is linked to the Christians missionary work, as well as to the labour movement and the liberal left-tradition. At this point historical traditions interlink with the political traditions in Norway, as the political climate in Norway is a product of its historical past. Today, Norway is a parliamentary democracy, a one-state constitutional monarchy based on a multi-party system. Norway together with the rest of Scandinavia is seen as a representative of the social democracy, which puts emphasis on individual freedom and is based on an egalitarian thinking, which focuses on equality for everyone. The social democrats therefore argue that it is the state's responsibility to even out social and democratic differences and implement a mixed economy system, such as expanding the welfare system (Thorsen, 2015).

The elements the Norwegian governance is built on, can be seen a connected with the country's liberal left-tradition, and the labour movement which can be argued to have started around 1850. The political activist Marcus Thrane and his labour unions worked for democratic reforms and demanded a political system which focused on economical redistribution. In the wake of this development, the Norwegian Labour Party (Det Norske Arbeiderpartiet) was established in 1887. Since the end of the Second World War the party has held the most reins of the government out of all parties in Norway. One of the keys of its success has been the party's ability to present itself as a nationalist party. During the 1920s and 1930s the Norwegian Labour Party moved from a class based to national oriented *peoples* party and created a farmer-labour alliance which made the party the only party with strong representations in both Norway's urban centre and rural periphery (Geyer, 1997).

In contrast to the political climate in Norway, the United States of America (USA) has had a different political approach being a two-party system using the power separation principle of checks and balances. Additionally, the political climate in the USA differs by being a republic, and a federal nation building on a liberalistic thinking, which focuses on economic and personal freedom (Berg, 2016). Countries such as USA follow a market economic approach with minimal governmental involvement. Norway on the other hand uses a social democratic approach where involvement from the state is welcome in order to create and maintain equality for its inhabitants. This argument can be supported by the fact that Norwegians in general has a high level of trust to the political institutions than other Europeans shows statistics from the European Social Survey 2014 (Kleven, 2016). According to the Senior Statistic Adviser at the Norwegian Central Statistic Bureau, Øyvin Kleven variation in political trust is in literature work referred to in which degree the population feels a distance to the government, and how they evaluate the work the government does. In the European Social Survey Norway has a high level of trust to the national assembly as well as to the police and to the justice system. The Survey further shows that the trust to the politicians and political parties in Norway is lower than the trust to the justice system and the police. Nevertheless, the Scandinavian countries score an average of five out of maximum ten points on trust to the political parties, and score the highest amongst other countries in Europe. Kleven argues that one reason for a higher trust level in the Scandinavian countries, is due to the shorter distance between the countries, and because of the Scandinavian countries egalitarian traditions and that there are less differences between people. Additionally, Norway, and the other Nordic countries are relatively rich compared to other countries. Norway is a country welfare state which in significant degree guarantees the Norwegian people's help if they are affected by failing health, social need or loss of income (Kleven, 2016).

In addition to the political lines of the humanitarian traditions in Norway, the discovering of oil in 1969 changed the Norwegian society rapidly, moving from being a country with a modest living standard, to become one of the richest countries in the world (GDP per capita). In a time when other western countries were affected by economic challenges, Norway could afford generosity, and the goal of giving 1 % or more of gross domestic product to aid was set. The engagement was reinforced through the use of money from the Norwegian government to increase knowledge building, information, education and participation amongst the Norwegian people. This became especially clear concerning aid and

environmental protection. The Norwegian aid administration contributed in shaping the public image of the contrasting continents of Africa, South America and Asia. According to Tamnes (1997), these images became *the third world* with misery and poverty for the Norwegian people. At the same time, the engagement from a national level also affected the Norwegian peoples own interest in contributing to this humanitarian effort. Aid workers, missionaries, bureaucrats, journalists and scientists received recognition for their effort within the engagement politics, and helped shaping the image of the Norwegian people as altruistic (Tamnes, 1997). Following Tamnes, Øyvind Østerud (2006) explains how the Norwegian self-image as a peace nation has been shaped by the Norwegian engagement policy throughout history: the independence from Sweden, being the host of the Nobel Peace Prize, the UN engagement during the Second World War and the humanitarian contributions of the pioneers such as Nordahl Grieg and Fridtjof Nansen, and the league for nation between two great wars.

This section has emphasised on the historical and political background in Norway to understand how Norway as a country has developed the image of humanitarian peace nation¹². Furthermore, I have chosen to highlight this historical and political background in order to situate TV-aksjonen within the historical context of Norway as a peace nation. The next section will present the connection between the Biafra conflict and the establishment of TV-aksjonen, as well as briefly introduce TV-aksjonen's programme concept.

3.4 NRK TV-AKSJONEN

Images from the Biafra conflict and the Vietnam War were two of the first conflicts visually shown on Norwegian television. By then the television had become a common interior in the Norwegian households. The television images brought strong impressions of suffering and abuse into Norwegian living rooms. In each of their own ways, these two conflicts would colour the social awareness mentality from the Norwegian side throughout the 1960s (Tamnes, 1997). For instance, the Biafra conflict can be seen as an example of how the television media entered into the humanitarian discourse in Norway, or as Tamnes (1997) argues the atrocities in Biafra awoke the humanitarian and Christian Norway.

¹² For more on the discussion on Norway's image as a peace nation, see Østerud (2006)

The Biafra conflict from 1967 to 1970 became a normative¹³ illustration of Africa's tragedy with great poverty, tribal conflicts, artificial boundaries and badly developed governance. Nigeria became independent in 1960 and was dominated by internal tensions, when Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu declared East-Nigeria as independent, naming it Biafra (Tamnes, 1997). The situation in Nigeria received international media attention. NRK had a camera team in the field, and the Norwegians people were introduced to new way of portraying humanitarian need. The Biafra conflict occurred shortly after the television reached national coverage in December 1967 (Bastiansen and Dahl, 2003). TV-aksjonen, hosted by NRK, was never a planned event. The event arose as a response to the Biafra conflict and the previous success of the fundraising event for the world's refugees in 1966, according to Bastiansen. Based on the positive results from the Biafra fundraising, NRK decided to continue the concept of fundraising for deserving causes, and created an annual event. According to the historian Henrik Grue Bastiansen (NRK, 2014b) an interaction between the television coverage and the Biafra conflict; the famine, how many died, how many could die, led to a reinforcement between TV-aksjonen and the conflict. This resulted in a widespread engagement from the Norwegian crowd, as well as from Norwegian organisations. In 1974, the framework for who could apply to get the fundraising money from TV-aksjonen was formalised by NRK.

Each year one volunteer organisation with a specific topic or cause is chosen to be the recipient of the money raised through TV-aksjonen. The topics vary and can for instance be related to poverty, climate, education, health, safety, women and/or children. Furthermore, the cause can be either internationally or nationally focused. In addition to the fundraising, the purpose of TV-aksjonen is to raise awareness to the Norwegian people about humanitarian efforts, in general, as well as about the specific topic TV-aksjonen goes to each year. The fundraising event is owned by NRK. The broadcasting chief, in hand with an external fundraising board decide which organisation will receive the funding from TV-aksjonen each year. TV-aksjonen has a unique position in the Norwegian media landscape, due to the broad marketing and the widespread participation. There are information posters in every town, commercials on NRK before the fundraising day, and in addition NRK has an eight hours broadcast on the fundraising day, which usually takes place during a Sunday in October. In recent years the radio station P3, owned by NRK, which aims at reaching a younger audience

¹³ The normative representation of the Biafra conflict is highlighted in chapter 6, page 66

has held a 24 hour long radio and internet broadcast with material aimed at encouraging younger viewers/listeners to donate money to TV-aksjonen.

On the fundraising day around 100.000 collectors go from door to door and visit approximately 1.8 million households. In the TV studio there are several actors which participate. Usually there are two or three TV hosts alternate between introducing reportages, conversation in studio, entertainment and images from the districts where the collectors go around to the households. The organisation, which receives the amount is always present with a leader and one or two representatives. In addition, a member of the Norwegian royal family always has the role as protector of TV-aksjonen, and that person is usually present during the broadcast. Furthermore, there is usually a representative from the Government in the studio when the money from the government is given to the cause, usually the Prime Minister. There are also famous musicians and artist who volunteer in order to fundraise more money to TV-aksjonen during the live broadcast. In addition, during the live broadcasting people have the opportunity to contribute money by sending a text message and making a phone call. Several auctions are held on the day of TV-aksjonen, in which people can bid on several unique items, such as during the TV-aksjonen in 2015, the British Musician Sting auctioned his guitar. It is estimated that TV-aksjonen has collected over 7.5 billion Norwegian Kroner in total since 1974. For the last 10 years, each organisation has received approximately 220 million Norwegian Kroner on average (Fordal, 2016).

The engagement from the Norwegian people is the foundation of TV-aksjonen. Aksjonen is referred to as *the world's greatest volunteer effort*, where *everyone* contributes is part of the concept. The word *effort* I have translated from the Norwegian word *dugnad*. The term originated from the Norse term *dugnaðr* meaning a common volunteering effort, without any payment, to help others who need it (Store norske leksikon, 2016). Dugnad is expressed in many ways; in short it is about a we-feeling for a group of people, which mobilises to a collective effort for a common goal. The word dugnad was named Norway's national word in 2004, and according to social scientist Håkon Lorentzen and journalist Line Dugstad (2011) dugnad is a traditional custom, which still is a social mechanism in Norway today. According Lorentzen and Dugstad the dugnad's core elements are; it is unpaid work, people meet face to face, those who attend the dugnad carries out common work assignments and dugnad has a defined beginning and end. Also dugnad has a social aspect, people contribute with food and drinks or other activities which strengthens a collective we-feeling. The effort is expressed

through local mobilisation and activities, which aims at getting something done, usually something practical and down to earth (Lorentzen and Dugstad, 2011). In the weeks before TV-aksjonen, it is common that the schools teaching programme has elements which relate to the annual theme of TV-aksjonen. This aspect is expressed through filmed activities related to the money fundraising, as well as reportages from local activities, such as bazaars and waffle sale. In addition, to the activities mentioned, people also show all types of activities they have initiated for TV-aksjonen by sending photos, and messages by phone which are shown on NRK during the broadcast (Lindøe, 2016). Dugnad is understood as Norwegian tradition, nevertheless other countries also do similar volunteer efforts, but they call in something different. For instance in USA they have barn raising, which also consist of a collective effort for the local community (Lorentzen and Dugstad, 2011).

3.4 SUMMARY

TV-aksjonen plays on certain connotations within the Norwegian self-image to rally the Norwegian people around an important cause. Referring to the event as the world's greatest effort, I have in this chapter introduced the concept of *dugnad* in order to understand what this reference actually entails. Moreover, to analyse and discuss the role TV-aksjonen plays in the Norwegian self-perception and which consequences this might have for how the Norwegians perceive the world, a historical background and an introduction to what TV-aksjonen entails is relevant. In this chapter I have attempted to situate TV-aksjonen within the historical and political lines the Norwegian self-perception is based upon. I have therefore elaborated on the historical thought of humanitarianism and highlighted the Norwegian self-perception as a peace nation by introducing the historical and political backdrop for why Norway has this image. Additionally, I have elaborated on the background of which TV-aksjonen was established and introduced what the programme concept of TV-aksjonen.

4. THE NORWEGIAN SELF-PERCEPTION

What does it actually entail to be Norwegian? What are the Norwegians "really" like, and in which ways are they different from other peoples?

(Eriksen, 1993)¹⁴

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The quote which introduces this chapter questions what it means to be Norwegian, the question can also be what is Norway's collective identity. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the first part of my research question: *Which role does TV-aksjonen play in the Norwegian self-perception?*¹⁵ I seek to do so through the lens of collective identity theory. The concept of identity is complicated with different views and approaches. I will therefore attempt to concretise the discussion to make it tangible for the purpose of my project by focusing on collective identity through the academic fields of psychology and sociology. Collective identity as a theoretical approach sheds lights on one out of possible several sides of the understanding of the Norwegian self-perception. However, the aim here is not to come up with an absolute truth to what the Norwegian self-perception actually is. It is rather to concretise the discussion of the Norwegian self-perception as generous, altruistic and benevolent in the context of TV-aksjonen.

In this chapter I will argue how Norwegian collective identity, hence the Norwegian self-perception is maintained through TV-aksjonen. In order to do so, the initially part of this chapter will be theoretical based in order to provide a deeper understanding of the concepts of individual and collective identity, and how they correspond to each other. Secondly, I will explain the historical, cultural, and political dimensions of collective identity within the context of this project. Thirdly, I will examine how multiple identities can relate to each other within collective identity, where the concepts nested and crosscutting identities will lay the basis for discussing how TV-aksjonen role in the Norwegian self-perception fit in. Fourth, I will examine how TV-aksjonen is not only about doing something good but also for the Norwegian people to feel good.

¹⁴ The quote is from an internet article without page numbers, in printed version the quote is on page 2.

¹⁵ The second section of my research question is: *and what are the consequences for how Norwegians perceive and portray the world?*

4.2 WHAT IS IDENTITY?

The Norwegian self-perception can be defined as how the Norwegians perceive themselves as a community, and lays the basis for how the Norwegians wish that others perceive them. The term self-perception is interlinked with the term identity, which has become a common buzzword and a concept widely discussed to describe a variety of phenomena in different fields of the humanities. The term is comprehensive by its applicability on different levels in a society; from its collective inclusiveness such as discussing a country's national identity down to understand a person's identity. In order to further elaborate on the concept of collective identity, the meaning of the term identity and individual identity need to be clarified.

As a basic starting point, the concept of identity is related to humans, involving the two criteria of comparison between peoples' similarities and differences. According to the sociologist Richard Jenkins, the term emerged from the development of a perception of oneself through the questions of who, what and how I am (Jenkins, 2014). Social scientist Daphna Oyserman et al defines identities as "the traits and characteristic, social relations, roles and social group memberships that define who one is" (Oyserman et al., 2012:69). Identity is orienting by providing a meaning-making lens focusing on certain features within a social context. Identity can be described as the self-concept of an individual, variously described as *I-feeling*, what *I* think, as well as a *me-feeling*, that entails what comes to mind when one thinks of oneself (Oyserman et al., 2012).

4.3 INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY

Identity can loosely be divided into an individual and a collective level. One of the pioneers within identity research is the sociologist George H. Mead. In the paper *The Social self*, he introduces the concept of individual identity as a composition of the *I* and the *me* (Mead, 1913). The *I* refers to the personal identity which according to social psychologist John C. Turner et al (1994) can be referred to as categories of the self that define the individual as a unique person in terms of his or her individual differences from another individual. The concept of the *me*, represents the social context of an individual. British psychologist Henri Tajfel defines social identity as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1978:63). Inherent in Tajfel's definition is the assumption that society consists of social categories such as race, sex,

nationality, class, religion, and occupation among others. Furthermore, an individual is able to inhabit several identities traits in parallel, in his personal identity, as well as his social identity. Following up on Tajfel, there exists a large variety of social groups, and a person has to navigate between all these categories such as being a sister, mother, friend and a colleague in society. All of these roles can be argued to be confirmed, as well as challenged by the society. Identities are confirmed in meeting others who identify themselves in the same way. For example, if you see your occupation as a teacher as one of the most important social groups you belong to, you might feel validated when you meet other people who also emphasise on this identity trait above others. Similarly, identities can be challenged if people identify in a different way or downplay that specific part of their identity.

As I have explained in this section, individual identity can be seen as the result of the combination and the interaction between an individual's personal and social identity. An individual identity does not spontaneously change in different situations, but is not fixed either. Identity can be compared to the environment which also is in gradual change.

4.4 COLLECTIVE IDENTITY

In addition to the individual level of identity, there is a collective level of identity. Collective identity can be added as the third component referred to as the *we* in addition to Mead's concepts of *I* and *me*. According to sociologists Francesca Polletta and James Jasper (2001) collective identity describes concrete and imagined communities, and involves an act of perception and social construction, in addition to discovering pre-existing boundaries, interests and bonds. There exist several definitions on collective identity, it can be understood as something generated and created between individuals. Sociologists Verta Taylor and Nancy Whittier, define the term as "the shared definition of a group that derives from members' common interests, experience and solidarity" (Taylor and Whittier, 1992:105). As this definition is often association with the understanding of social movements, it is also relevant to look at a definition that focuses on defining collective identity within the individual. Polletta and Jasper define collective identity as "an individual cognitive, moral and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice or institution" (Polletta and Jasper, 2001:285), and can be seen as a distinction from personal identity. Each collective identity needs to have similar aspects that serves as a common reference point, for instance in cultural materials such as names, narratives, verbal styles and clothing, among some. However, it is important to recognise the fact that not all cultural materials express

collective identities, since collective identity does not suggest the rational evaluation choices in the way that interest does. Additionally, although ideology can by some extent produce identity, collective identity differs by the fact that it brings with it positive feelings of the group – to connect under a common *we-feeling*. In the context of TV-aksjonen, it is based on a perception that people living in Norway share central characteristics. The country is rich, and social and economical difference between people is relatively small. The democracy and the welfare state have strong roots within the society. Primary education is obligatory and free and the media has a wide outreach. TV-aksjonen seems to take these perceptions into account and sees Norway as relatively homogenous society. Therefore, the assumption can be that the audience to TV-aksjonen has an approximately equal understanding of what is considered overarching collective values, such as *goodness*. Following Polletta and Jasper's argument in order to create *we-feeling*, the question worth asking is *who are we*, and *who are we not*? There is a *we* or an *us* because there is a *them* and a *you*. In the context of TV-aksjonen, this dichotomy between *us* and *them* can also be interpreted to be the in-group of the Norwegian people as *the donors*, and the out-group, *receivers*, those who are *affected* by the money fundraised through TV-aksjonen. Similarly to individual identity Polletta and Jasper also state collective identity is fluid and interactive, emerging out of interactions with a number of different audiences, such as allies, opponents, news media and state authority, rather than being constant (Polletta and Jasper, 2001).

Although Polletta and Jasper separate collective identity from individual identity, collective identity can still be seen as a part of the personal identity. Individual identity is partly comprised by the social aspect of the *me*, and in the same way collective identity is based on defining social groups, which relies on the social element. I therefore argue that the social aspect of both individual and collective identity is the common denominator. Not only do they have the social aspect in common, but they are developed by the same actors. Individual and collective identity cannot be defined as two different components, but rather as different levels of the social self. Social psychologists Marilynn Brewer and Wendi Gardner (1996) characterise these levels in a systematic way. Firstly, the individual level, where you find the personal self, the *I*. Secondly, the relational self, which is based on the social identity of *me*. Thirdly, at the group level, is the collective self-corresponding to the *we*. Brewer and Gardner base their levels on self-categorisation theory. This theory separates between the personal identity and social identity, whereas the former contains both the concept of *I* and *me*. The latter refers to a social categorisation of self and others, such as *we* versus *them*. Although the

self-perception theory is not the same as collective identity per se, which looks at a social group as a whole, it examines the individual self-association with a group. Self-categorisation is still valid in relation to understanding the relationship between the individual and collective levels of identity in a systematic way such as Brewer and Gardner categorise it.

In this section I have introduced the concepts of individual and collective levels of identity. I have intentionally chosen the path within social science which understands individual and collective identity as interlinked through the social aspect of the identity concept. Recall the quote which introduced this chapter, *what does it actually entail to be Norwegian*¹⁶?, this is not an easily answered question. For the purpose of this thesis the Norwegian self-perception is the perception of a people who is benevolent and good. The image of the charitable Samaritan can be suited as a representation of the values in TV-aksjonen. Further, I understand the term *Norwegian self-perception* as a concept, which is based on the understanding of Norwegians as a people with certain similarities TV-aksjonen plays on. Therefore, the concept of national identity is relevant for my project. In his book *Imagined communities* from 1983, Benedict Anderson argues that a national identity is a socially constructed community, imagined by the people who define themselves as *a people* (Anderson, 2006). I do acknowledge the pitfalls my chosen path of collective identity might have. Firstly, as identity is something which exists within people and within a society, it is not a physical object which can be measured or seen in any way. Secondly, I have chosen to use collective identity theory to examine the TV-aksjonen and Norwegian self-perception or *what is typically Norwegian*. Not every Norwegian will have identified themselves with these features, however it is possible to generalise without include everyone. There will always be someone who disagree with a denomination or an identity feature, and this is difficult to avoid in any context. Nonetheless, it is possible to explain and further discuss in this context, identity characteristics which applies to a majority, although not every single one. For example, not everyone in Norway agree that the right-winged parties sitting in the Government now should govern, however Norway is a democracy which is based on the majority deciding. The same can be argued for within the field of collective identity in general and for the Norwegian self-perception in particular. On that note, I will in the next section,

¹⁶ What are the Norwegians "really" like, and in which ways are they different from other peoples? (Eriksen, 1993)

acknowledge the different dimensions of collective identity, and position these into the context of TV-aksjonen.

4.5 DIMENSIONS OF COLLECTIVE IDENTITY

As mentioned previously, collective identity is not a fixed state, there exist no universal characteristics for a collective identity. Instead it is the members' interaction within a collective identity which shapes its characteristics and dimensions. Therefore, to understand the connection between TV-aksjonen and the Norwegian self-perception it is reasonable to interlink them with the collective identity's historical, cultural and political dimensions.

4.5.1 Historical dimension

The historical dimension of collective identity is relevant as it represents the chronological aspect of identity. Collective identity can be shaped by a collective memory of the past, hence a historical *we image* of the group. According to memory theorist, Siegfried J. Schmidt (2008) representations of the past which are shared by a community of people can help to support their collective identity. Since a memory is situated within an individual, there is no possibility to have clear lines between individual and collective identities as these are built on each other. He further argues that a memory does not represent but rather construct reality, the same can be argued about collective identity as a social construction. Schmidt further claims that the narrative element in collective memory is important, since the aim is to construct a coherent story which the members of collective identity can relate to as authentic and true. Although the historical dimension can be situated in the past, the collective identity communicates their shared history by the production and performance of their common memory into the present, as well as the future. Examples of such productions and performances are remembering occasion such as monument, museum and commemoration days amongst other (Schmidt, 2008). The link between identity and memory here is that memory allows a community to maintain its collective identity by providing a sense of a shared history, which can be reproduced and maintained into the present. TV-aksjonen can for instance be an example on how collective identity is maintained by playing on historical common reference points which the majority of the Norwegian people identifies itself with it. As mentioned in the background chapter the historical dimensions of Norway's collective identity is for instance the religious and secular humanitarian traditions in Norway.

4.5.2 Cultural dimension

As the historical dimension represents a shared memory of the past, which contributes to a feeling of a collective identity, the cultural dimension represents the cultural preconditions a collective memory is built upon. Moreover, the historical and cultural dimension within collective identity can be seen as complementary. According to sociologists Warren Kidd and Alison Teagle (2012) *culture* refers to how individuals behave as members of a society, hence the cultural-oriented aspect of collective identity can refer to the members' common values, priorities and mindsets. Further, collective identity can be seen as a social construction, and can change over time. Therefore, the member's ability to recognise and preserve the historical and cultural features of their group is essential to maintain the collective identity (Kidd and Teagle, 2012).

In a time influenced by globalisation, and rapid changes in economy and politics, explaining what the cultural dimension of the collective in Norway is challenging to define. A common expression in Norway is *that is so typical Norwegian*, which can be seen as the response to a number of Norwegian cultural references. One example could be as Former Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland said in her New Year's speech in 1992, "it is typical Norwegian to be good" (Langslet et al., 2011: 441). An interesting quote as its meaning can be twofold, either *good* means kind and friendly, or *good* as being excellent in something. As mentioned previously, TV-aksjonen is referred to as the world's greatest volunteer effort, or *dugnad*¹⁷. This is a cultural reference which also has historical traditions since TV-aksjonen has lasted since 1974. As former telethon leader for TV-aksjonen points out:

TV-aksjonen is a tradition with historical roots in Norway. I believe there is something inherent in us when we know that other people are part of it, we also want to be part of it. *Dugnad* is an important factor about TV-aksjonen, as it is about doing something for others, with others. The telethon highlights the importance of being a collector, where you can give of your time – and it's a *dugnadsånd* (volunteer spirit) in this (Former telethon leader, Oslo, 03.12.2015).

The excerpt illustrates the typical understanding and the uniqueness with TV-aksjonen; *dugnad*. Similar statements as the former telethon leader said, were made by all my other informants. They referred to TV-aksjonen as a tradition, and used words like *dugnadsånd*,

¹⁷ Additionally, the connotation "the world's greatest volunteer effort", hence *dugnad* is also used on the NRK's website. The reference was also used in the programme NRK made when the telethon was 40 years in 2014, TV-aksjonen 40 år: Den store dugnaden (TV-aksjonen 40 year; the great volunteer effort).

and *norske folkesjela* (national character). His Royal Highness Crown Prince Haakon said under his commending speech¹⁸ for TV-aksjonen 2014:

There is something special with TV-aksjonen. It is a national dugnad with traditional roots - and one of the finest traditions that we have (Crown Prince Haakon cited in Det norske kongehuset, 2014).¹⁹

Both these statements are coherent in their view of seeing TV-aksjonen as a phenomenon which traditional roots in Norway. The Red Cross who received the TV-aksjonen funds in 2016, refer to TV-aksjonen as *an annual Norwegian tradition* (TV-aksjonen, 2016c). Additionally, *the tradition* reference does not necessarily need to be about TV-aksjonen per se, but also the tradition in Norway to give aid in general. As mentioned in the background chapter Norway's aid tradition goes back to the initiation of the Kerala help in 1952. Another example is Norway's contribution to the United Nation, and The League of Nation between the two first and second World Wars. Additionally, the civil society also has tradition for solidarity work, both through Christian missionary work and secular organisations such as the Norwegian People's Aid. Moreover, the telethon plays on the dugnad spirit to the Norwegian people, where every part of the society would like to contribute, as His Royal Highness Crown Prince Haakon claims in the excerpt above. The emphasis on dugnad, maintains the positive charge of the word, which calls the forces of the good to realise an important effort, which is impossible to do single-handed. Dugnad has deep roots within the Norwegian society going back to the 12th century, and through centuries people have gathered to fix local concerns, instead of being dependent on the monarchy or municipal councils. After the welfare state took upon the responsibility to ensure the Norwegian people's welfare, dugnad was communicated through civil engagement. The phenomena of local, civil engagement are not only a Norwegian tradition. There are similar historical arrangements in Sweden and The Faroe Islands, where many gather to join a volunteer effort. However, other countries use different designations, and therefore make it difficult to compare it with the dugnad tradition in Norway²⁰ (Lorentzen and Dugstad,

¹⁸ Recall, commending speeches means a speech which aims to encourage people to donate or volunteer for a good cause

¹⁹ The quotation is from a webpage without page numbers, in printed version the quote is on page 1 Read the more excerpts from this speech here: <http://www.kongehuset.no/nyhet.html?tid=122894&sek=26939>

²⁰ Read more about the Norwegian dugnad and examples of countries with similar volunteer traditions in (Lorentzen and Dugstad, 2011:19)

2011). Through TV-aksjonen, the term dugnad remains topically, by using it as an instrument to achieve an engagement around the annual cause. Tradition juxtaposing world's greatest dugnad, illustrate the uniqueness TV-aksjonen claim to have in order to shape a collective we-felling around the annual cause. Based on my data and the discourse by NRK and TV-aksjonen I argue that TV-aksjonen plays on the terms of dugnad and traditional to maintain the Norwegian self-perception as altruistic and charitable.

4.5.3 Political dimension

The political dimension can be seen as the third component of collective identity which is also connected with the historical and cultural dimensions. In her paper *The Sociological Dimension of Political Identity*, Elena Kolocharova (2011), connects the political dimension with the three other postulates of collective identity. She states that the political dimension of collective identity can be designed to the nation-state level of collective identity. Moreover, linked to the mass perceptions, values and norms associated with the methods, principles, means and forms of exercising a political framework in a given society. The political dimension can be seen as a political self-perception of the national-state and performs as the function of integrating or bringing together individuals to form a political community, which is based on shared political values, goals and ideas. This understanding of the political dimension includes a kind of interpretation of a collective identity's political past, as well as a perspective vision of their political future. In addition, the political dimension also takes in a kind of interpretation of a shared political framework that plays on cultural conditions; a shared mindset on how to exercise political power, based on shared values and goals (Kolocharova, 2011). To connect the historical, cultural and the political dimensions of the Norwegian self-perception, Norway's self-image as a peace nation is a good example, the religious and secular humanitarian traditions, Norway's engagement in the UN, and democracy tradition with focus on an egalitarian mindset amongst other²¹.

In a commending speech for TV-aksjonen 2012 for Amnesty, *Stå opp mot urett* (stand against injustice), comedian Sigrid Bonde Tusvik said:

²¹ Read more about the background of Norway self-image as peace nation in chapter 3, page 23-26

It is fantastic to live in a country, which allows everyone to be different. (...) We are lucky to be allowed to criticise and make fun of our government. We shall remember how lucky we are (...). Other places you can be imprisoned by the government because you set up a meeting with people who have the same opinions as you. You can get caught for standing up against injustice, you can be imprisoned for an indefinite time, and be convicted without a fair trial (Tusvik, 2012)²²

The quote coincides with what Kolocharova says about the political framework which is based on shared values and goals. Freedom of speech is a shared value and a goal in Norway. Nevertheless, as Tusvik points out, several other countries lack this right for its inhabitants. Another value that is rooted within the Norwegian political justice system is the right to a fair trial, which can be challenging to achieve in other less democratic countries. The point of using this quote is to illustrate how statements in relation to TV-aksjonen also concern the national level. In this context, Tusvik emphasises on Norway as a free, democratic and safe nation. Additionally, the quote also illustrates how Tusvik, on behalf of TV-aksjonen, thematises the cause in a way the Norwegian people can relate to.

Although I recognise the complexity within the concepts of collective history, culture, and politics, I have deliberately not examined these concepts in full depth. The aim is rather to recognise these concepts as dimensions of collective identity, and reflect upon the connection between TV-aksjonen and the Norwegian self-perception. As Taylor and Whittier (1992) claims, identity derives from the member's common interests, experience and solidarity. In this context it can arguably be a combination of interests, experience with emphasis on solidarity. Furthermore, the next section will look closer at the relation between the multiple groups identities an individual can be a part of.

4.6 MULTIPLE COLLECTIVE IDENTITIES

Collective identity is understood as a construction by a group of individuals, and can be seen as temporary as they are an object of reproduction and transformation. Each individual does not belong to simply one group, but rather several. National, religious, political, familial, professional as well as recreational groups such playing football on your spare time, or joining a hiking group are examples of criteria that may be significant in defining groups built on similarities between each members. According to Richard Hermann and Marilyn Brewer

²² The quote is from an internet article without page numbers, in printed version the quote is on page 2. Read the speech here: <http://www.forlagsliv.no/blog/2012/10/11/sigrid-bonde-tusviks-appell-i-forbindelse-med-tv-aksjonen-2012-for-amnesty/>

(2004) identity traits are often by the individual not perceived to be in conflict, but people manage to balance their multiple roles and memberships. Not only in relation to their individual identity, but their identity as part of a collective identity as well. On that note Herrmann and Brewer introduces three different ways by which collective identities might relate to each other or be configured in a system of multiple group memberships.

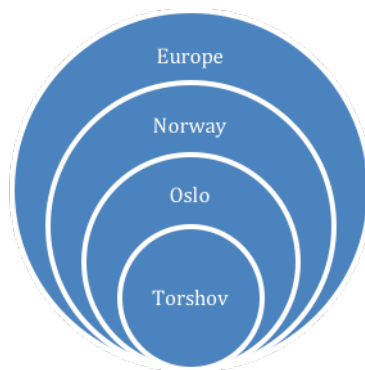


Illustration 1: example of nested identities

First, collective identities can be seen as *nested*, understood as one inside another such as Russian Matruska dolls (illustration 1). Based on this perception, communities are built on each other, hence every small community is also a part of a larger community. For example, a local identity, such as being an Oslo citizen, is one stepping stone of the national identity of being Norwegians, which further can be seen as part of a European identity.

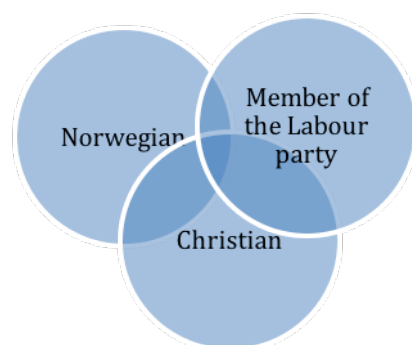


Illustration 2: example of crosscutting identities

Second, collective identities can be *crosscutting* (illustration 2). In this configuration some, but not every member of one group belongs to another separate identity group as well. The members of a collective group can also share identities with other groups that are not the same

people. For instance, your religious identity as being a protestant can cross-cut with your identity as being Norwegian.

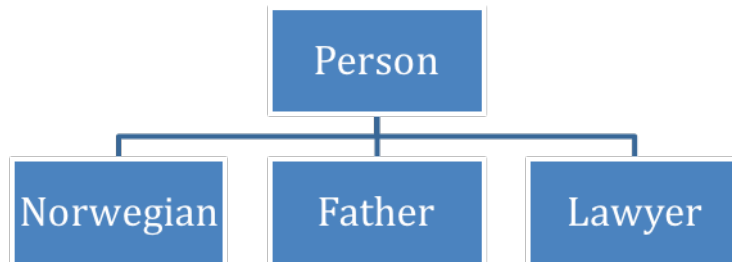


Illustration 3: example of separate identities

Third, and final configuration is that identities can be *separate* (illustration 3). This perspective claim that the different groups a person belongs to are distinct from one another, and have nothing else in common except from the person who are a member of the different groups. For instance, a separate private and professional life (Herrmann and Brewer, 2004).

The terms nested, crosscutting and separate identities are three ways in explaining the possible different ways on how multiple identities can relate to each other or not. For the purpose of my research question, the terms nested and crosscutting are most useful. As both of them emphasise how collective identities can be dependent on or related to each other. The term separate identities explain how an individual belonging to several group identities do not necessarily have to be connected except from the person itself.

4.7 TV-AKSJONEN A PART OF NESTED AND CROSSCUTTING IDENTITIES

Through the lens of nested identities TV-aksjonen can be seen as a base for how the Norwegian collective identity is maintained. The concept of nested identities is based on three building bricks. The first brick illustrates how an individual identifies itself with its local community, such from being from Torshov, a part of the city of Oslo. For instance, a local community at Torshov can identify itself as being generous, and helpful by volunteering for the local Red Cross or a sport association. Through the lens of nested identity, you would as an individual see yourself as helpful and generous according to this building brick, if you did a similar volunteering effort. In the context of TV-aksjonen, the first building brick illustrate how for example the students at Torshov secondary school are collectors on the fundraising event visiting the households in their neighbourhood.

The second building brick is related to how you identify yourself as part of larger community than the first building brick. For instance, as an Oslo citizen, you decide to donate money to TV-aksjonen to uphold the identity of the Oslo citizens as generous. During the live broadcasting of TV-aksjonen, the studio compares the different municipalities to see which municipality has donated the most. Further, TV-aksjonen also as plays on each individual when calculating how much each Norwegian on average donate based on the municipality they are from. The fact that the fundraising results are presented one municipality at the time illustrates the argument that Norwegians are good are by using generosity references as a repeated theme throughout TV-aksjonen (NRK, 2016b). This form of competition of being the most generous plays on the second brick of nested identity theory.

The third and last brick of nested identity is the national level of identity, such as how Norway's population identifies itself as being Norwegian. The Norwegian collective identity as a generous nation can be in relation to the country's national identity as a peaceful and humanitarian country. When Regnskogfondet (the Rainforest foundation) had TV-aksjonen in 2015, the leader of the organisation, Lars Løvold said, "18 October is the day we shall gather the country to host the world's greatest volunteer effort (Løvold quoted in Reiersen 2015)²³. Similar wording can be found in other commending speeches; *the entire Norwegian people, the people, everyone, us, we*. In addition to emphasise on the historical and cultural dimension as mention previously, these words also play on a collective *we-feeling* as Polletta and Jasper names it. Further, the excerpt from Løvold, illustrates the assumption that every individual in Norway will gather around this effort. Therefore, the speech plays on the view that part of the Norwegian self-perception is to be generous, altruistic and helpful in order to fundraise money to TV-aksjonen.

Moreover, nested identities can be a theory to explain the connection between TV-aksjonen and Norway national identity as a humanitarian peace nation in order to fundraise money. Former Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik (2000)²⁴ said in his New Years' Speech in 2000, "Norway must be a nation of the Great Commandment and Solidarity. (...) Norway must be a peace nation". The rhetoric of Løvold and Bondevik can be argued to be manifested in nested identities' third building bricks. One of my informants, a Board Member of *The*

²³ The quote is from an internet article without page numbers, in printed version the quote is on page 1. Read the speech here: <http://www.austagderblad.no/debatt/fra-leserne/tv-aksjonen/60-millioner-ar-a-bygge-opp-60-ar-arive-ned/o/5-6-30023>

²⁴ The quote is from an internet article without page numbers, in printed version the quote is on page 4

network of the Norwegian non-governmental organisations engaged in Development Education and Awareness Raising in Norway (the RORG-network) pointed out:

TV-aksjonen plays on a very positive self-perception, where Norwegians are benevolent, good, generous and good Samaritans. In a way this is correct, no one is one-dimensional. Norway as nation is also not one-dimensional. There are several aspects to being a Norwegian (Board member in RORG, Oslo, 07.12.2015).

These bricks do not necessarily appear in that order as introduced here, they can also occur the other way around in order to construct a national identity. As the quotation above highlights, the identity of a Norwegian, or of Norway is not one-dimensional. It is therefore a challenge to map how TV-aksjonen plays on Norwegian nested identities. As well as which of these nested identities TV-aksjonen touches upon. Nevertheless, understanding of nested identity, serves as an illustration to reflect upon how TV-aksjonen plays a part in several layers of collective identity, from a local community level to a national level.

As well as nested identities, crosscutting identities is a useful lens to discuss TV-aksjonen's role in the Norwegian self-perception. Instead of these perceptions being built on each other from a local to a state level or vice-versa, identities can also crosscut. For instance, that TV-aksjonen's perception of the Norwegian people as being generous can crosscut with another Norwegian collective identity such as being a member of a political party or of a religion. One of the informants, a senior adviser in the Norwegian Fredskorpset (Norway FK) reflected around this:

Goodness is about justification, and is not a sustainable lifestyle, but there can be a religious element in it. We torment ourselves, it is within our culture, to worry if we do different things correctly. The living standard is high in Norway, compared to many other countries, and in order to not feel guilty about our lifestyle perhaps we are trying to find a way to buy modern indulgence (Adviser FK Norway, Oslo, 10.12.2015)²⁵.

In 2015, Norwegians gave on average 36,64 Norwegian Kroner (NRK, 2016b) to TV-aksjonen. The same year each Norwegians used approximately 10 400 on average on Christmas shopping, according to Statistics Norway (Bothner, 2015). These numbers illustrate that although Norwegians are generous by being charitable, they also has an expensive

²⁵ The quote is from an internet article without page numbers, in printed version the quote is on page 1

lifestyle. Further, the excerpt from the informant, and the statistics highlights a possible argument that Norwegians perhaps buy a *good conscious*, where they justify their Christmas shopping by also donating to charity. Further, in the interview excerpt above, the thinking draws comparison lines between the crosscutting identity by reflecting upon the possible interlink between being benevolent by giving money to TV-aksjonen and as well as being benevolent as a part of a religious belonging²⁶. Indulgence, which the informant refers to, is part of for example the catholic practice, where you can pay your way out of your sins. As Norway was a Catholic country for 500 year from 1030 until the Protestant reformation in 1536 (Stensvold, 2016). Further, feeling guilty plays on form of moral commandment within general religious practice, such within Protestantism. Although the religions has become a more private matter in Norway, the idea guilt can have been transferred into a thinking of feeling guilty for having a high living standard, and possibly an expensive lifestyle compared to development countries.

Another quotation that can be in relation to understand crosscutting identities is as Crown Prince Haakon said in his commending speech to TV-aksjonen in 2014:

Everyone contributes: adults, children, the government, businesses, volunteer organisations, schools, religious – and beliefs communities. The aim is to have 100.000 collectors who can visit every single household around the country to fundraise money (Crown Prince Haakon cited in det norske kongehuset, 2014).

The excerpt above illustrates how a commending speech for TV-aksjonen plays on an identity which all part of the society is a part of. Additionally, it also has a persuasion aspect, by claiming that everyone contributes. Through the lens of collective identity theory, if there is someone who would not otherwise contribute, will possibly start to do so to be part of the collective identity. Similar to the crosscutting identification with religion, it could also be an identity schools, businesses to volunteer organisations, hence all part of the Norwegian society wishes to be a part of. Additionally, crosscutting identity theory can also reflect on how all parts of society would like to contribute under a collective *we*:

²⁶ The connection between the Christian religious tradition in relation to humanitarian and solidarity work was emphasised in chapter 3: Background

You do not have to walk far before the opportunity to help or donate money presents itself, but there is a certain something by fundraising money or being a volunteer for a good cause together with others (Adviser, Norway FK, Oslo, 10.12.2015).

In this excerpt the informant claims there is *a certain something* to fundraising money or volunteer with others. As this chapter argues for this *something* is the creation and maintenance of a collective we-feeling for the Norwegian people through TV-aksjonen. Through my data I have found that the terms, tradition and dugnad are features used to create a collective we-feeling around the annual cause to TV-aksjonen, and to the concept TV-aksjonen as well. Additionally, the understanding that every part of the Norwegian society contributes, combined with getting together across differences to contribute to a good cause, TV-aksjonen creates a collective we-feeling based on the Norwegian people being generous. Since, as the informant above mentions, it is easily achievable to volunteer or donate money without going at length. However, the aspect of feeling as a part of a positive collective identity, which makes people across Norway wants to contribute to TV-aksjonen plays a part as well. Additionally, through the lens of nested and separate identity it shows how TV-aksjonen on the one side places emphasis on the national cohesion by erasing economical and geographical differences between people. Instead, TV-aksjonen replaces this with a membership in the collective national identity. Furthermore, TV-aksjonen brings the concept of fundraising down to a personal level by engaging local communities to do activities or be collectors to contribute in the world's greatest effort.

4.8 MAINTAINING A POSITIVE NORWEGIAN SELF-PERCEPTION

In the sections above I have discussed how TV-aksjonen plays on and contributes to a positive self-perception of the Norwegian people being altruistic. Another side which will be discussed in this section, is how TV-aksjonen for the Norwegian people and the country is not only about *being* good, but also to *feel* good about themselves. TV-aksjonen can in addition to uphold the Norwegian self-perception as an altruistic people, also be a channel to uphold this positive Norwegian self-perception:

We do perhaps not often think about how privileged we are; we can walk safely without landmines everywhere. (...). Together, we are now able through TV-aksjonen to make the daily life safer for millions of people (Kronprins Haakon Magnus, 2011)²⁷

²⁷ Crown Prince Haakon's commending speech for Norwegian People's Aid in 2011, read the entire speech here: <http://www.kongehuset.no/tale.html?tid=94623&scope=0>

The excerpt illustrates as Terje Tvedt (1995) argues in his book *Den norske Samaritan. Ritualer, selvbilder og utviklingshjelp* (The Norwegian Samaritan. Rituals, self-image and aid)²⁸ that the results from TV-aksjonen is significant for developing countries. Additionally, to situate the topic of TV-aksjonen in a way Norwegians can relate to²⁹, it also illustrates the dichotomy between an in-group and out-group³⁰. The quote exemplifies how the Norwegian people (the we), are *the donor* and the millions of people (the others) who need the Norwegians help to them establishing as safer life are *the receivers*. By contributing to a safer daily life for millions of people in the world, the Norwegians do something good. However, another side to this is not only what these contributions result in *there*, but rather how the Norwegian self-perception affects what it is like *here*. Tvedt argues that through the day of NRK telethon, the Norwegians confirm to themselves that they are world champions in goodness, and it can be seen as a ritual that gather Norway to a moral-ideological kingdom. TV-aksjonen creates such a collective identity through the competition between the municipalities as a competition in *who are the most charitable*. Further, the contrast between the good, peaceful Norway, as Crown Prince Haakon said, *we are privileged, because we can walk safely* plays on this image, while saying *Norwegians can make it safer for people* illustrates the unsafe, possible conflict-torn *other*. As Tvedt says, *the donor* as a bridge between these two different worlds, might have consequences for how the Norwegian self-perception are created and reproduced. Not only creating a self-perception, which are pleasant to be mirrored by, but also an understanding of a collective donor-we dichotomising the others, *the receivers*. This could further create and maintain historical and deep cultural constructions of the world³¹ and of other reality perceptions, argues Tvedt (1995).

Another element to which role TV-aksjonen plays in the Norwegian self-perception is to uphold a collective we-feeling of the Norwegian national identity in a globalised world. The development of technology, communications – and media mechanisms, and the establishment of new multicultural societies have contributed in partly erasing the lines between the countries and societies in the world. For instance, there can now be more cultural similarities between a person living in Oslo, Paris, Cape Town and Tokyo than between people living within Oslo. As Tvedt (1995) states, many of the symbols which created a national feeling

²⁸ My own translation

²⁹ The way of thematising the cause in way the Norwegian people can relate to is further analysed through the lens of cosmopolitanism theory in chapter 5

³⁰ See page 3 or Polletta and Jasper (2001) for more on the understanding of in-group and out-group.

³¹ This sentence illustrates the power element between the donor and the receiver which will be further discussed in chapter 6.

during the 19th century no longer have any sentimental value and have a less identity-producing force today. The traditional folktales of Askeladden and his world with princesses, trolls, kings and mysterious creatures in the woods are archaic backlogs compared to the socialisation – and identity producing mechanism today. In this context, Tvedt (1995) argues that what is typically Norwegian, is more and more perceived as a historical legacy or an anthropological construction with less identity-producing significance. In this case, a story about the Norwegian people putting aside time to volunteer and/or donate money for humanitarian purposes through TV-aksjonen can be a significant collective identity-producing mechanism (*Contribute to make a difference* writes TV-aksjonen together with the Red Cross for TV-aksjonen 2016 (TV-aksjonen, 2016a)). In addition to the wish to contribute to a good cause, the backdrop is to some extent based on an understanding of a homogenised society in Norway, and in the world. As Tvedt (1995) states, we are all in the same boat and this creates coinciding dreams about the goal of development. As stated in the background chapter, the self-image of Norway as a peace nation also bases on the understanding of Norway with a homogeneous population³². Nevertheless, since the 1970, the Norwegian society has developed such as having more multicultural societies across the country. A possible challenge for TV-aksjonen is to uphold and maintain a Norwegian self-perception that the majority might not relate to in the future:

Immigrants' relation to the term *Norwegian dugnad* can be when immigrant parents volunteer for their children's activities. As Norwegian dugnad means a certain way of volunteering, it does not mean that immigrants do not do the same, they just do it in a different way. It is therefore necessary to understand how they do it, if there are any dualities, and how this could be based on the different understanding of the principle of the state, groups and local communities (Senior adviser, FK Norway, Oslo, 10.12.2016).

The informant reflects on the understanding of what dugnad actually is. It further underbuilds Lorentzen and Dugstad's claim that for Norwegians, the understanding of dugnad is implicit and obvious, where a discussion of its meaning is not necessary (Lorentzen and Dugstad, 2011). This poses a challenge for people who do not have the same relation to dugnad. Measurements have been initiated by TV-aksjonen in order to include both the youth and those with a multicultural background in the Norwegian society:

³² Both Leira et al (2007), or Tamnes (1997) claims that playing on Norway as a homogeneous society where one of the references to why Norway is a peaceful country and can play on the image peace nation

It is our job to create the wide public engagement and to make TV-aksjonen more attractive for younger people. We use the NRK radio channel P3³³ to reach out to those who are not in our target group because they³⁴ can be difficult to reach. Additionally, we produce teaching literature about the annual cause for TV-aksjonen on primary schools. As more immigrants come to Norway, they do not have the same relation to TV-aksjonen. There is a communication challenge which needs to be addressed here. We have therefore involved different belief communities to make them mobilise their members by creating committees, focusing on volunteerism and to get a hold of those who are enthusiastic about mobilising for TV-aksjonen (Former telethon leader for TV-aksjonen, Oslo, 03.12.2015).

In a changing world, the Norwegian society changes from being a homogeneous group to a more heterogeneous society. The excerpt illustrate how TV-aksjonen also targets immigrants who do not have the same relation to TV-aksjonen proves that it is embedded in the Norwegian culture and history. In other words, immigrants have to become a part of TV-aksjonen for it continue to be a topical instrument to create a we-feeling amongst the Norwegian people. Furthermore, the need for a collective identity can still be central, to uphold a feeling of belonging. Arguably the Norwegian society is still in a historical phase where the need to be represented as a collective *we* are significant. For instance, with upholding Norway's self-image as a peace nation bases on the same connotation TV-aksjonen plays on; Norwegians are *good*, as in generous, by presenting a positive collective self-perception. After the terror attack on Utøya 22 July 2011, Norway responded with love instead of revenge. "If one man can show so much hate, think how much love we show, standing together" was a tweet from a member of the Labour party youth organisation, which flourished in the media in the days following the attack (De Rosa, 2011)³⁵. The Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg said, "we are shaken by what hit us, but we will never throw away our values. Our answer is more democracy, transparency and more humanity. But never naiveté" (Stoltenberg quoted in De Rosa, 2011).³⁶ A message which the Norwegian people gathered around, to show their responds to terror, but also emphasising on the collective identity shared values; democracy, transparency and humanity. Similarly, to TV-aksjonen where people get together based on shared values such as solidarity to contribute in the world's greatest volunteer effort. However, a possible consequence lies in that the humanitarian engagement becomes narcissistic by the generosity-we first and foremost become too concerned about ourselves and not *the others*, the receivers.

³³ P3, is a radio channel owned by NRK where the target group is youth between 18 and 29 years old

³⁴ The youth

³⁵ The quote is from a webpage without page number, in printed version it is on page 1

³⁶ The quote is from a webpage without page number, in printed version it is on page 3

4.9 SUMMARY

The importance of identity, and the role TV-aksjonen plays in the Norwegian self-perception, has been the focus of this chapter. The theoretical concept of collective identity is central to discuss the possibly connection between TV-aksjonen and the Norwegian self-perception as a charitable, benevolent and altruistic people. I have therefore used the historical, cultural and political dimension in order to situate TV-aksjonen within the Norwegian self-perception. Through my data I found that TV-aksjonen plays on all these dimensions by referring to TV-aksjonen being a national tradition and the world greatest volunteer effort. Through the lens of nested and separate identity theory I have examined how TV-aksjonen possibly maintains the Norwegian self-perception by being part of collective multiple identity in Norway. Through my data I found that TV-aksjonen can reach out on several collective identities in Norway by playing on the similar features such as collective identity of being Christian. Further, my data shows how through commending speeches TV-aksjonen promotes a collective generous-we such as by saying *everyone contributes*, hence all part of the society. Further, I have discussed how TV-aksjonen contrasts the collective *we* as the donors, and *the others*, as the receivers. Additionally, I have discussed why TV-aksjonen mirrors a collective self-image which are pleasant to be reflected in. Also, I have identified how TV-aksjonen's traditional image of the Norwegian self-image can be challenged by development within Norwegian society. Through the lens of collective identity and the analyse of my data I have found possible references TV-aksjonen plays, and the result the role it has had through these use of references is to contribute and maintain a positive Norwegian self-perception of being benevolent and generous.

5. TV-AKSJONEN AND COSMOPOLITANISM

It is not always easy to say where we are from, what nationality we are. Home is where our heart is – and that cannot always be confined within national borders.

(H.R.H King Harald V of Norway, 2016)³⁷

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The theory on cosmopolitanism serves as complementary to the collective identity theory to analyse my research question. In hand with my data, cosmopolitanism will contribute to the analysis of which role TV-aksjonen plays in the Norwegian self-perception and which consequences it might have for how the Norwegians perceive the world. The concept of cosmopolitanism is an overarching term with different approaches, however the full discussion of the epistemological background will not be addressed here³⁸.

Nevertheless, the first part of this chapter will be theoretical based in order to provide a deeper understanding of cosmopolitanism as a theory. Furthermore, as nationalism and cosmopolitanism are often seen as dichotomies, I will argue for how TV-aksjonen can serve as a common reference point between these two concepts. In this chapter I will argue for how cosmopolitan values are promoted through TV-aksjonen where features of nationalism is the overall result. Furthermore, a cosmopolitan feature is concerned with humanitarianism, I will discuss how TV-aksjonen fits within the context of humanitarian aid. Additionally, I will look closer into the generosity aspect to examine how generosity is an element, which plays on a cosmopolitan mindset. Following a cosmopolitanism mindset with exactness is difficult. I therefore argue that cosmopolitanism is a value that TV-aksjonen and the Norwegian self-perception both play on. TV-aksjonen plays on cosmopolitan elements within the Norwegian people self-perception by drawing lines between the cause and the Norwegian people in a way they can relate to. Accordingly, I will argue that TV-aksjonen contributes to erasing national boundaries, and creating a possible cosmopolitan world image amongst the Norwegian people.

³⁷ The quote is from a webpage without page numbers, in printed version it is on page 1. To read the whole speech visit the website: <http://www.kongehuset.no/tale.html?tid=137662&sek=26947&scope=27248>

³⁸ See Hooft (2009) for more on the concept of Cosmopolitanism

5.2 COSMOPOLITANISM

The concept of cosmopolitanism is built on the idea of creating a cosmopolitan, or a global citizen in an effort to reduce or eliminate conflict between cultures and nations (Naseem and Hyslop-Margison, 2006). Or as Professor of Philosophy Stan van Hoof puts it, “Cosmopolitanism is the view that the moral standing of all peoples and of each individual person around the globe is equal” (Hooft, 2009: 4). According to German philosopher Thomas W. Pogge, there are three major principles commonly identified as being at the core of cosmopolitanism:

1. *Individualism* – the ultimate unit of analysis and concern are human beings rather than nation, states, family, ethnic or cultural or religious communities
2. *Universalism* – every human being, irrespective of gender, class, ethnicity and race is equally worth
3. *Generality* – the whole humanity (not only people sharing certain characteristics such as a common religion) is ultimate units of concern for everyone, hence entitled to impartial treatment (Pogge, 1992:48-49).

The idea of cosmopolitanism originated during the Hellenistic period. Today the term reemerged in the form of political and institutional arrangements that reflect a global pursuit of a global community with human rights and lasting peace. Hooft (2009) claims that in the wake of two world wars, many nations argued that peace and human rights should be secured by forms of institutional cooperation that were institutionalised and grounded in law, such as the establishment of the United Nations (UN) in 1948. Norwegian collective identity, relies on cosmopolitan ideas by identifying itself as a peace and humanitarian nation. In regards to the United Nations, Norway has since the aftermath of the Second World War been engaged with empowering the UN to become a tool for promoting peaceful and fair development (Østerud, 2006). Furthermore, Norwegian aid politics have traditionally been and still is today in line with the UN millennium goals, now the UN’s Substantial Development Goals (UN SDG’s). Norway’s contribution and commitment to achieving the UN SDG’s can for instance be the reasons for why The Secretary-General of the United Nations Ban Ki-Moon appointed Prime Minister Erna Solberg to co-chair the UN SDG committee in January 2016. Hooft (2009) states there are several features of ethical cosmopolitanism such as acceptance of human rights as universal, believing in an universal understanding of human dignity, global solidarity that work towards global justice and peace among others. For the purpose of this project I will address the dichotomy between cosmopolitanism and nationalism, and discuss

how they can intertwine. Further, I will analyse how TV-aksjonen can serve as an example of how these two concepts can interrelate.

5.3 COSMOPOLITANISM AND NATIONALISM

German sociologist Ulrich Beck claims that nationalism is the enemy to cosmopolitanism societies, and his claim is not unique. Nationalism is often seen as a dichotomy to cosmopolitanism (Hooft, 2009). However, for the purpose of this project I will seek to identify how these two concepts are possibly related to each other, but first I will in short, explain why they are understood as contradictions. Defining nationalism is not simple or straightforward, however attempts to come up with a definition have been done by many. Hooft (2009) claims that nationalism as an ideology is built on the idea of a nation as an imagined community united by a common national project, culture or ancestry contributes. The psychological dimension of the concept emerges when one's identity-shaping community and one's nation-state feels corresponding. In other words, the nationalist transfers the bonds (s)he feels with her/his ethnic, linguistics or religious community to the nation-state of which (s)he is a citizen. This type of identification with the nation-state as part of an individual's own personality, is based on the nationalistic understanding of individuals as socially and culturally embedded beings. Contradicting the cosmopolitanism thinking of identities as fluid and not culturally or geographically bounded. Another contrast lies in centre of cosmopolitanism thinking is the autonomous individual, which differs from nationalism, which emphasis on the collective dimension (Hooft, 2009). A third aspect, is as Anderson argues that the nation creates deep *attachments of fraternity*, hence nationalism cannot be fully understood in rational categories alone, it also involves a strong loyalty and emotional affection towards the nation (Anderson, 2006:7). Cosmopolitanism on the other hand, is more directed towards self-reflection and universal empathy across cultures and geography.

Although the above mentioned differences might seem contradicting, they do not automatically need to be, when the clear-cut contradictions between the two concepts get partly erased. In chapter 4 regarding on collective identity, identity is encompassed of both individual and collective identity. The same could be argued to be accounted for here by recognising the human being as being constituted by both individualistic (cosmopolitanism aspect) and collectivistic (nationalism aspect) dimensions. His Majesty King Harald V of Norway said in his welcoming speech at the Garden party in the Palace Park:

Norwegians come from North Norway, Central Norway, Southern Norway – and all of the other regions. Norwegians have immigrated from Afghanistan, Pakistan and Poland, from Sweden, Somalia and Syria. My grandparents came here from Denmark and England 110 years ago. It is not always easy to say where we are from, what nationality we are. Home is where our heart is – and that cannot always be confined within national borders (Kong Harald V, 2016)³⁹

The excerpt illustrates how a home cannot be confined within national borders. Additionally, it can also illustrate as an example for how a cosmopolitan mindset is implemented to a Norwegian people which identifies its identity by the Norwegian national borders.

Nevertheless, as King Harald also states, there is a cosmopolitan community within the national border if we at look at the different nations from which many of Norwegian people originate. To turn the argument around, there are also several Norwegians who are born in Norway but have lived in another country for many years, they might still account themselves as Norwegians. King Harald's claim can be further interpreted as an understanding that there is room for both nationalism and cosmopolitanism.

However, it relevant to recognise that nationalism is still a current thinking today, as the world's countries are divided into states, and being part of a nation is more tangible for people; being a Norwegian citizen, than simply a citizen of the world. Also, the focus of upholding a state's sovereignty as a fundamental unit can be criticised to idealise a representation of a country's population as uniform group with particular characteristics and rights which differs them from other peoples. Nationalism can be extreme by building on a national self-worship and be against immigrants from what they see as foreign cultural areas. Nazi-Germany is an example of extreme nationalism. Nevertheless, nationalism can also be moderate, and the nations is then built on compromises. Norway is an example of moderate nationalism which accepts immigration and enrolment of new citizens, but often expects the new citizens to adapt to the country's language and certain costumes (Knudsen and Ryste, 2015)⁴⁰. As Philosopher and cultural theorist Kwame Anthony Appiah (2006) claims, in addition to cosmopolitanism there is also a place for nationalism by arguing for how modern nations has elements of cosmopolitanism. Appiah sees a nation as an appropriate object of moral commitment, loyalist and allegiance. He understands nations as a body of people united by a collective social project and by national sentiments that arise when a people live together

³⁹ The quote is from a webpage without page number, in printed it is on page 1

⁴⁰ The source is from a webpage, in printed version the statements highlighted are on page 2

in state-like arrangements. Such a nation can include people of different ethnicities, cultural and religious background united to live in a political community which promotes cosmopolitanism principles. One example, could be the model of civic or liberal nationalism, which according to the historian Brett Bowden is a nation based on equal rights of citizenship – regardless of gender, colour and ethnicity this can be argued to be an interpretation of principle on universalism that all people are equally worth (Bowden, 2003:240). The professional boxer Cecilia Brækhus said in her commending speech for TV-aksjonen 2012:

The essence in human rights is that we all are provided with a set of rights simply just because we are humans. Amnesty's motto is that when one human is violated, we are all violated (Brækhus, 2012)⁴¹

The commending speech illustrates how Brækhus plays on a cosmopolitan idea in order to gather the Norwegian people around the cause TV-aksjonen went to that year. The emphasis on human rights is in itself an association with cosmopolitanism. Brækhus calls upon the Norwegian people to volunteer or donate money to TV-aksjonen by playing on cosmopolitan virtues. The sentence *when one human is violated, we are all violated*, plays on all three perspectives of cosmopolitanism, individualism, universalism and generality. Especially generality, which states that the whole humanity is ultimate concern for everyone. Further, as TV-aksjonen is hosted by the state-owned NRK, the excerpt provides an example of how cosmopolitanism and nationalism intertwine. Since Brækhus calls upon the Norwegian people, which in this context can be identified as the people living within the national borders, by using a cosmopolitan discourse. Although Brækhus is an individual person, she speaks on behalf of TV-aksjonen as a representative for TV-aksjonen 2012. The statements can therefore serve as an example on how TV-aksjonen also uses cosmopolitan virtues to uphold a positive Norwegian self-perception as benevolent, as a people who wishes to help their fellow humans across the world. Additionally, the statement also contributes to shaping an image of the world, where identities do not only crosscut or are nested in within borders, but also with the overall identity as a human, and a citizen of the world. Furthermore, the statements also illustrate how TV-aksjonen plays on cosmopolitan values, in order to create a national we-feeling. In other words, TV-aksjonen plays on cosmopolitan values to create a sense of nationalism as well.

⁴¹ The quote is from a webpage without page number, in printed it is on page 1. Read the the whole speech here: <http://www.forlagsliv.no/blog/2012/10/11/cecilia-braekhus-appell-i-forbindelse-med-tv-aksjonen-2012-for-amnesty/>

5.4 HUMANITARIAN AID

Through the lens of cosmopolitanism, a person with a cosmopolitan outlook would respond to the vital needs of others, wherever they are in the world and irrespective of their gender, nationality, ethnicity, political or religious commitment. The cosmopolitanism concept refuses to allow anonymity, difference and distance of those who suffer poverty, oppression or catastrophe to be an obstacle for the responsibility all human have to respond to their needs (Hooft, 2009).

Professor in Philosophy Peter Singer (1972), interpreted the humanitarian aid argument in his article *Famine, Affluence and Morality* by claiming that people in wealthy countries have a moral obligation to provide assistance to victims of famines. In the article, Singer was referring to a famine occurring in Bangladesh. To argue for his standpoint, he relied on the principle that “if it is in our power to prevent something bad from happening, without thereby sacrificing anything of comparable moral importance, we ought, morally to do it” (Singer, 1972:231). To illustrate this point, he imagined a scenario where you see a child drowning in a shallow pond. It is obvious that the shallow pond involved no danger to yourself, but you would ruin your expensive clothes. In this scenario you can prevent something bad from happening without sacrificing anything of moral significance. This example illustrates that through the understanding of cosmopolitanism you are obliged to help people in need rather than just make an act of charity.

Unlike cosmopolitanism, *an act of charity*, which according to Hooft is thought of as a *supererogatory* act (Hooft, 2009:57). In other words, it is something that is good to do but that you cannot be blamed for not doing. Singer goes on defending his point of view by mentioning possible objections or excuses people might offer. One excuse could be that *the needs of people who are closer to us should be prioritised before those who are distant than from us*. Going back to the scenario mentioned above, Singer replies that there is no moral reason why a child drowning in a pond next to you is any different from the needs of a child in mortal danger from starvation or poverty on the other side of the globe. He further claims that it only takes a modest sum of money to save the child across the world, as it only costs a set of clothes to save the nearby child. The needs of both the children are morally equal, and by this argument Singer is expressing the central principle of the cosmopolitan worldview according to Hooft (2009). Although many people go out of their way to help when disasters strikes, or give to charity – it is also a fact that many people do nothing to help. Singer argues

there exist no excuse not to help, as all humans in a wealthy country are morally obliged to help (Singer, 1972). Morally, this might be true, however it feels different to most to see a child drowning in front of your eyes, than hearing on the news that children are starving in Africa. In other words, morally this is the same, however for practical and emotional reason it can be claimed that possibly people do not see it that way.

Singer also modified his principle by stating “if it is in our power to prevent something very bad from happening, without thereby sacrificing anything of morally significance, we ought, morally to do it” (Singer, 1972:231). This milder principle calls on us (all humans) to prevent something *very* bad from happening, in addition to sacrifice only what is of *no* morally significance. However, both the original principle and the modified one, can be criticised for being too demanding when it comes the resources people have to give. Hooft criticises this by stating that the number of people who are in dire need and of acute suffering is high. Furthermore, the things people spend their money on compared to all the things they actually need to spend money on are few. Simply put, it is about necessities versus luxuries. According to Singers logic, Hooft argues that a person in a wealthy country is morally obliged to give of their resources until they are at the same level, hence their same socio-economic status. Singer says “we would have to give away enough to ensure that the consumer society, dependent as it is on people spending on trivia rather than giving to famine relief, would slow down and perhaps disappear entirely” (Singer 1972: 241). Singer’s statement however, faces a challenge as an increase in the consumer’s purchasing power could also possibly lead to an increase in distribution instead of a reduction.

Singer’s claim that people should give as much of their resources as possible to counterbalance the differences between people is difficult to maintain, and illustrates a possible obstacle to follow the cosmopolitanism concept precisely. However, the purpose with this chapter is not to discuss whether or not TV-aksjonen plays fully on a cosmopolitanism view. It is rather to analyse the elements within cosmopolitanism TV-aksjonen possibly plays on in regards to the Norwegian self-perception and the Norwegians world image. For over 40 years TV-aksjonen has been a link between the Norwegian people and the cause. It has collected money for people suffering in one way or the other domestically or abroad by fundraising through a volunteer Norwegian organisation, which aims to contribute with different measurement for humanitarian purposes. In 1974, it was Norwegian Refugee council who had TV-aksjonen named: *Refugee -74*. In 1985 the

Norwegian youth council had TV-aksjonen: *Youth campaign*, in 1999 it was Amnesty International with its campaign: *Your effort- others freedom*, in 2004 it was Save the Children, with the slogan; *save the children*, and in 2016 it is Red Cross the campaign; *together, we can make sure the help arrives*. In order to link the Norwegian people and the cause TV-aksjonen plays on reference points the Norwegians can relate in one way or another. The program hosts for TV-aksjonen 2014: *water changes everything*, Haddy N'jie and Jan Petter Saltvedt said:

Many walk far every day to get what we all need to live: water. And next Sunday is it our turn to walk. We can all do our “skjerv” (share)⁴² either by being a collector, or selling waffles and cakes. It can actually change very much for very many people. Please welcome the collectors when they call on your door (N'jie and Saltvedt interviewed in NRK 2014a)⁴³

By saying *what we all need to live: water*, they thematise the cause and make it topical for the Norwegian people. The excerpt can be interpreted as a way of erasing differences and national borders to focus on the cause and the people it concerns as fellow humans. Every human being needs water to live, therefore the Norwegian people in this regard can help their fellow humans to get an easier access to water. Additionally, the statement *many walk far and next Sunday it is our turn to walk* reinforces that we ought to walk, where the term walk is the common denominator, but that *we* (the Norwegians) need to walk to help *them* (those who does not have an easy access to water). It further plays on an understanding that the Norwegian people follows the cosmopolitan values on responding to the needs for those who suffers. Additionally, the statements saying it is *our turn to walk*, also plays on a possible understanding of how Peter Singer claims moral obligation that the Norwegians need to help those less fortunate. Accordingly, it also plays on a perception that everyone wants to go, hence it is understood as a moral obligation, and not only an as act of charity. Further, the statement, *please welcome the collectors when they call on your door* through the lens of Singers argument also play on a moral obligation. Since the statement arguably can be based on a perception that Norway is a rich country, hence its population are as Singer argue obliged to contribute with a modest sum. On the other side, Singer can be criticised for demanding too much of people living in wealthy countries, as the socio-economic situation to all people varies. It could be easier to follow a cosmopolitan commitment by claiming that

⁴² A reference to TV-aksjonen 1974, when the program host Lauritz Johnson said we can all do our part (skjerv) to contribute to TV-aksjonen. Lauritz being an important representative for what is perceived as *typically Norwegian*

⁴³ Interviewed in the broadcast time: 44 min, 20 sec

rich countries should give resources to humanitarian aid, and not only put the responsibility on the people itself. Such as how Norway contributes 1 % of its GDP to aid. In other words, this also illustrates a possible connection between nationalism and cosmopolitanism, where the Norwegian state takes up on their cosmopolitan responsibility. Also, TV-aksjonen where all parts of society contribute, including both the public and private sector, shows how the different levels within a society crosscuts to gather around a cosmopolitan mind set. In this regard, TV-aksjonen's role in the Norwegian self-perception can be understood as a player to create and maintain cosmopolitan features within the national borders for Norway.

The aim of TV-aksjonen is not only to fundraise for humanitarian causes but also to provide *public enlightenment*⁴⁴ around the cause each year. One informant, a representative of NRK's independent Fundraising Board⁴⁵ said: "TV-aksjonen is also a public enlightenment campaign. It is part of building up around NRK's social mission. As a public broadcaster we contribute to ensuring that important issues are in focus and financed" (Oslo, 10.12.2015). Similarly said former telethon leader; "TV-aksjonen's aim is not to promote the organisation which receives the money every year, it is the cause we are profiling. The same accounts for NRK, they will promote and be a spokesperson for the cause" (Oslo, 03.12.2015). This can be an example of philosopher Martha Nussbaum's (Nussbaum, 1994) argument that cosmopolitan features should be a part of any national education and she coined the term *cosmopolitan education*. An interpretation of cosmopolitan education can be as TV-aksjonen has chosen to create information lectures at schools⁴⁶, across the country in forefront of the live broadcasting to shed light on the cause. Based on my data, in hand with the massive media coverage and adverts, TV-aksjonen has before and under the live broadcasting the ability to raise awareness of the cause. Accordingly, the result can as the purpose is for NRK to enlighten the people around a humanitarian topic they might know little about before TV-aksjonen. In this regards, a possible influence TV-aksjonen has on how the Norwegian perceive the world, is by shaping a cosmopolitan mindset, by encouraging around the cause to make it topical for the Norwegian people. Additionally, as part of the Norwegian self-perception is its national identity as a humanitarian, peace nation and the cosmopolitan

⁴⁴ My own translation from the Norwegian term *folkeopplysning*, which is understand as enlightening the Norwegian people

⁴⁵ My own translation from its Norwegian name: Innsamlingsrådet

⁴⁶ See chapter 4, page 48. The former telethon leader says how TV-aksjonen sets up a lecture on the annual cause to TV-aksjonen in schools all over the country

approach helps maintain this image by representing the Norwegian people as a people who cares about others across national boundaries, because they are fellow humans.

5.4 GENEROSITY

In hand with cosmopolitanism, is generosity. As I have argued for in chapter 4, the Norwegian generosity is a reference used by TV-aksjonen to create a collective we-feeling and results in maintaining a positive Norwegian self-perception. Additionally, the term Norwegian generosity can also play on a cosmopolitanism mindset. Since one of the cosmopolitan virtues is for individuals to show generosity towards the poor and starving (Hooft, 2009). This notion can be connected to TV-aksjonen overall aim; to fundraise and raise awareness around an annual cause related to humanitarian purposes. In order to do so, TV-aksjonen is dependent on the Norwegian population to show generosity by volunteering effort and/or donations.

Norway claims to be among the world leaders in volunteering⁴⁷. “Norwegians together with Sweden are best at volunteering in the world” (Informant, former telethon leader, Oslo, 03.12.2015). Social researcher at the institute for Social science said, “Norway among the top countries in the world concerning dugnad and voluntary work.” In order to examine the statement of Norway being world leaders in voluntary work, further analysis was done on available statistics. Statistics Norway satellite account on non-profit institutions, estimated that these institutions contributed with 53 billion Norwegian kroner, or 1.7 per cent of the gross domestic product in 2014 (Statistisk sentralbyrå, 2016). In regards to voluntary work, it is estimated that 61 % of the Norwegian population over 16 years contributes with voluntary work in volunteer organisations yearly, according to the Centre for Research on Civil Society and Voluntary Sector (CRCVS) (Arnesen, 2015). The data does not show volunteer effort beyond that, for instance concerning dugnad for the local football team or cleaning in the neighbourhood. However, a research report by CRCVS from 2014, shows that 64 % of the population over 18 years old did voluntary work during the last 12 months⁴⁸ (Arnesen, 2015). These numbers shows that a high percentage of the Norwegian

⁴⁷ *Norge i verdenstoppen i frivillighet* (Norway amongst the world leading countries in volunteering) stated Norwegian newspapers such as in *Dagens perspektiv* (20.12.2013), *Adresseavisen* (25.10.2015), *Dagsavisen* (16.02.2015) among others

⁴⁸ Several indicators were included not only volunteering through volunteer organisations, but also community volunteering, such as volunteering for the local sports club.

population contributes in volunteering effort, which can be interpreted to mean that a large number of the population shows generosity through work in relation to help out either in the local community, or for those with lower social and economic conditions.

In relation to donating money to non-profit organisations the Institute for Social Science in Oslo, shows how the number of households donating money to volunteer organisation on a regular basis increased from 51 % to 75 % between 1997 and 2009 (Wollebæk and Sivesind, 2010). The same report also shows how the average contribution to volunteer organisations was 2600 Norwegian Kroner in 2009, the same level in 1997 corrected for consumer deflation. However, the number on how many contributes increases, although the average contribution has reduced. These numbers presented above can be put into the context of cosmopolitanism, as the indicators are based on activities related to generosity. The high attendance amongst the Norwegian people doing volunteering work, such as through TV-aksjonen reflects a cosmopolitan mindset. Historically, the volunteer sector in Norway grew in a time when the country had few social differences, and relatively poor population. Many who could not contribute with money, instead they could contribute with time and work effort. (Wollebæk and Sivesind, 2010). For instance after the Second World War, Norway was poor and was dependent on a mobilisation of volunteer effort to help rebuild the country (Balsvik, 2016). The element of volunteer effort, is still reflected as an important key for development such as in TV-aksjonen which plays on the Norwegian *dugnad* spirit, not only to create a collective we, but also to maintain the cosmopolitan element concerning humanitarian aid. In regards to generosity in form of donation, the Norwegian people have given less money to TV-aksjonen than they did in the 1970s and 1980s. Calculated to today's current value of the Norwegian Krone, the Norwegian people gave 227,6 million NOK to TV-aksjonen in 1977, compared to in 2012 when it was 198,7 million NOK (Bach and Skjæraasen, 2013). One reason could be the competition amongst other telethons on other Norwegian channel. When TV-aksjonen started in 1974, NRK had monopoly, since then other channels have emerged with their own telethons. Such as TV 2's telethon *Artistgalla*⁴⁹ Additionally, more households are permanent donors to volunteer organisations and therefore might feel they contribute through these instead of the annual TV-aksjonen. Nevertheless, compared to other

⁴⁹ Recall TV 2's *Artistgalla* was shortly introduced in the introduction chapter on page 1

countries the Norwegian generosity through donating money is not as high as volunteering.

The British Charity Aid Foundation are behind the annual World Giving Index (Charities Aid Foundation, 2015) survey, which was carried out in 135 countries since 2005. The purpose of the foundation is to stimulate charitable behaviour across the world, hence a behaviour inspired by the value of cosmopolitanism. The index measured international generosity through three different indicators: 1. How many of a country's population donate money to charity, 2. How large the proportion of people in every country volunteers for an organisation is, 3. How many help strangers or people in need. Seeing all these indicator as a whole, Myanmar scores the highest (66%), followed by United States of America (61%) and New Zealand (61%), Norway is number 15 (49%). On the indicator of donation, Myanmar score highest with 92%, Norway is number 14 (60%), beaten by countries such as Netherlands (73 %), Ireland (67%) and Australia (72%). On the helping a stranger score, Iraq scores highest (79%), Norway is number 45 together with Sweden, Austria and Sweden (55%). On the score of volunteer time, Myanmar scores the highest (50%), and Norway is on shared 28th place together with United Kingdom and Germany (32%) (Charities Aid Foundation, 2015). The GAF World Giving Index points out that some of the world's generous people are amongst the deprived. The G-20, which represents the world's largest economies, accounts for only five⁵⁰ of the top 20. Although Norway is not among the world leaders in generosity, number 15 is still a high overall score. Norway is only beaten by United Kingdom, Netherlands, Ireland and Malta in Europe and has the highest score among Nordic countries⁵¹. In addition to TV-aksjonen, other countries have traditions for telethons as well, such as Red Nose Day in Great Britain, AFM-telethon in France and Denmark's Indsamling (Lindøe, 2016). However, TV-aksjonen stands out as social scientist Karl Henrik Sivesind said to the newspaper *Vårt land* :

TV-aksjonen stands out by using 100 000 collectors for a few hours on one single day, while other telethons spread the fundraising over several days. That way other countries in Europe are able to fundraise more money than TV-aksjonen such as in Austria, Great Britain and the

⁵⁰ These countries are: USA (no.2), Canada (no.4), Australia (no.5), United Kingdom (no.6) and Germany (no.20)

⁵¹ Sweden is number 28 (44%), Finland is number 31 (43%) and Denmark is number 39 (42%)

Netherlands. Nevertheless, the Norwegian TV-aksjonen is in many ways the world greatest volunteer effort as it has a wide public engagement (Siversind quoted in Bjåen, 2014)⁵²

The ability to reach out and create a public engagement around TV-aksjonen is what separates TV-aksjonen from similar telethons abroad. The fact that *we* think, as Sivesind said, are the best on volunteer effort, is connected to the Norwegian self-perception. Since as the CAF survey presents, Norway is not the most generous nor best at voluntary work in the world. Yet the notion that Norway is the best on volunteerism is still an image portrayed such as through TV-aksjonen. Further, the wide engagement can be interpreted as TV-aksjonen has great support from the Norwegian people and therefore has their role in the Norwegian self-perception and the consequences for how the Norwegian perceive the world a merit. Accordingly, the Norwegian collective identity can be connected to cosmopolitanism as this identity builds on the principles of individualism, universalism and generality by being associated with terms related to these principles such as peaceful, humanitarian and altruistic.

5.5 SUMMARY

For the purpose of my project I have introduced the dichotomy between cosmopolitanism and nationalism, and explained how these two concepts also can be compatible. Through existing research on cosmopolitanism and my data I have found that Norway can serve as an example on how cosmopolitanism and nationalism can intertwine. Also, I have used humanitarian aid as an example to situate TV-aksjonen within the concept of cosmopolitanism, as its agenda is to fundraise for humanitarian purposes. I have argued here the role TV-aksjonen plays in the Norwegian self-perception is to uphold an impression of the Norwegian people as a people who care about the fellow humans despite differences, ethnicity, race, gender and nationality. Further, I have argued that through the support TV-aksjonen has within the Norwegian landscape, the telethon is able to enlighten the public of the annual cause. In this regard, the consequence is that the Norwegians get more enlightened around humanitarian issues around the world. Further, as part of humanitarian aid, generosity is an important aspect, as it is through a form of generosity the Norwegian people contribute to the humanitarian cause of TV-aksjonen. Through relevant statistic I have argued that volunteerism is the main cosmopolitan element TV-aksjonen plays on.

⁵² The quote is from a webpage without page number, in printed version it is on page 3

6. THE POWER ASPECTS OF TV-AKSJONEN

*Our fellowmen the refugees deserve our help*⁵³
Queen Sonja filmed in (Kirkens nødhjelp, 2014)

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Media is an important link between individuals and society, and can have an essential role for the individual's opinion-formation about the world around us, and about the everyday life as well. There is much we should know, and it is not always easy to catch what is valuable to know. Through the lens of TV-aksjonen the Norwegian people are introduced to humanitarian causes, which need their attention. TV-aksjonen has for a long time had a privileged role and a power to be a collective national arena for fundraising.

The purpose of this chapter is not to criticise that TV-aksjonen fundraises money for a good cause per se, it is rather to analyse the power structure of streamlining a complex issue, with simplifying solutions. In this chapter I will therefore first introduce power theory, before I will explain historian Terje Tvedt's power concepts, which will lay the ground for the analysis in this chapter. Further, since TV-aksjonen is a media event hosted by NRK, media's power is relevant to touch upon in this chapter. Additionally, I will discuss how TV-aksjonen possibly plays on simplified representations to promote the annual cause. Hereunder I will discuss the consequence of using stereotypical presentations for how the Norwegian people understand the world. Finally, I will analyse how the level of trust NRK has amongst the Norwegian population also has power constraints and consequences for how the Norwegians perceive the world.

6.2 POWER THEORY

Similar to collective identity and cosmopolitanism, power is also an elusive term, where several definitions have been made. Political scientist Robert Dahl defines power in terms of a relation between people and expresses in simple symbolic notation by saying, "A has the power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do"

⁵³ My own translation from Norwegian, *Våre medmennesker flyktingene fortjener vår hjelp*. Queen Sonja said it during the opening speech for TV-aksjonen in 1974. In the source the film clip of Queen Sonja is time: 0:43

(1957: 202-203). Postmodernist Michel Foucault is known for interlinking the concept of power with knowledge, by examining how the scientific language which knowledge is expressed through was both excluding and controlling (Engelstad, 2016). Additionally, sociologist Steven Lukes introduced a three-dimensional approach to understanding power. Firstly, power is a form where A gets his will at the expense of B, such as getting majority in a voting in a political organ. Secondly, power becomes more indirect - here it is not about who wins a voting, but which topics are on the agenda to be voted upon. For instance, A can prevent the city council from discussing a plan for city renovation, and rather discusses property tax. On the third level, Lukes argues that power can affect what people want and think. Such as in regard to my project, TV-aksjonen's power is to affect people through shaping what they think about the annual topic TV-aksjonen promotes (Engelstad, 2016). Although I am aware of the elusiveness of the term, and limitations of choosing a few out of several definitions on power, the purpose of this paragraph is to give examples on what power can mean in a general matter, as well as how it can be linked to my project.

TV-aksjonen represents causes for humanitarian purposes, where people in one way or the other are suffering. TV-aksjonen therefore inhabits several types of power through their information campaigns about the annual cause, both towards the people they wish to engage, and the people they wish to create an engagement for. Terje Tvedt focuses on the power humanitarian organisation has, and the power relation between these organisation and the groups they represent. As part of my research question involves the perception of the world through TV-aksjonen, Tvedt's understanding power is relevant. He claims any exercise of power is a "truth production of reality" (Tvedt 2009: 145). In 2003, Terje Tvedt published the book *Utviklingshjelp. Utenrikspolitik og makt. Den norske modellen* (Development aid, foreign policy and power. The Norwegian model) where he through the term *goodness regime* and several power concepts provides an analysis of the relationship between Norwegian development aid and foreign policy, which he describes as the *South political system* (Tvedt, 2009). He argues that this goodness regime creates an arena where people search for power positions by claiming to have an insight or knowledge about the world and with a vision to make this world better. TV-aksjonen is a part of the goodness regime, as the telethon takes on the role as an aid actor to raise money for improving conditions for people across the world. Tvedt defines power as "A has the ability to influence B's perceptions and actions by changing B's knowledge and attitudes to correspond with A" (Tvedt, 2009:36). Assume TV-aksjonen is A, and the Norwegian public is B, will TV-aksjonen achieve power if they

through the promotion of the annual cause manage to affect the Norwegians perceptions and actions to correspond with TV-aksjonen's values and viewpoints. Based on Tvedt's definition of power, TV-aksjonen's information campaigns about the annual causes is central to obtain and maintain the telethon's power. In this chapter, the analysis will be based on Tvedt's three power concepts alternate power, identity power and moral power (Tvedt, 2009: 28-31).

According to Tvedt, alternate power is obtained by undertaking a role a spokesperson for a group of people who is not heard, and it is a power which can potential lead to marginalising of a group which the spokesperson represent. For instance, how TV-aksjonen possibly speaks on behalf of the people represented in the commercials, hence the receivers. Identity power is another concept relevant for TV-aksjonen's information campaign about the annual cause. Tvedt argues that an organisation, exerts its identity power when they construct a collective *we*, and determines who the *significant others* are in the information material they produce (Tvedt, 2009:29). Tvedt claims that within the goodness regime, there exists power connected with the role, which defines benevolence. TV-aksjonen through their information campaign does define benevolence and therefore exercise moral power. Moral power is obtained by convincing the society that exclusively moral actions are feasible (Tvedt 2009:31). TV-aksjonen achieves moral power through information campaigns, where they describe the good and moral actions with donating and volunteer for TV-aksjonen. Tvedt states *moral power* is the ability to transform moral questions into a central question in a particular discourse. In this chapter, moral power is understood as TV-aksjonen's ability to make the aid discourse evolve around the moral responsibility to provide humanitarian aid, instead of the a discourse which focuses on the effects of aid donations. The above mentioned power concepts situate the context of which TV-aksjonen takes place, hence within the collective national identity of Norway as a leading nation within development and peace. I therefore find these concepts suitable for my project, as I will analyse the role TV-aksjonen plays in the Norwegian self-perception and how Norwegians perceive the world through TV-aksjonen. The main analysis of the power aspects of TV-aksjonen will be provided in section 6.4. First I will discuss media's power to provide a backdrop of the power context TV-aksjonen is situated as a media.

6.3 MEDIA'S POWER

During the past almost hundred years mass media has emerged as a system to describe reality and society. The representation of the world in the media, have to a great degree become our own perception of the world, says Assistant Professor in media communication Kari Palmstrøm (2012). This is an important reason for why media is concerned as the Fourth Branch⁵⁴ (or fourth power) in the democratic system. The media as a power dimension was not described in the Norwegian constitution since media did not exist as power factor of significance when the constitution was signed in 1814. In the context of TV-aksjonen, the civil war in Nigeria, a war fought to counter the secession of Biafra from Nigeria is a good example of the power media might have when it concerns humanitarian issues. The Biafra conflict⁵⁵ was used as a political instrument and, as mentioned before, one of the first occurrences of humanitarian suffering shown on Norwegian television. It was in 1968 the Biafra Rebellion contacted the PR-agency Mark Press in Genève and asked them to *sell* the cause of Biafra to the western world. Mark Press started a thoroughly systematic process of producing a one-side story within the western media, starting with the press and expanded it to television and radio. The result was a one-sided story emphasising the famine and providing strong image-impressions of starving children which mobilised the opinion in favour of Biafra's side. The negative sides with General Ojukwus policy; suppression of other tribes which lived within the borders of Biafra, and the concentration camps for those who disagreed with Ojukwus politics, were never portrayed for the international journalists and for the television crew. An interaction between the public opinion and the television emerged, in the western world (Johansen, 1970). In Norway the result was a massive fundraising for the Biafra population, and this fundraising is seen as the predecessor of TV-aksjonen (NRK, 2014b)⁵⁶. The Biafra example illustrates an example of the media's exercise of alternate power. Through television the media became the spokespersons of the people in Biafra by representing a one-sided picture which affected the Norwegian people's understanding of the conflict. Mark Press serves here as an example on how media can possess significant power when you have the opportunity to affect how development or humanitarian crisis in the world should be perceived and interpreted. However, in the wake of the civil war in Nigeria a *trust crisis* emerged between the images the mass media had produced and more nuanced

⁵⁴ In the Norwegian constitution there is clear provisions concerning who can exercise legal power in the society. It is divided between three branches; Stortinget (the Parliament) is the legislative branch, the Government holds the executive branch, and the courts are the judicial branch

⁵⁵ See chapter 3: Background, page 26-27 for more on the Biafra conflict and the connection with TV-aksjonen

⁵⁶ The connection between TV-aksjonen and the Biafra conflict was stated in a commercial of the history of TV-aksjonen when the telethon celebrated 40 years in 2014

information which was presented accordingly. One would imagine that this consequence would have sharpened the mass media's portrayal of international humanitarian crisis to be more nuanced and reflected. Yet simplified representations of misery, suffering, war, violence and oppression in the media has continued for decades after Biafra. Simplified representation of development in the world has become rooted within the public opinion. The use of stereotypical representations has been and still is the centre of the debate today. In relation to aid, the core of the debate has been that aid is not only a humanitarian matter, but also contributes in reproducing a western domination over the third world⁵⁷ through those images which are produced from poor countries (Nustad, 2003).

Social anthropologist Knut Nustad (2003) claims the Norwegian aid emerged in the tension between Norway's self-image as a small, oppressed country⁵⁸ with humanitarian traditions on the one side and the connection to the western powers in the Cold War on the other. To create a system that the international society could approve of, a security aspect was toned down, and humanitarian aspect was highlighted. In order to make development an important aspect of Norway's agenda, it was important to anchor the aid in neutral institutions. Maybe the notion of the neutral institutions is the establishment of what Tvedt (2009) describes as representation of volunteer organisations as apolitical and good – an image articulated through what Tvedt calls the goodness discourse. Tvedt, together with Nustad amongst others critics, claim aid institutions help maintain a discourse which categorises countries in the South as passive receivers and the rich countries as active and benevolent donors.

6.4 SIMPLIFIED REPRESENTATIONS

In 2008, a debate⁵⁹ about TV-aksjonen's presentations of stereotypes was sparked when Terje Tvedt wrote an article concerning *Journalistikkens sammenbrudd* (The breakdown of journalism). He claimed that TV-aksjonen created powerful and simplified stereotypes of the world (Tvedt, 2008). Tvedt also argued that since NRK takes on the responsibility as an aid actor, it therefore makes it impossible to later on do critical aid journalism. According to Tvedt, TV-aksjonen is an example of the goodness regime's archaic world image, with

⁵⁷ The term «the third world» is an expression including development countries in Africa, Asia and South America. During the Cold War, «the first world» was referred to the capitalistic industrial countries, «the second world» was the socialistic countries (Eriksen, 2009)

⁵⁸ Oppressed in the regard of not being an independent country before 1905, but a colonial past as being in union with Denmark and Sweden (Nustad, 2003)

⁵⁹ For more on the debate visit the RORG's webpage, they have made an overview of the debate concerning the telethons TV-aksjonen and Artistgallaen in 2008 and 2009: <http://www.rorg.no/Artikler/1928.html>

Norway's represented as a humanitarian superpower. TV-aksjonen's journalism has produced and reproduced a world image where the donor is placed at the centre. Further, he argues that this journalism has been institutionalised to a point where the commercials from certain areas in Africa, Asia or Latin-America represent the world as a whole, while these areas in reality simply set the scene for the Norwegian self-perception to realise itself as altruistic and generous (Tvedt, 2008). My informant, an adviser from the Norwegian Council for Africa follows this argument:

TV-aksjonen is perhaps the best opportunity during the year to have a supplementary debate about development, which is deeply political. Unfortunately, TV-aksjonen does not raise critically questions of which measurements are the most suitable for sustainable development in the world. Instead, the focus is that money is the solution to poverty. I find it highly problematic to run these sorts of fundraising events. It can have negative effects for the receivers, as well as the donors who fundraise because it uses stereotypical representations of the South (Adviser Norwegian Council for Africa, Oslo, 08.12.2015)

The excerpt touches upon the problematic issues of not representing a more nuanced picture of the world. Instead, as the informant argues, TV-aksjonen offers misleading information by promoting the annual cause in itself and not take into account the possibly political, economic and social issues. The consequence is as the informant states, a stereotypically differentiation between *us*, the donors, and *them*, the receivers. The excerpt illustrates the opinion that TV-aksjonen possesses alternate power. The role TV-aksjonen undertakes as a spokesperson is not necessarily in accordance with how the receivers of the donations wish to be represented. As the informant highlight, the representations of the receivers can have negative consequences. One of these consequences is a marginalisation of the group, which is represented through TV-aksjonen. In addition to play a role in how the Norwegians perceive the world by focusing on cosmopolitan virtues, the telethon can also contribute to maintain a stereotypical representation of the Global South. Below I will discuss TV-aksjonen identity power through the images from a commercial from TV-aksjonen 2014.

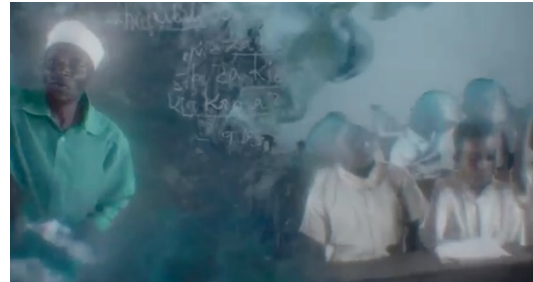


FIGURE 1: Pictures from the commercial campaign for TV-aksjonen 2014 (TV-aksjonen, 2014)

The images in figure 1 introduce a 12-year old girl Agnes who lives in a village in Tanzania. She has to walk 5 hours every day to get water for her family. Agnes has to prioritise her time getting water, the consequence is that she cannot go to school, and do social activities. These representations of Agnes illustrate how TV-aksjonen possesses identity power. Agnes is here an example of what Tvedt calls *the significant other* in order to construct a collective Norwegian charitable-we. As Tvedt argues, Norwegians identity as altruistic is created in the meeting with the world, and claims that a meeting with *the others* give Norwegians the opportunity to construct self-images and stories about themselves in the world as good (Tvedt, 2009). In order to do, images such as those of Agnes plays on a perception that the others, need help from the Norwegian people. Agnes is portrayed as an active part, who talks about the dreams she has. However, the commercial plays on Agnes being a person but at the same time a victim. Further figure 1 underbuild Tvedt's argument, that the distinction between *us* as humanitarian donors, and *the others* as the recipient of humanitarian aid creates a collective and positive Norwegian self-perception (Tvedt, 1995).

Moreover, figure 1 is an example on how TV-aksjonen plays on a perception that *the others* are dependent of our donations, and further these donations is in this context perceived as a

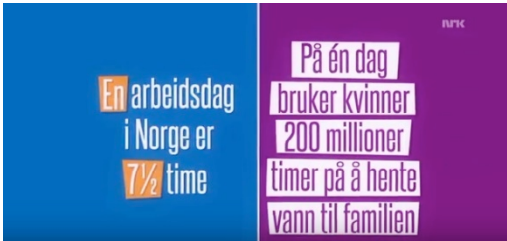
result of Norwegian benevolence. The purpose of the commercial (figure 1) is to encourage the Norwegian people to walk together with Agnes on the broadcasting day to fundraise money so she and other children like her can go to school. In other words, TV-aksjonen defines what a good deed is to help Agnes, and at the same time constructs representation of reality. Professor in Nordic language science Jan Svennevig, argues that word-images are created as a result that the representations of the world issues can never be neutral, and therefore provides constrains for how one should perceive different situations (Svennevig, 2009). TV-aksjonen's identity power becomes evident as the telethon creates world images and shapes the understanding of a complex situation, which few people have first-hand experience of.

In figure 1, TV-aksjonen is the spokesperson for Agnes in particular, and for people whom do long distances to access water in general. As a spokesperson for people such as Agnes, TV-aksjonen has a power to shape the Norwegians knowledge and the perception of the difficult situations Agnes is in. Further this form of identity power can be linked with the economists Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky's categorisation of *worthy and unworthy victims* (Herman and Chomsky, 1988:37). Herman and Chomsky argues that media is part of a propaganda model, where power and resources leads what is included and not in the media's spotlight. The scope of this paper is to not go into if media is part of propaganda, however the terms unworthy and worthy victims is interesting. Herman and Chomsky states media draws a distinction between worthy and unworthy victims, depending on the suffering they represent. Unworthy victims receive little attention (Herman and Chomsky, 1988). The distinction between unworthy and worthy victims can be linked with the term *the significant other*. As mentioned previously Agnes is a significant other. Using children can have an emotional effect on the viewer of TV-aksjonen, as children are often associated with being innocent and vulnerable. Portraying poor children has been done for many decades, also in Biafra conflict; skinny children with bloated stomach and flies in their eyes. Although the representations of starving children is not commonly used in the way it was done in the Biafra conflict, the commercial about Agnes plays on the images of poor children. In short, the images in figure 1 serve as an example on how TV-aksjonen role in the Norwegian self-perception is to reproduce a Norwegian collective *we*, as altruistic and benevolence by exercising identity power. Further, the underlying notion of the commercial is that aid is the solution of the poverty issue in this context, without drawing lines to possibly structural and political causes.

Further, a second commercial from TV-aksjonen 2014 will be examined below, to illustrate how TV-aksjonen also withholds a moral power.



Left: It takes 210L of water to produce one cup of coffee
Right: Every ninth person does not have access to water



Left: One work day in Norway is 7,5 hours
Right: In one day, women use 200 million hours to get water for their families



Left: It takes 912L of water to make a cellphone
Right: Today, there are more people that have a cellphone than access to a toilet



200 kroner gives a person clean water for the rest of their life

FIGURE 2: commercial video for TV-aksjonen 2014: Water changes everything (NRK, 2014c)

Figure 2 make the issue of water access topical for the Norwegian viewer, as the left side represents association they can relate to; drinking coffee, number of working hours and having a cell phone. As briefly touched upon in chapter 4 and 5, the images also exemplify how TV-aksjonen uses a form of moral power by playing on guilt. For instance, by saying it takes 210 litre of water to produce a cup of coffee, while every ninth person in the world does not have access to water. This comparison will perhaps make the viewer feel guilty for drinking coffee while many people in the world do not have access to water. It reflects as my informant in FK Norway stated in chapter 4, that through TV-aksjonen we therefore pay for

our indulgence to be able to continue the high lifestyle Norwegians have compared to many other people in the world. Figure 2 provides an example on how TV-aksjonen aims to transform their moral question (their morality), into a significant question the aid discourse should focus on. By playing on guilt, TV-aksjonen exercise a form of moral power by claiming it is the Norwegians moral responsibility to contribute to make the life of those who suffer through donations.

Furthermore, the images in figure 2 illustrate power structure between the donor and receiver; an image of *them* missing something, and *us* having what is needed to provide them with what they are missing. For TV-aksjonen 2014, it was the lack of access to water, hence the lack of technology and money to drill for wells. Through TV-aksjonen different causes and volunteer organisations have received money, yet one of the common denominators is that the recipients of the funds lack something in form of technology, safety, competence, knowledge or access amongst others. TV-aksjonen obtains its moral power by persuading that the donations are targeting people in the world who are suffering, in this regard people who lack access to water. Through a we-have-something-they-need argument TV-aksjonen uses their moral power to point out a practical solution to the problem; we simply provide them with what they need, by volunteering and donating money to TV-aksjonen. Through its moral power, TV-aksjonen affects the Norwegians perception of what is understood as a morally correct, and important within humanitarian aid. Figure 2, also illustrate how the moral power TV-aksjonen holds is not necessarily linked to how these donations will be used, but rather how they communicate how Norwegians should contribute in the meeting with people who suffer in the world.

Money being the solution to the problem of human suffering is a possible effect of the goodness regime's naiveté that by contributing a little is enough. But at the same time most people feel that doing something is better than doing nothing. However, this argument illustrates the way TV-aksjonen holds identity power by creating simplified representations of *the others*, which the Norwegian people can compare themselves with; Norway as the active acting part, while *the other* as the passive part. In addition to create and maintain the dichotomy between *we* and *them*, NRK TV-aksjonen produces a representation of richness and poverty as different phenomena. In the campaign video for TV-aksjonen 2014 about Agnes, the voice over says: "what is a drop in the ocean for you, can be the drop that changes

Agnes' life" (*TV-aksjonen, 2014*)⁶⁰. The statement illustrates how TV-aksjonen has alternate power, by being the spokesperson on behalf of Agnes, as well as the group she represents. Further is also represents identity power, by playing on the assumption that Norwegians are rich compared to the poor who will be positively be affected by the small amount of money you can give. The images therefore support the argument that TV-aksjonen uses stereotypical presentations of the South, as previously referred to in this chapter. A possible consequence of maintaining a dichotomy between poor and rich is that the national self-perception supports a specific world image where a continuous differentiation between the donors and receivers is maintained. However, not all my informants agreed that TV-aksjonen uses stereotypical illustrations.

Agnes from the telethon in 2014: *water changes everything* is a real person, her situation as represented in the campaign is real. The story represents an example out of many stories. In order to do public enlightenment in the society we must chose a part of reality. If not, we will not be able to make the topic near us or relevant for us (former telethon leader for TV-aksjonen, Oslo, 03.12.2015).

The excerpt illustrates the general idea of TV-aksjonen portrayal of the annual causes. Portraying a cause through a personal story has effect on the viewer to empathise with the cause. Additionally, following the quote above, it draws the situation closer to the viewer, and sees her as a fellow human; hence TV-aksjonen plays on cosmopolitan virtues. Nevertheless, use of stereotypical images of the South, promotes cosmopolitan virtues on the wrong criteria. Instead it continues a western hegemonic portrayal of the south. Although TV-aksjonen does not produce inaccurate information about of the cause, the power element lies within the consequence of not pointing out the other aspects of the reality, but rather as the informant say *chose one part of reality*. This argument poses an example on how TV-aksjonen has moral power to persuade how Norwegians should perceive situations such as the one Agnes is in, and which measurements can be done to improve Agnes' situation. Similarly, said the informant at NRK fundraising council that "aid is more complex than what is portrayed in TV-aksjonen. NRK has made a choice to ease on the journalistic requirements, since this fundraising is only once a year! (Board member of NRK's independent Fundraising Board, Oslo, 10.12.15). This justification for easing on the requirements is challenged by the fact that NRK is a media institution and their journalistic work require them to do critical journalism, is not easy to buy. Further, one informant stated, in regards to NRK journalistic work

⁶⁰ Said in the commercial, time: 0:22- 0:26

concerning TV-aksjonen “it is not 364 days NRK conducts critical journalism, it is maximum 300 days taken into consideration the planning before and after TV-aksjonen’s live broadcasting” (Adviser for the Council for Africa, Oslo, 08.12.2015). The quotation illustrates how TV-aksjonen’s pursuit for moral power possibly affects NRK’s journalistic work. NRK role as the host of TV-aksjonen promotes a role as an aid actor, while the complexity of aid, and the possible negative effects of aid and/or fundraising are ignored.

TV-aksjonen serves as an example of how the media is affected by the dominated media strategy in the North, where happenings and development trends are communicated through the eyes of the North, instead of news channels from the South. The continuous reproduction of these forms of representations of the world can exclude alternative representation, which could reflect how the world really is, with uneven distributions of resources. The consequence of the media’s representations of the South, is a static world image where aid is valued as key for development and for making the world better. Further, TV-aksjonen upholds an identity power by playing on a static self-perception of Norwegian people as generous. Further, the reason for why TV-aksjonen maintains this self-perception is because it might rely on a static world image to be topical. If the world image is changed, the Norwegian self-perception may also change as these are depend on each other to remain static. An interesting point by one informant was:

Several of the countries we consider to be developing countries have become middle-income countries. In some of the cases, these countries also provide aid to other countries. The result is that aid has a reduced influence in these countries. The only motive left for TV-aksjonen is to maintain complacency for the Norwegian people (Adviser in FK Norway, Oslo, 10.12.2015)

The quotation illustrates the fact that several of the countries who have received aid through TV-aksjonen are on the way to become middle-income countries. One of these countries are Tanzania, the country Agnes is from portrayed in TV-aksjonen 2014. During the last ten years Tanzania has been able to increase the real economic growth with seven per cent, as well as advance in social indicators such as health and education. Nevertheless, the fact is that the poverty level remains high in the country, although the national poverty statistic shows a decline of about 17 per cent between 2007 and 2013. The Norwegian government supports Tanzania’s goal of independence from foreign aid, by for instance having a development cooperation on taxation, and provide knowledge about oil and gas extraction (Norad, 2016).

The reason for mentioning this is to briefly exemplify other sides of Tanzania than those portrayed in TV-aksjonen. Although Tanzania struggles with a high level of poverty, there are several measures implemented to reduce this level, such as assisting with knowledge instead of just money. The Tanzanian example highlights the possible other sides of reality within the country, other than what was portrayed in commercials from TV-aksjonen 2014. In other words, TV-aksjonen upholds identity power by representing chosen stories from Tanzania which encourages the Norwegian people to donate, instead of reflecting around the possible structural causes of poverty. TV-aksjonen constructs a collective Norwegian self-perception as generous, by determine who the significant others are in the information campaigns they produce. However, the way TV-aksjonen holds alternate power, identity power and moral power by reproducing *the receivers* as dependent of the Norwegians humanitarian aid, and that this aid is a result of the Norwegian national benevolence is challenged. The perception that development aid in terms of donations is the answer to the world's problems is challenged by the possible shift within the aid discourse. Director of Norad, Jon Lomøy pointed out in the newspaper Bistandsaktuelt: "Less power follows being a donor today than earlier. Development countries becomes economically stronger and have more use for knowledge than money," (quoted in Rønning, 2016)⁶¹. On this note TV-aksjonen follows a possible outdated understanding of money being the best indicator for aid. Additionally, the term *aid*, has negative word charge as it situates a uneven power relation between the donor and the receiver. Moving away from this uneven power narrative, Norway has gradually shifted the narrative to focus on development cooperation partners, where the power relation is more equal between the two parties; the donor and the receiver. Although it can arguably still promote uneven power relations, as the donor still contributes with the funding. Nevertheless, not touching upon the complex structure in countries portrayed in TV-aksjonen results in a possibly outdated and static world image as Tvedt argues.

In his book *The Gift*, from 1923 Marcel Mauss studied the bonds between people gift exchange created, as something more important than the gift itself. Mauss warned about the resolution these bonds as a contract-based society represented. For the gift exchange to work, they must consist of favours and returned favours. TV-aksjonen serves as an example on how development has been presented as one-way transaction from rich to poor countries to solve their problems, which points to an asymmetrical power structure. The same can be accounted

⁶¹ From a webpage without page number, in printed version the quotation is on page 1. My own translation

for how TV-aksjonen also portrays that the money fundraised will go directly to the cause without expecting something from the receivers in return (Mauss, 1990). Nevertheless, the power structure TV-aksjonen holds by emphasising on simplified representations of the world, and therefore excludes alternative representations. Further the power of the gift, as Nustad claims, is that the causes of poverty is represented as an internal cause in poor countries, and it is possible to solve this with interference from the outside (Nustad, 2003). This perception is also what TV-aksjonen plays on in order to make the Norwegian people contribute. Yet, Mauss' research can serve as an inspiration to underline the importance of connections. A challenge TV-aksjonen faces is to uphold the world image they portray as a collective matter the Norwegian people support. Due to globalisation the distinctions between the national and international gets partly erased. Following, Mauss, the result of globalisation calls for a representation, which is capable of showing connections between wealth and poverty, is necessary to get a more nuanced portrayal of the world.

6.5 THE TRUST TO NRK

Using stereotypical presentations of the world springs out in the overall debate on media's role in portraying humanitarian miseries. Nevertheless, as one informant said:

Although TV-aksjonen can be criticised for using representation of the reality in an unfortunate way, we must also have the trust in people to understand the complexity behind what is represented in the media. In this case TV-aksjonen (former Vice-President SAIH, Oslo, 09.12.2015)

The quotation plays on the perception of the Norwegian people TV-aksjonen also might have. For instance, TV-aksjonen are aware that they to an extent use stereotypically presentations, and justifies this with the notion that people are aware of the complexity of these causes, then what is portrayed through TV-aksjonen. Although this perception might be true, it should be possible to juxtapose a more critical debate around the causes as well, as NRK is seen as one of the media institutions with the highest level of trust and credibility among the Norwegian population. Trust and credibility is fundamental for TV-aksjonen, hence NRK in order maintain a role as an aid actor. In 2016, TNS Gallup carried out a survey concerning trust on behalf of the communication agency Trigger. 72,5 % of the Norwegian population say they trust NRK, and 49,1 % say they trust Aftenposten, one of Norway's largest newspapers. Several of the other media in Norway score low. Only 11 % trust VG, while only 8 % trust Dagbladet. The survey can be worrying for the media as it shows the Norwegian population

has higher level of trust to public organisations and businesses than to the media which are associated with being guarantors for the truth (Trigger kommunikasjonsbyrå, 2016). Similarly, a *credibility survey* by the market research agency Kantar TNS shows that in 2016, NRK gets 63 points which equals a high level of credibility amongst the Norwegian population (Kantar TNS, 2016). The level of trust and credibility is reflected in the findings I found when I contacted NRK and Save the Children, who had TV-aksjonen in 2003. Much media attention is given to TV-aksjonen every year before and during the fundraising, but there has been limited focus on the results. I asked if anyone had been in contact to follow up on what the fundraised money went to after TV-aksjonen was over. Both said that no one had contacted them. When I contacted NRK to get access to the reports which show what Save the Children used the fundraises money on, I received all the documents. This access shows that it was not the difficulty of gaining access to information on what they money was spent on that was the reason for why no one had shown interest. Therefore, I argue that one reason why no one has asked for the actual usage of TV-aksjonen funds could be that the Norwegian people has a high level of trust to NRK to make sure that the money are spent accordingly to the agreement. An interesting notion, since part of the debate about TV-aksjonen in 2008 was the lack of information concerning the quality on the development projects funded by TV-aksjonen.

In 2014, the Norwegian population gave on average 48,97 kroner each to TV-aksjonen. In this number the donation from the government and businesses is also included. Although the money from government can indirectly be seen as the money from the Norwegian people, the average Norwegians gave less than 48,97 kroner to the collectors. The amount is not very high, and therefore it can also be seen as too little money for an average Norwegian to further check into. Since the documents I received were comprehensible and well-documented, it is a lot information to be familiarised with. As the informant in Save the children said, *we inform our members through the membership magazine on what the money has been spent on* (Adviser in Save the Children, Oslo, 22.06.2015. Nevertheless, not everyone who donates money to TV-aksjonen is a member of the organisation which receives the TV-aksjonen's money each year. Therefore, a possible way of maintaining the trust level to NRK and TV-aksjonen could be to have an article about the previous causes, which sums up what the money was spent on. One would think that journalists would be interested in gathering the information and writing stories about how the money has been spent. However, the reason why this has not been done, is perhaps because there is low demand from the public to

publish this information. It therefore underbuilds the argument that TV-aksjonen role in the Norwegian self-perception is to maintain a Norwegian generosity.

In hand with using stereotypical presentations, together with the high level of trust to NRK maintains TV-aksjonen's exercise of alternate power, identity power and moral power. Through my findings I argue that TV-aksjonen plays on a static world image, breaking down complex structural and political causes into a simplified conclusion that the fundraising, hence aid is key to improve the lives for those who suffer. Although I recognise the issue concerning portraying a cause in way that provides hope, instead of futility, the consequence is the pitfall of using stereotypical representations. In other words, TV-aksjonen provides topically issues on the agenda and provides the Norwegian with more knowledge and insight about the world. However, this insight does not challenge the static world image with a simplified portrayal of the poor, but in a larger extent maintains it. Arguably I propose that the Norwegian self-perception as benevolent is connected with how the Norwegians perceive the world. The self-perception will possible change if the world image portrayed also changed and vice versa. Further, TV-aksjonen can also be seen as piece in the larger concept of Norway as a peace nation. Although this image also has been challenged throughout history and still today; Norway's membership in NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) and involvement in the Korea war (Nustad, 2003), Norway's weapon and ammunition industry⁶² and their involvement in wars such as in Afghanistan⁶³.

6.6 SUMMARY

In this chapter I have attempted to use the concept of power to analyse and identify the possible power structures TV-aksjonen withholds. I chose to start this chapter with the theoretical framework of the power concept in general and to Terje Tvedt's power concepts in particular, to provide the reader with a theoretical backdrop of which the analysis has been situated. Further, through identifying the power media has, I have situated TV-aksjonen within the context of why the images presented during the live broadcasting can affect the way Norwegians perceive the world. Through my data, such as examining two of the commercial videos for TV-aksjonen 2014 I have found that TV-aksjonen holds alternate power, identity power and moral power by using simplified presentations of the cause in order

⁶² In 2008, the UN Comrad ranked Norway as the fourth biggest exporter of military equipment that accounted for 5.7 per cent of the total export. In 2008 and 2009, the Norwegian Statistic Bureau (SSB), said the Norwegian ammunition and weapon industry was exported for around 3.1 billion Norwegian kroner.

⁶³ For more on Norway's engagement in Afghanistan see (Harpviken, 2011).

to encourage people to donate. TV-aksjonen upholds also an identity power by portraying a world image which divide instead of possibly unite people by drawing dichotomies between a we, the rich donors and the other, the poor receivers. The consequence is an unbalanced static world image. Through TV-aksjonen wealth and poverty and treated as two separate phenomena, instead of addressing the complex and structural causes for poverty. The lack of using more nuanced images I have argued can lead to static and misleading view of the world. Additionally, the high level of trust to NRK provides TV-aksjonen with alternate power, moral power and identity power by setting the agenda for which causes get attention, and how they are portrayed. Further through my data I have argued that the static world image is dependent on a static Norwegian self-perception. If either of these two components are challenged, then the other component will be challenged as well.

7. CONCLUSION

*All of Norway opened their wallets and hearts for TV-aksjonen 23 October*⁶⁴
Sven Mollekleiv, President of Red Cross Norway, quoted in TV-aksjonen, 2016b)

The questions asked in the introductory chapter were regarding which role TV-aksjonen plays in the Norwegian self-perception, as well as what the consequences for how the Norwegians perceive the world through the lens of TV-aksjonen are. To find possible answers to these questions I have employed a qualitative approach of semi-structured interviews and discourse analysis of commending speeches. Throughout the thesis I have also used the concepts of collective identity, cosmopolitanism and power.

Through the lens of collective identity, I have discussed the role TV-aksjonen plays in the Norwegian self-perception explicitly. Collective identity juxtaposed with my data shows that TV-aksjonen role is to uphold the perception of the Norwegian people as good, where the implicit understanding is that good people perform good deeds. The perception of the Norwegian people as good is shown by how TV-aksjonen plays on collective reference points⁶⁵ of the Norwegian population to create a we-feeling. Although the Norwegian people would most likely agree upon TV-aksjonen's definition of what being good entails, they might not agree about hierarchies and where the persuading arguments emerge. It means for example that a solidarity aspect, which plays on the argument that a rich country has to share their resources with poor countries, applies to Norwegians who have a positive view on collective values. Another persuading argument could be a benefit argument, promoting the prospects of how economic growth in poor countries opens the markets for Norwegian businesses would apply to people who are more business minded. Although TV-aksjonen uses elements of the solidarity argument, the focus lies on two main arguments in order to reach out to the majority of the Norwegian population. The first argument TV-aksjonen uses is the significance of voluntary work and its tradition in Norway. TV-aksjonen states that they are the world's greatest volunteer effort (dugnad), and therefore speak to Norwegians by promoting the volunteer tradition through the fundraising event. Further, the second main

⁶⁴My own translation. The quote is from a webpage without page number, in printed version the quote is on page 1

⁶⁵ Recall the different dimensions of collective identity: historical, cultural and political.

argument is that TV-aksjonen actively plays on its role within the society as an annual tradition with historical roots. Using these terms to underbuild the image of Norwegian people as generous and good is possibly a reference with which the Norwegian people would like to be associated. The effectiveness of these arguments is illustrated in the amount of money TV-aksjonen fundraises each year, in average around 200 million Norwegian kroner during the last 10 years.

Cosmopolitanism provided a supplementary theoretical framework for the analysis of TV-aksjonen. Through cosmopolitan theory and my data I have found that TV-aksjonen plays on cosmopolitan values, representing Norwegians as cosmopolitan people who care about their fellow humans across the world. In relation to TV-aksjonen's role in the Norwegian self-perception I have argued that TV-aksjonen serves as a common denominator between cosmopolitanism and nationalism. My data shows that TV-aksjonen plays on cosmopolitanism with the possible overall goal to create a collective Norwegian identity, hence values of nationalism. The consequences for how Norwegians perceive the world, is that they get more enlightened about humanitarian issues in the world. TV-aksjonen uses cosmopolitan denominators between the Norwegians and the cause in order to create an understanding and empathy for the cause, in a way the Norwegians can relate to. In sum, TV-aksjonen encourages the Norwegian people to volunteer and/or donate by playing on cosmopolitan virtues. Through the lens of cosmopolitanism, TV-aksjonen seeks to unite the people across differences in the world.

TV-aksjonen's ability to reach out and create a wide engagement among the Norwegian people, and provide enlightenment around humanitarian suffering also has aspects of power. Using Terje Tvedt's concepts of power, juxtaposed with my data I have found that TV-aksjonen holds several power components. TV-aksjonen has identity power, by being able to uphold and construct a dichotomy between a *us* and a *them*, identifying Norwegians as the donors, and those who will benefit from the fundraises money as the receives. Further treating wealth and poverty as two different phenomena illustrates a simplified representation, where political, economic and social structures of poverty are not represented. Additionally, TV-aksjonen has moral power by being able to play on guilt among the Norwegian people, to make them contribute. In other words, TV-aksjonen plays on promoting moral commitment as almost obligatory, where the Norwegians have to help those less fortunate, since they have a wealthy lifestyle compared to those who receive the donations. Additionally, by using a

static world image with simplified representations of the world it illustrates how TV-aksjonen holds alternate power. Situating the Norwegians as the donors, and being the spokesperson for the others, gives TV-aksjonen the opportunity to represent the needs they require on their behalf. As Tvedt, argues the larger group you represent, the more alternate power you have. It can be said that TV-aksjonen represents a large group, as the cause often aims to reach out to tens of thousands, or even hundred of thousands. TV-aksjonen further plays on the understanding that these developing countries are not able to develop without the help from the donors, in other words from those who achieved a development worth reaching for. One consequence is that the Norwegian people perceives the world in a simplified way through the lens of TV-aksjonen, instead of understanding the world as a complex and dynamic place. On the one side TV-aksjonen uses cosmopolitan features to unite the Norwegian people with the rest of the world, hence in this context with people in developing countries. On the other side, using simplified representations of the world upholds a power structure that maintains a division between North, and South instead of uniting them or showing nuances between the two.

TV-aksjonen encourages the Norwegian people to a large degree to donate money for humanitarian purposes. In order to provide a more nuanced portrayal and break down these power barriers, TV-aksjonen should inspire the viewer to ask questions, instead of encouraging them to only donate. SAIH together with Operation Day's work⁶⁶ and cooperation partners in South America made the video *Africa for Norway* to highlight a critical focus of charity videos' image of Africa. The video received international response, and the video was a parody on stereotypical presentations of Africa. The video was part of the campaign Radi-Aid, which asks you to send radiators to the poor, cold Norwegians (The Norwegian Students' and Academics' International Assistance Fund, 2016). In 2012, the Danish non-profit organisation, *THE WHY*⁶⁷ made a series of eight documentaries discussing the issue of *Why Poverty?* The documentaries showed thought-provoking stories, but also demonstrated big issues and posed difficult questions regarding poverty (THE WHY, 2012). These two examples illustrate how a static world image can be challenged into portraying a more authentic and honest representations of development cooperation and global advocacy.

⁶⁶ In Norwegian *Operation Dagsverk*. A charitable scheme which is held once a year to promote education for people around the world.

⁶⁷ THE WHY organisation initiates, produces and distributes public media project to a global audience through cross-media platforms to provide all people to have free access to independent information. For more information, visit their website: www.thewhy.dk

NRK was one of the broadcasters showing *Why Poverty?*, it therefore provides additional public enlightenment of the world which is more nuanced. However, it seems as TV-aksjonen is somewhat of an exception where simplifying instead of nuancing a complex world is the normality. As discussed in chapter 6, the reason is that a static world image is necessary in order to uphold the Norwegian people as altruistic, and vice versa.

During this thesis, it has become evident that there are different sides of TV-aksjonen that can be criticised, especially in terms of the power structures it helps to uphold. The critic has not been done in an attempt to identify negatives sides of TV-aksjonen, but rather to be critical to what hides behind the positive message of fundraising TV-aksjonen represents. Further, throughout this project the question of how we do fundraising such as through TV-aksjonen emerges. The idea that money can solve world problems does not only provide a static and simplified world image, but also works as a form of disclaimer for the donors. As this thesis shows, TV-aksjonen provides simplified representations, where donations are represented as the ultimate solution to poverty. There can be many reasons for the lack of a comprehensive understanding of poverty through TV-aksjonen. One reason is that poverty is a complex problem, which short-term aid cannot solve, and a one-day television broadcast cannot cover. Poverty accompanies elements such as hunger, and as in the cause for TV-aksjonen 2014, lack of access to water. These types of images on poverty are tangible forms of suffering which TV-aksjonen plays on. TV-aksjonen would possibly not convince the Norwegians that money is the solution, if they focused more on the structural *causes* for poverty. Nevertheless, TV-aksjonen should perhaps have more focus on asking critical questions, and open up for nuanced representations of the cause. One measure to create more debate would be to have a debate panel during the broadcasting. This type of measure might lead to less public engagement, however it provides the opportunity to maintain TV-aksjonen's role to uphold a national Norwegian perception as generous, as well as provide a more nuanced and authentic representation of the world.

Furthermore, research on the future of aid and development would be interesting, as it might examine possible effective replacements of fundraising events, such as TV-aksjonen represents. Moreover, it would be valuable for further research to examine alternatives to tackle the power structures that follows with the dichotomy between the donor and the receivers. Additionally, more research could be done on telethons in particular, possibly doing a comparative study between several telethons, either between those in Norway or between

TV-aksjonen and telethons abroad to identify and discuss how these telethons can further develop. Further research on which measures can be implemented within telethons such as TV-aksjonen to portray a more nuanced world image would also be interesting. However, that is up to future research to decide. As for my project, my findings show how TV-aksjonen provides simplified representations of poverty in the world, and offers for a simple solution to this problem. Further, TV-aksjonen's role in the Norwegian self-perception is to uphold an image of Norwegians as altruistic, and perhaps at the same time provide a self-perception with which people would like to be associated.

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APPENDIX: INTERVIEW GUIDE

- An excerpt of the questions that were asked during the interviews

Brief explanation of my project

- What is your relation to TV-aksjonen?
- Which values is TV-aksjonen based on?
- In which way is TV-aksjonen different from other telethons?
 - What are the reasons for why TV-aksjonen is the largest telethon in Norway?
- How does TV-aksjonen fit into NRK's broadcasting agenda?
- Which features of the Norwegian self-perception does TV-aksjonen play on?
- TV-aksjonen has been criticised for contributing to simplified representations of the world, what is your opinion about this critic?
 - What are the possible pitfalls of using simplified representations
 - Which measurements can TV-aksjonen take in order to avoid the possible pitfalls of using simplified representations
- How do you think TV-aksjonen succeeds in mobilising a wide public engagement year after year?
- TV-aksjonen's aim is to provide enlightenment as well as fundraise money. Is TV-aksjonen able to balance these two aims?
 - If yes, how so?
 - What can be improved?
- In your opinion has TV-aksjonen in any way changed since it started in 1974?
 - If so, in which way?
- What is your opinion about the future for TV-aksjonen?
 - Are there any challenges?