News Genres as Cultural Forms

1. Genres as Cultural Artifacts

1.1 Language and Culture

It is common sense in genre studies that genres – understood as a group of text items with common traits – are not categories that create or constitute themselves, but categorizations or discursive formations created by a social group according to its needs (Mittell 2004). They are what Miller called "social action" (Miller 1994). That is, the concept of genre should not primarily be understood as pertaining to specific textual attributes; instead, genres are cultural artifacts, tied to the norms and values of a group.

Because "culture" is "one of the most difficult concepts in the human and social sciences" (Hall 1997, 2), I will elaborate on the term briefly. Among German philosophers during the Enlightenment, who have been influential in conceptualizing the relationship between culture and language, culture was understood as something holistic, homogeneous and static. In 1772, Herder, relating culture to a nation and its language, wrote: "Every nation speaks [...] according to the way it thinks and thinks according to the way it speaks" (Herder 1985 [1772], 372; my translation). Some 60 years later, von Humboldt expressed the same idea: "There resides in every language a characteristic worldview" (Humboldt 1963 [1836], 224; my translation). According to these conceptualizations, there are different cultures, but each culture is homogeneous within a given nation/language area, and language, culture and national communities are mutually constitutive. Moreover, a culture (or a worldview) is a static system reproduced by a language within a national space, a homogeneous feature of the humans living in this space and using this language. Tylor's often-quoted 1971 definition is a holistic one: culture is "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Tylor 1871, cited in Rehbein 1985, 18). Although language is not mentioned in this definition, it is relevant because it is the medium through which we acquire the knowledge mentioned by Tylor (see Günthner and Linke 2006).

Within the so-called "contrastive textology" of, for example, Hartmann (1980) and Spillner (1981), many studies stuck (and partly still stick) to this essentialist understanding of culture as a nation- and language-bound, holistic and homogeneous worldview, despite the fact that these works from the early 1980s also mention differences within language areas and nations and thus have a more heterogeneous understanding of culture. Many works within contrastive textology compare a single genre (e.g. obituaries, weather reports, cooking recipes or newspaper reports) from two different languages, interpreting the differences as cultural differences between the people of the two nations. For example, Landbeck (1991), in her very detailed and accurate study, compares French and German TV news shows and relates her findings to entire nations: "Especially in the strict standardization of time, the clearer picture of German TV news shows seems to correspond to a basic German need or behavior:

\[1\] I discuss the questions and findings of this article in more detail in Luginbühl (2014).
exact time management" (Landbeck 1991, 178; my translation). The problem with assumptions like these is not only that they postulate a static, seemingly immutable "basic need," but also that generalizing from the texts produced by a specific group (namely TV news journalists) to the needs of all Germans is unjustified. Landbeck’s study is exemplary of these trends in that it implicitly conceptualizes culture as static, homogeneous and language/nation based. This conceptualization results in a methodological problem when observations on a micro-level (the forms of texts) are related to the macro-level of culture, as will be explained in more detail below.

In the following section, I will address these problems and propose a different conceptualization of culture, as well as an analytical meso-level to analyze genres.

1.2 Culture as Heterogeneous, Dynamic and Symbolic Practices

Newer works of contrastive textology (e.g. Adamzik 2010; Drescher 2002; Eckkrammer 2002; Hauser 2008; Scollon 2000; Yakhontova 2006) take other aspects into account apart from language area and nation, e.g. local and group cultures beyond those based on nation or language, media-related phenomena such as different market orientations and the (translocal) traditions of scientific disciplines. This broader approach leads to a more dynamic understanding of culture that goes back to changes in its conceptualization in the second half of the 20th century (see Assmann 2006, 14; Fauser 2004, 12-13.). Cultures are understood as norms and values that permeate all aspects of life, including behavioral conventions, institutions, artifacts, etc. But instead of treating culture as static, homogeneous and national, newer concepts of culture point out that 1) all kinds of social groups, even translocal ones, can have common norms and values and thus have their own culture, and 2) culture is based on semiotic practices and therefore 3) is to an important extent dynamic and based on language.

If at the core of a culture lie a group's common norms and values (Spencer-Oatey 2000), there is a need to interindividually establish and bequeath these norms and values: they have to be adjusted and negotiated between individuals. They have to be communicated and therefore objectivated and materialized into perceivable forms (Linke 2009, 1137). As Cassirer points out in his philosophy of symbolic forms (Cassirer 2001-2002 [1923-1924]), humans rely – and have to rely – on symbolic forms in order to relate to and make sense of the world around them. In this understanding, culture (and our whole understanding of the world) is based on symbolic forms and therefore on semiotic practices, language being our most important semiotic system. Genres as patterns of language thus also use, configure and create the world on a symbolic level; acting with language, humans "order and frame reality" (Fix 2002, 175; my translation). In this sense, language as a symbolic practice that enables us to have a relationship with and create the world is a constructivist force that constitutes culture (Böhme 2001; Günthner and Linke 2006, 12): cultural norms and values are not only reflected in language use – and therefore, e.g., in genres; they also emerge in and through verbal action (like genre design) through a process of communitarization, where habitualizations form through collective actions (Linke 2009, 1133). Practices produce and represent culture as signifying formations.

This understanding of culture as a dynamic formation of semiotic practices makes inevitable a heterogeneous conceptualization of culture that goes beyond national boundaries, a point that so-called "cultural studies" in particular has made clear (see Lünenborg 2005, 46-85). Common cultural practices are tied to interpretive communities that can be defined by the boundaries of a nation or a language area, but
which of course can also be much smaller (e.g. "communities of practice" (Lave and Wenger 1991), such as the editorial staff of a TV news show), or bigger (e.g. Western society). They can also be ethnically or religiously founded, which means that they can be translocal, as the members of these groups do not have to live contiguously. Or, as Risager puts it, "languages spread across cultures, and cultures spread across languages" (2006, 2). In addition, a single person can be a member of different social groups and therefore a bearer of different cultures at the same time.

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1.3 The Meaning of Form

This conceptualization of culture and of the crucial role played by language in this process of communitarization also causes the nature of genres to appear in a new light. Genres, as conventionalized ways of fulfilling a communicative task (see Luckmann 1988, 282), are culturally shaped by the group that established the conventions in question, and they have to fulfill certain communicative tasks. Genres can thus be expected to change if needs change, if the norms and values of the group change. At the same time, we also have to take into account the possibility that norms and values emerge in semiotic practices, i.e. in changing genre forms, or more basically even in genre choices. In either case, the genre form becomes crucial, as it is through the genre form that norms and values are expressed in a materialized, perceivable manner. This is especially true for mass-media genres, which often report on the same events, but which, as I will show later, differ systematically in their forms.

While earlier works of genre studies looked at genre forms in a decontextualized way, thus leading to a focus on purposes and situations, the focus on the "culturality" (Fix 2006) of genre brings attention back to form, but in a contextualized way, thereby "[f]using form into action" (Devitt 2009, 28). Because TV news – like all mass-media genres – is a multimodal genre (in the sense described by Kress and van Leeuwen 2006), "form" has to be understood in a holistic way: examining form entails an analysis of not only word choice and formulaic patterns, but also of all configurable aspects of genres (the choice of modes used; how these modes are combined; the overall structure of the text; moves; lexical and syntactical choices; intonation patterns and/or typographic choices; the choice of news narratives, footage and sound design, etc.). Devitt (2009, 34) defines form in this holistic manner: "I will define generic form here, then, as the visible results and notable absences of language-use in generic contexts, from words and symbols to organizational structure and layout." An adequate linguistic theory would be the "holistic stylistics" developed by Sandig (2006).
2. Methodological Reflections

As a consequence of repetition and ritualization, culture and cultural practices are in many cases "invisible." According to Hall, "culture hides much more than it reveals, and strangely enough what it hides, it hides most effectively from its own participants" (1959, cited in Sarangi 2009, 99). Moreover, TV news stages authenticity, i.e. it tries to present the reported news in forms that aim to appear as a natural, obvious and unquestionable mirror of reality, instead of as what they are, namely a designed and therefore selective and interpretive depiction of events (see Luginbühl 2004). One methodological way to make the cultural make-up of genres visible is that employed by contrastive textology – by comparing similar genres from different cultures (Hartmann 1980; Spillner 1981; Adamzik 2001). This methodology is called "parallel text analysis." But, as mentioned before, parallel text analysis often only analyzes a single genre in two different nations synchronically; the results of the analysis are nevertheless often overgeneralized as the static characteristics of two entire nations.

In order to overcome these problems, it is not only necessary to adopt a dynamic concept of culture based on semiotic practices; it is also important to consider more factors in the corpus design, a methodology that has been called "multifactorial parallel text analysis" (see Hauser and Luginbühl 2011; Luginbühl 2012). One possibility is to compare text items from more than two countries and in more than two languages; another is to compare cases where similar genres in different languages are produced within one country (e.g. German, French and Italian texts from Switzerland or English and French texts from Canada) with cases where similar genres are produced in different countries but in the same language (e.g. German texts from Germany, Austria and Switzerland or English texts from the UK, the USA, Canada and Australia, etc.). Another possibility is a diachronic comparison of genres from two different countries. The diachronic perspective makes it possible to compare genres from different eras within the same country as well as between different countries. The following analysis is of this second kind, comparing TV news shows from the USA and Switzerland from the 1960s and 1950s, respectively, until the 21st century.

If we agree that genre forms are culturally meaningful, then already the choice to employ a given genre or not is meaningful – as are the appearance and disappearance of a genre and the frequency of its use. In order to observe these kinds of processes, we need to look at entire "genre systems" (Bazerman 1994, 97) or "genre sets" (Devitt 1991, 339). In my analysis, I will examine entire TV news shows, which Fairclough (1995, 77) calls a "discourse type," composed of different genres (like Headlines, Lead-ins, Packages, etc.). By looking at the entire discourse type, genres can also be compared with other genres: we can observe whether and how they change, how some genres replace others and how genres are grouped within "genre chains" (Swales 2004, 18). All these observations try to grasp the "inter-genre-ality" (Devitt 2009, 43) with which other genres, helping to reconstruct their cultural meaning.

In order to describe this inter-genre-ality, I propose an intermediate analytical level between group culture and genre forms that I call "genre profile" (see Luginbühl forthcoming), which consists of genre repertoires, genre frequencies and genre chains. Genre repertoires are concerned with which different genres are produced within a discourse type, genre frequencies with the frequency with which different genres are produced and genre chains with which genres are usually strung together in which order.
In order to interpret my observations, I will not relate to entire national groups, but to the producers of the genres analyzed, i.e. the editorial staff of the two shows (which have obviously changed over time). Of course, this group is part of bigger groups – the news department, the journalists of an entire TV station, the population of a country or a language area, etc. – and of course these bigger groups are influential too. And so are other factors, like the media system and the media market, technical development, the political system, the audience and so on. But these factors do not influence the genre forms directly: it is through the interpretation of these factors by the editorial staff that they become influential. Taking the editorial staff as the reference point makes it possible to relate the genre forms to central dimensions of journalistic culture and prevents the reproduction of superficial national stereotypes.

3. Analysis

I will argue that there are two dimensions of journalistic culture (see Hanitzsch 2007) in which the Swiss "Tagesschau" and the American "CBS Evening News" differ most, although to a changing degree: market orientation and the staging of authenticity. Media with a high market orientation (as an ideal-typical extreme) address the audience as consumers and thus style their texts to be as attractive as possible; media with a low market orientation, in contrast, address the audience as citizens and aim at the public welfare. Approaches to authenticity can be distinguished according to whether content is presented as if there were a truth "out there" (Hanitzsch 2007, 376) or as a representation that is selective and therefore interpretative.

As mentioned above, the data will be analyzed on the meso-level of "genre profiles," while the micro-level of single genre styles will be discussed in the context of genre frequencies. The corpus analyzed consists of one week per decade (from the 1960s to 2013) of each show in which both shows reported on the same event for several days (the invasion in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the Gulf War in 1991, for example); in decades in which a show's format changed, two weeks were selected. In the case of "Tagesschau," one week from the 1950s was added (no CBS shows from that decade could be found, but a single show was found from 1949).²

3.1 Genre Repertoires

In terms of genre during these seven decades, only small differences within and between the two shows can be found. In both shows (although not at all times; see 3.2), Headlines appear, as do Greetings, Lead-ins, Anchor Items (stories read by the anchor on camera, no news footage), Film Items (news footage with a voice-over by the anchor or a newsreader), Anchor voice-overs (Anchor Item fading to Film Item) Packages (stories produced and often told by a correspondent, usually including soundbites), Statements, Interviews and Commentaries. Only two genres appear in only one of the shows each: the Stand-up (a story told by a correspondent on camera and usually live on the scene)³ in the "CBS Evening News" and the Newsreader Item (a story read from a paper by a newsreader) in "Tagesschau."⁴ Three observations seem important to me:

² For more information on the corpus, see Luginbühl (2014, 145-148).
³ In "Tagesschau," stand-ups only appear at the end of packages.
⁴ The genres distinguished are mostly based on the ethnocategories used by journalists in the shows themselves or in journalist handbooks.
- The repertoires are very similar. This is probably due to the fact that TV news genres are globalized to a high degree, given the fact that news footage and news texts have been exchanged globally from the very beginning of TV news shows by press agencies and news-exchange services (like the Eurovision News Exchange, which started in 1961; before that, film reels were flown in).

- The repertoires are quite small. This is probably due to the nature of TV news production: the time to produce a story is extremely short, and at the same time the genres are rather complex (spoken and written text, footage and sound have to be arranged). This again means that journalists do not have the time to do significant research for a story or adjust the established genres significantly (which could initiate genre change and diversification). Instead, journalists rely on what Fiske called "news narratives" (patterned ways of news-story telling, 1987, 293) and – as we have seen – a small set of TV news genres. In these ways, news stories can be produced within the given time constraints.

- As the following analysis will show, the two genres that are each produced in only one of the shows already hint at a basic difference regarding the staging of authenticity. Of course, TV news cannot depict reality in an unmediated manner. At the same time, TV news aims to create the impression that its depiction of the events is natural, obvious and undistorted – in short, authentic – as if there were an essence to every event that presents itself to every observer in the same way. Now, the two genres that only appear in one show are characterized by two very different kinds of staging authenticity: the Stand-up is told by a person whose trustworthiness is based on his presence on the scene and his proximity to the event reported. The Newsreader Item is quite the opposite of that: the newsreader is in the studio, reading news items from a (visible) paper in a monotonous, reserved and distanced manner, expressing his non-involvement and detachment. Here, trustworthiness depends on detachment.

3.2 Genre Frequencies

3.2.1 Frequencies from the 1960s until Today

Genre repertoires give a picture of homogeneity, but this picture is put into perspective through a closer look at genre frequencies. The running time of each genre has been measured so that its relative importance vis-à-vis the program as a whole can be ascertained. As a result, it is possible to ask a series of questions:

- When does a genre first appear? When does it disappear? (Genre genesis and genre death.)
- How does the frequency of a given genre change over time?
- What relationship between the frequencies of different genres can be observed? Does e.g. the frequency of some genres diminish in favor of certain other genres (leading to a partial replacement)?

The answers to these questions give important hints at changes in journalistic cultures: genre choice is never dependent on the events reported, so it is a stylistic choice which from a cultural point of view is never random (even if it can be unconscious) and which is meaningful. In combination with a semiotic interpretation of genre styles
changes as well as stabilities in genre frequencies can be explained in an empirically grounded manner.

Table 1 shows the genre frequencies of "Tagesschau," the main TV news show of the public TV station in German-speaking Switzerland, from the 1960s to today. "Tagesschau" has been one of this station’s most successful shows since the 1970s. The week from 1958 has not been included; at that time the show consisted entirely of Film Items: there were no persons speaking on camera, and only an anonymous newsreader could be heard.

![Image](image)

**Table 1: Genre frequency in the Swiss "Tagesschau" 1968-2013**

The table clearly shows that the genre frequencies have changed quite significantly over the last seven decades. Only Film Items were produced at first, and all other genres arose after the 1950s, some of them to disappear again. Looking at the overall changes, some trends can be observed.

The Film Item is the only genre produced throughout the entire period. The overall trend is obvious: it still is an important genre (making up about 13% of the show's duration in 2013), but it has become less important over time: in the 1950s, it accounted for 100%, in the 1960s for almost 50% and in the 1970s for about 36%. The changes are partly connected to a change in the show’s format in 1966, when a visible newsreader was introduced – which also led to the disappearance of one of two styles of Film Items (see 3.2.2) – but they are also partly due to the rise of other genres (and their semiotic meaning).

Similar observations can be made for the Anchor Voice-over, a montage (see 3.3) of a Newsreader Item (or later, after the introduction of the anchorperson, an Anchor Item) and a Film Item: it dropped from between 13% and 18% during the 1960s through to the 1980s to less than 1% in 2013.

The Package appeared in the late 1970 (16%) and first boomed in the early 1980s (31%). It has boomed again from the 1990s to the present (growing from 20% to almost 50% in 2013). From the data for 2013, it is clear that the Package has become...
by far the most important genre that does not belong to the news-presenting genres, but to the news-reporting genres (which also include the Film Item and the Interview). The first boom of the Package coincides with the introduction of a new show format in 1980, which introduced an anchorperson. The second boom also coincides with a format change, which has targeted the audience more closely in reaction to competition by private German stations.

The Package developed out of a montage of the Film Item, the Interview and the Stand-up. The decline of Film Items and later of Interviews (dropping from almost 25% in the early 1990s to less than 8% in 2013) can thus be interpreted as a partial replacement of some genres by another.

News presented by only a person in the news studio (Newsreader Items and Anchor Items) were quite important in the 1960s (more than 21%) but then either disappeared entirely, as in the case of the Newsreader Item, or became peripheral: the Anchor Item fell to about 1% in 2013.

Another clear trend is the growing significance of genres belonging to the News Presentation genres (Headlines, Lead-ins, Lead-outs, Story Previews, etc.), which are crucial for para-social communication and the structuring of the show on behalf of the audience.

A comparison of the genre frequencies in the "CBS Evening News" shows how different the shows were and are. The "CBS Evening News" is the main TV news show of the commercial television network CBS. It was the most successful TV news show in the USA during the 1970s and 1980s and is still one of the three most important network news shows (the others are NBC and ABC). Table 2 shows the genre frequencies of the "CBS Evening News" from the 1960s until today.

![Genre frequency "CBS Evening News" 1968-2013](image)

Table 2: Genre frequency in the American "CBS Evening News" 1968-2013
First of all, the predominance of the Packages is striking; between 56% and more than 70% of the show’s duration consists of Packages. And it is probably this predominance that has led several scholars to believe that American TV news genres are stable (see e.g. Connell 1992), a belief that is often overgeneralized to TV news shows in general. Apart from the Packages, three other genres seem to be crucial: News Presentations, Anchor Items, Anchor Voice-overs and Interviews. All other genres remain peripheral (about 5% or less).

The genres for News Presentations have become more important over time, which is partly due to the introduction of Headlines (nonexistent until the 1980s), but also due to the increasing prevalence of Story Previews, i.e. previews to stories that come up later in the same edition of the show. Both genres primarily sum up and structure the show and promote its own stories, without delivering additional information.

The Anchor Item – news stories read by the anchor on camera – have dropped from more than 18% in 1968 to 0% in 2013. News presented in a monologue by a person who appears on camera (instead of news footage) is obviously disappearing. The same trend can be observed with Statements and Stand-ups, although they were never important genres in the "CBS Evening News," probably due to the fact that soundbites and Stand-ups are integrated into the all-dominating Packages.

The Anchor Item seems to have been partly replaced by the Anchor Voice-over, which combines the anchor speaking on camera and news footage in a montage. The Anchor Voice-over's share is changing constantly, however (1999: 9%, 2005: 5%, 2013: 9%), so there is no clear trend.

The share of the Interviews has changed as well (about 1% in 1968, more than 8% in 1978, 0% in 1982), although there seems to be a more or less constant trend since the mid-1980s towards more Interviews (hardly 1% in 1986, more than 9% in 2013). While the high percentage in the 1970s may be related to the main event reported in the week chosen (the Camp David summit), the constant increase since the 1980s is mainly due to more Interviews in which the anchor interviews the correspondents.

Commentaries appeared on a more or less regular basis in the 1960s and early 1980s, but not in the other decades. Because of their special status as explicitly evaluative genres, they are important indicators of journalistic culture even though their share is not very high. In show formats with no Commentaries at all, a question arises: does evaluation appear in other genres – and if so, in which ones and in what form?

Film Items hardly ever appear. The share of 3% in 2005 is due to a kind of genre series called "American Heroes," in which fallen or wounded American soldiers were honored on a daily basis.

A comparison of the frequency with which the different genres appear in "Tagesschau" and the "CBS Evening News" reveals first that "Tagesschau" has undergone dramatic changes, while things are more stable in the "CBS Evening News." In the "CBS Evening News," there is an all-dominating genre, the Package; its counterpart in the "Tagesschau," the so-called Korrespondentenbericht, first appeared in the late 1970s and later became the most important genre in the show, partly replacing the Film Item (Filmmeldung), which was the most dominant genre in "Tagesschau" until the late 1970s.

In the "CBS Evening News," the most important genre is one in which the author of the story, who usually is (or seems to be) on the scene of the event and who can

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5 In the Swiss "Tagesschau," commentaries do not occur in my corpus, but they do appear from time to time.
often be seen there, is mentioned by name. In "Tagesschau," in contrast, the dominant genres until the 1970, the Film Item and the Newsreader Item, are genres in which the author (in Goffman's sense as the "agent who puts together, composes, or scripts the lines that are uttered" (1981, 226)) remains unknown; in the case of the Film Item, even the newsreader (who is not the same person as the one in the studio) is an anonymous voice (in Goffman's terms, here even the animator remains anonymous; see 1981, 226). Since the 1980s, the frequency of Packages and News Presentations has risen. Obviously there has been a change in news culture here: the orientation towards the audience has changed, as has the staging of authenticity – and, in this context, especially the staging of closeness.

A look at genre frequencies shows that the choice of genres is not random, given the relatively stable trends. This is an indication that genre choice is related to the additional meaning of its form. Genre history can thus describe the (sometimes changing) meanings of these forms by focusing on this additional meaning, as will be elaborated further through a semiotic interpretation of the genre styles.

### 3.2.2 Genre Styles

Looking at the genre styles and their meaning, we can distinguish between changes within and between genres. I will first take a look at the Film Items in "Tagesschau:" a genre that was quite diverse in the 1950s became more standardized in the 1960s and 1970s before being increasingly replaced by Packages beginning in the 1980s.

In the 1950s, there were two kinds of Film Items, more "narrative" ones and more "reporting" ones. At the time, more than 50% of the news stories were dedicated to what is called "soft news," i.e. stories about accidents, disasters, sports, cultural events and everyday funny stories (like one about Australian children pretending to be on TV). Most of these stories were told chronologically and had a characteristic relationship between text and footage. If they were not about accidents or disasters, they were often told in a humorous way, as in the following example (comments in {curly brackets}, stressed intonation in CAPITALS).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Footage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>read by anonymous newsreader (in the 1950s, only archived as manuscript, not as sound file), my translation</td>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEWSREADER: Arosa offered its many winter sport guests a special attraction: a slalom – but not on a racing track, but on the Obersee [name of the lake], and not on skis, but with cars. A car slalom.</td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(A VW starts) The numerous guests thought this was a funny (word play with the Swiss German word "glatt," meaning both funny and smooth) sport. The drivers did as well. Cars of different makes drove over the lake in this amusing competition.

School kids from Arosa were precise goal keepers. They kept accurate count of every marker flag that got knocked over.

(Car pushes a ball) This is car-soccer – a new sport. This driver did not aim very well – the ball went behind the goal post. The Grison Hörtig (provenance and family name) did it better: goal.

(Car drives on a beam) This beam had to be navigated on two wheels. He did not make it on the first try – or on the second. A side-jump (German word for "one-time affair") is inappropriate while driving.

(Porsche) This competitor is mastering the difficult task safely and quickly. The winner is Mr. (rest is missing).

What is typical of all Film Items in "Tagesschau" is that an anonymous voice comments on footage that contains what have been called "registrative" pictures (see Burger and Luginbühl 2014, 407), i.e. pictures that have (at least seemingly) not been
technically manipulated, giving the impression of just "showing" what happened. The dominant mood of the verbs is unmarked (indicative), thereby staging facticity of the content told.

In contrast to the more "reporting" Film Items, the event is told chronologically and in a humorous and entertaining way. At the beginning, suspense is created and resolved immediately (a slalom, but not on a racing track, but on the Obersee, not on skis, but with cars) and we can find several wordplays (like "a funny/smooth sport," "a side-jump/one-time affair"), incongruities (like the precision of the goal keepers vs. the flippancy of the entire event), etc. The newsreader thus not only informs, he also entertains.

In addition, this Film Item is structured according to three narrative phases: exposition (introduction of the topic, place, etc.), complication (tasks for the players) and resolution (winner of the contest). This dramaturgy is also visible in the aesthetics of the footage: the exposition starts with an extremely long shot showing static objects, while the complication entails close-ups as well as camera pans that follow moving objects. The resolution again features a panorama of the Alps, and the segment ends with a dark circle on the screen. It is also typical of this kind of Film Item that the text and footage are very tightly synchronized, and that the humor arises from their incongruity.

In summary, we can see here a style similar to that of a short movie and in the tradition of some news reels of the time. This pattern is typical of genres: when a new medium arises, at first it copies the genres of already-existing media (like the movie theater).

Next to this style of Film Item there existed another style, and it was this style that became dominant in the 1960s, remained so until the end of the 1970s and is still the style of Film Items today.6 The following Film Item of August 27, 1968 is a typical example.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Footage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>read by anonymous newsreader (in the 1960s only archived as manuscript, not as sound file), my translation</td>
<td>footage not archived</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEWSREADER IN STUDIO: The ongoing fierce battles in South Vietnam, which have lasted for several days, are concentrated near Saigon. In addition, combat is reported in the north of the country near the buffer zone and along the Cambodian border.</td>
<td><img src="image.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEWSREADER: Here in the proximity of Tay Ninh,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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6 An analysis of Film Items that did not distinguish between the subtypes would therefore falsely indicate far greater genre stability in "Tagesschau."
| There were fierce battles recently near the Cambodian border. |
| Units of the Vietcong and North Vietnamese troops successfully overran Duc Lap Camp near Tay Ninh. |
| It was only yesterday that American and South Vietnamese soldiers, |
| in fierce battles, reconquered the camp, which controlled the infiltration routes of the Communists from Cambodia to South Vietnam. |
| American military spokespersons characterized the battles of the last few days |
| as the most costly for the enemy in a long time. |

This *Film Item* suggests through language use, footage choice, montage and the combination of text and footage that the event is represented factually and objectively; it suggests that it mirrors reality directly. The newsreader in the studio (who reads the Lead-in, footage not archived) and the anonymous newsreader of the *Film Item* limit themselves to informing viewers about facts (places of the fights, place of the most severe fights, the reconquest of Duc Lap, a report of a quotation from a military official). No information regarding details (e.g. of the reconquest), soundbites from an eyewitness or a person involved in the fights or emotional aspects are mentioned (only the term "overrun," in German "überrennen," could be interpreted in this way). The newsreaders do not tell a story; they report the facts in a detached manner. This is also due to the way the *Film Item* is structured. It does not follow the chronology of the events, but is instead structured in what is called the
"inverted-pyramid style" (see Thomson et al. 2008, 213), answers the wh-questions
(who, what, when, where and how) and then quotes an official evaluation of the
event. Because this part of the text and part of the Lead-in are the only ones marked
as quotations, the rest seems to be a description of unquestionable facts (again
linguistically marked through the use of the indicative mood). Regarding the footage,
long shots prevail (putting the audience at quite a distance), and there are only two
medium shots. These shots show the perspective of a person close to the event (on or
even in a tank), but the accompanying text in no way picks up on this closeness so that
no multimodal multiplying effect occurs. The "information linking" (see van Leeuwen
2005, 219-235) is very loose. Only at the beginning is there a direct link between the
text and the footage ("Here ..."). Subsequently, the footage seems to be chosen rather
randomly: it just shows random military scenes from the field, which could be placed in
a different order without changing the overall meaning of the Film Item. In this sense,
the pictures illustrate the text in a very general way; they are nevertheless important in
that they pretend to mirror reality in a registrative, unstaged way.

It is usually said that the inverted pyramid starts with the most important facts,
then passes on to less important facts, details, consequences and evaluations, etc.
While it is true that text items that follow this structure probably are intended to give
the impression of objectively starting with the most important facts, it is necessary to
remember that it is journalists who determine which facts are most important and
which are not. But this moment of interpretation is hidden behind a text structure that
seems to be determined by the facts, and only by the facts – an impression that is
sustained by the other features of the Film Item mentioned above (a limitation to facts,
the omission of emotions, colorful details, close-ups, a loose relationship between the
text and the footage, etc.).

As already mentioned, the Film Items of the 1960s and 1970s in "Tagesschau" followed
this second style, staging a static and detached reporting style. This preference
in Film Item style coincides with a change in the show’s format in 1966, when, following
the example of the BBC, a newsreader was introduced. The editor-in-chief of the
time said that the "Anglo-Saxon law of the '5 Ws' should be adhered to" and that
the news should be presented "in a truthful, accurate, balanced and neutral way"
(Robbiani 1970, 37, my translation).

A comparison with a CBS Package on the same event reveals the very different
news styles of the time. The "CBS Evening News" also reported on the camp in Duc
Lap on the same day.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Spoken text</th>
<th>Footage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0:00</td>
<td>ANCHOR: There were FIVE new mortar attacks today on Duc Lap, the camp that the Communists besieged for four days last week. Tony Sargent visited Duc Lap for this report.</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="CBS Package" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:00</td>
<td>CORRESPONDENT: [helicopter sounds in the background] The Duc Lap special forces camp is a bunch of wooden huts with corrugated metal</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="CBS Package" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:05</td>
<td>roofs on a small hill top. It's only six miles from the Cambodian border. The line across which the enemy has sanctuary.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:13</td>
<td>American Green Berets and their South Vietnamese counterparts man this base. Also Montagnards, Vietnamese hill people, like</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:22</td>
<td>these men, tearing a damaged parachute into a fabric for scarves or for clothing for their families, who huddled with them in these bunkers during the several nights and days when Duc Lap was under siege.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:29</td>
<td>Mortars and rockets hammered the hill top. Mangled roofs testify to the fury of the enemy's desire to overrun this base.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:36</td>
<td>The enemy completely surrounded the camp. They even occupied that smaller hill, also within this camp.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:53</td>
<td>But they NEVER took the main hilltop.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:56</td>
<td>Special Forces Master Sergeant Ted {Buddy?}.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This Package illustrates a very different kind of storytelling, one that does not aim at detached distance, but at emotional closeness, and it stages authenticity in quite a different way. This story is told by an identified person (Tony Sargent), who went to the scene of the event, as we can see when he asks the sergeant his question, but also from his description of the feeling one has as a visitor when leaving. In addition, the audience is brought close to the event. First, we are brought close on a local level as the story begins with footage filmed from an approaching helicopter. In the middle part, there are medium-close shots, as well as – in a crucial part of the Package – a close shot. At the end, the camera again moves away with the helicopter. Second, we are brought close on the time level. Along with the simple past, which is used when the attack is recounted, the simple present is also used, stressing the currency of the report. Third, we are brought close on an emotional level, as many emotional aspects are mentioned. We hear about the rockets that "hammered," the "fury" of the enemy, the missing laughter, the staring of the children and, finally, the "feeling of relief."

The most emotional moment of the Package is probably the sergeant's soundbite, which is placed in the middle of the story and acts as a dramatic climax. The Package is structured along the narrative lines of exposition (description of the scene), complication and resolution (the feeling of the correspondent while leaving). The complication consists of the depiction of the attack and the situation after the attack, while in the middle there is the soundbite of the sergeant recounting the attack itself in detail as an eyewitness. Authenticity is stressed not only by the fact that we can see the...
sergeant while he is speaking, but also by the way he speaks, with repetitions, gaps, aborted formulations, etc.

The multimodal design of this Package is also very different from that of the "Tagesschau" Film Item. In the CBS Package, the text and footage are linked to each other very tightly, the footage illustrating (and thereby authenticating) the text, the text interpreting the footage (e.g. in the description of the children).

The Package stages closeness, stresses journalistic investigation on the scene and delivers an (implicit) interpretation of the events.

These differences between the "Tagesschau" Film Item and the "CBS Evening News" Package can also be observed in cases where the "Tagesschau" used the same footage as the CBS (see the example discussed in Luginbühl 2014, 6-12).

"Tagesschau" also started to produce Packages in the late 1970s. They first consisted of a montage of an Interview and either a Film Item or a Stand-up, without an interrupting Lead-in. In the 1990s, they became quite similar to the CBS Packages from the 1960s, as the following example from March 29, 1999 shows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Spoken text</th>
<th>Footage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0:00</td>
<td>Anchor: Werner van Gent reports from the border between Kosovo and Macedonia.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:06</td>
<td>Correspondent: (sound of original scene in background) The Macedonian army stationed troops in different places along the border with Kosovo this morning.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:09</td>
<td>They should prevent an uncontrolled influx of refugees. (2 sec.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:17</td>
<td>Macedonia is afraid that the war could spill over into its territory.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:21</td>
<td>At 10 am, the first refugees appear, not at the main border crossing, but on a side road. In order to escape Serbian troops, they had to take a long detour. (2 sec.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Action</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:35</td>
<td>They left their village <strong>TWENTY</strong> hours ago. The village</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:38</td>
<td>is just behind the border. [2 sec.]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:43</td>
<td>The refugees are still the main information source for the media. THIS method of newsgathering is sometimes grotesque.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:50</td>
<td>{2 sec.} And in this <strong>MASSIVE</strong> chaos, the fates of individuals threaten to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:58</td>
<td>go missing. {3 sec.}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:01</td>
<td>This woman describes how Serbs attacked their village with grenades and shot a few men. In the CHAOS of the escape, she lost her family. Woman: {speaks foreign language, 2 sec., then is quiet 7 sec.}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:20</td>
<td>Correspondent: The Albanians of Macedonia try to help the refugees</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:24</td>
<td>and pick them up with their private cars. But, because of the immense number of refugees, spontaneous actions like these <strong>CANNOT</strong> replace organized help. [2 sec.]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This Package also stages temporal closeness by using the present tense, but also by beginning its narrative at 10 am on the day the Package was broadcast and then approaching the moment of the broadcast itself. Local closeness is staged by having the correspondent on the scene, as is mentioned in the Lead-in and in a text insert ("Werner van Gent in Macedonia"), and as can be seen in the footage. This staging of local closeness is intentional, as Swiss TV stations' press releases indicate: "Persons reporting on the scene on ongoing events contribute to the image in the face of market competition" (press release of August 20, 1990; my translation). The correspondent looking directly into the camera as well as several close-up shots add to the staging of local closeness. Finally, emotional closeness is staged by mentioning the emotional aspects of the event and by inserting a soundbite from a refugee woman telling her story and crying. In contrast to the inverted-pyramid style, it is the temporal progress of the event, not the outcome, that is the focus of the Package.

The "CBS Evening News" Package also changed at around the same time. The following example shows a subtype of the Package, the so called "donut," where the correspondent can be seen live on scene at the beginning and at the end (January 18, 1991):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Spoken text</th>
<th>Footage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0:00</td>
<td>Anchor: Israel held its fire against Iraq today, even under the threat of MORE missile strikes. Tom Fenton, the first to report last evening's attack on Tel Aviv, is there again tonight.</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Footage" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:10</td>
<td>Tom?</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Footage" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:11</td>
<td>Correspondent: Dan, there're two questions</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Footage" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Transcript</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:02</td>
<td>on everybody's mind tonight, WHEN will the next missile strike, and WHEN will Israel retaliate. Everybody expects another missile attack before dawn. The, eh – the only question is – WHEN. Already, we've had two alerts.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:15</td>
<td>Correspondent: [sirens in the background] The sirens wailed again in the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:18</td>
<td>already empty streets of Tel Aviv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:20</td>
<td>and other towns and cities at EIGHT forty-five local time.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:24</td>
<td>That was the signal for everyone to go into prepared sealed rooms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:28</td>
<td>and don chemical-warfare protective clothing.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:31</td>
<td>That included our CBS bureau here in Tel Aviv.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:33</td>
<td>Correspondent: [sound of original scene in background] Don't get much warning in advance of a missile attack. Yesterday it was only a minute or two.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:37</td>
<td>Correspondent: A lot will depend on how good a job the American pilots do in eliminating the remaining</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Iraqi missiles.

But, eh (he clears his throat, 3 sec.), but no one here doubts that if this country is attacked, it WILL respond. The answer may not be announced here. It will be delivered first in Iraq. Dan.

1:58

0:00 Anchor: Thanks, Tom.

0:01

Here, not only the news presentation, but also parts of the correspondent's coverage is live, as is indicated by the anchor telling viewers where the correspondent is right now ("Tom Fenton […] is there again tonight") and the use of a "split screen," whereby the anchor addresses him directly ("Tom?"). In this way, the difference and distance between the studio and the "news field" (Montgomery 2007, 89) is reduced, and the time difference between event and coverage seems to be eliminated (as it is by the insert "Live 6:33 PM EST"), which (seemingly) makes the coverage more current. But "live" relates not only to time, but also to linguistic features: the correspondent stumbles and at one point obviously loses the thread, something that never happens in a pre-recorded Stand-up. The linguistic style of the live parts is marked as live, coming from the news field (while the spoken text in the studio is not marked in that way). Montgomery (2007, 36) has called this style "unscripted scripting," which can be interpreted in the context of the ongoing informalization of TV news (which also can be observed in the Lead-ins) and of what Fairclough (1995, 9) called the "conversationalization" of news.

Because the anchor and the correspondent address each other by their first names, the coverage acquires a pseudo-intimate framing, as if a friend were telling another friend some news. In addition, the correspondent is not only reporting on the scene; he is also to some degree involved in the events: he and his team also have to wear protective clothing. He is not only a distanced observer; he is also in the middle of events.

The donut enhances the closeness of the reporting – the emotional closeness through a pseudo-intimate framing, the local closeness by showing the correspondent in the middle of events and the temporal closeness through live coverage at the beginning and end.

Screenshot 1: Correspondent between protesters and policemen (December 9, 2005)
In the formats of the 21st century, this tendency to show correspondents in the middle of events has been reinforced, showing the correspondent e.g. in a bulletproof vest reporting from within a tank, walking through a hospital while talking to the camera or walking between policemen and protesters (see screenshot 1) explaining what each side wants (all examples from December 7 and 9, 2005).

In the most recent format, introduced by "CBS Evening News" in 2013, there are hardly any donuts, but it has become common for the correspondent to be seen live on the scene at the end of the Package and to be interviewed by the anchor after the Stand-up. In these Interviews, correspondents are interviewed as experts rather than as observers: they are asked for evaluations and opinions that presuppose expert knowledge.

In the newest formats of "Tagesschau," no enforced staging of closeness can be observed in the Packages. On the contrary, in the majority of Packages there seems to be a slight tendency to revert back to the old style, which "proclaims" the truth in a detached way. In the week of December 5-9, 2005, a total of 24 Packages were produced, in only one of which is the correspondent seen in a Stand-up. In some cases, it is not even the voice of the correspondent that can be heard, but the voice of an (anonymous) newsreader (although the name of the correspondent is mentioned). In the week of January 14-19, 2013, there were 34 Packages, in only six of which are the correspondents seen on the scene.

At the same time, correspondents are also increasingly shown in the role of experts, e.g. in live Interviews in the scenes that follow the Packages after a Lead-over by the anchor from the Package to the Interview.

This analysis of genre styles (Film Item and Package) can be related to the norms and values of journalistic culture, including market orientation and the staging of authenticity. In the 1950s, "Tagesschau" had quite a pronounced market orientation with its dominant use of "narrative" Film Items, an orientation that was replaced with a more citizen-oriented approach in the 1960s, when truth-proclaiming "reporting" Film Items became dominant. The latter remained the crucial genre until the late 1970s, since which time the frequency of Film Items has fallen more or less steadily, giving way to the Package, which has become the new dominant genre. While at first the "Tagesschau" Packages were occasionally montages of Film Items and Stand-ups or Interviews, they became more standardized over time and by the 1990s came to resemble the CBS Packages of the 1960s to a high degree, staging closeness on a temporal, local and emotional level. While this closeness continues to be staged in the Lead-ins, most Packages today once again tend towards more distanced and detached reporting. The way in which authenticity is staged has changed along with these stylistic changes: in the 1950s, humorous narratives, characterized by a chronological account, evaluation, word plays and a tight relationship between the footage and the text, were presented side-by-side with detached reporting (characterized by an inverted pyramid, no explicit evaluation, mostly long and medium shots and a loose relationship between footage and text), which seemingly just mirrored the facts. In the Packages – and this is also true for the CBS Packages – truth is presented as more fluid: the information is always framed as the current state of research, which could change any time; in addition, Packages, by naming the author, reveal that they are a crafted product and thus based on the choices and decisions of the author in question (instead of being the only possible representation of an event).
In the "CBS Evening News," which has always had a market orientation, Packages prevail throughout the six decades analyzed, and authenticity is staged through the close reporting of the correspondent, the main figure of trust. Indeed, over time this staging of closeness has been intensified (also by the use of live reporting); news reporting has also become more informal and conversationalized.

The role of the journalist has changed in "Tagesschau" – from that of the entertaining and paternalistic narrator to that of the detached proclaimer, to the omnipresent, active and close narrator to, in recent years, a more distanced observer and expert. In the "CBS Evening News," journalists started in the 1960s as narrators on the scene, became live narrators on the scene in the 1990s and are today experts as well as live narrators.

A look at the genre repertoires of these two TV news programs demonstrates that they rely on comparable genres. A look at genre frequencies, however, demonstrates that these shows exhibit important differences, including very different patterns of change. It also demonstrates that certain genres seem to be replaced by certain others. But it is only a look at the genre styles that permits a cultural interpretation of the forms, which in turn makes it possible to interpret changes in genre frequencies as well as differences in genre repertoires. A look at genre networks will finally show a third meso-level perspective that can be interpreted culturally.

### 3.3 Genre Networks

As mentioned above, genres are inter-genre-al: they are connected to other genres in syntagmatic and paradigmatic ways. These relationships between genres can be conceptualized as "genre networks" (see Adamzik 2011, Hauser 2014, Swales 2004, 21-25) because genres are linked intertextually to other genres at the formal, functional and content-based levels. Lead-ins, for example, are formally connected to other Lead-ins (also in a diachronic perspective), functionally to the news items they lead into and with regard to content to all texts belonging to the reported event (or even to the entire discourse on that issue).

Looking at genre repertoires and genre frequencies primarily makes it possible to obtain insight into the paradigmatic relationship between genres. But syntagmatic relationships can be interpreted culturally because the way in which genres are combined syntagmatically is a stylistic choice that is not predetermined by the events reported, the media technology, etc. In order to illustrate this relationship, I will focus on syntagmatic relationships within single shows, and I will focus on linear, continuous (not only loose) patterns of genre chains, which I call "sequential clusters," as they build fixed patterns in which every part of the chain has its place so that the predecessor and successor of each genre can be named.

Genres in TV news (and elsewhere) are not strung together accidentally: they are organized in intermediate levels of sequence clusters. These sequence clusters change over time, and they arise out of partially ordered "series clusters" that are eventually consolidated, turning into sequence clusters.

In the "CBS Evening News," the Lead-in-Package sequence cluster has existed since the 1960s; there is no Package without a Lead-in introducing it. Along with this sequence cluster, there were others: Lead-in-Package-Anchor Item and Anchor Item–Lead-in–Package. The Anchor Items that came at the end were usually shorter than average, while the ones that came at the beginning were longer than average. These structures were usually tied to the inverted pyramid: the Anchor Items that appeared
first answered the wh-questions, and the Package then offered an illustration with a specific, exemplary event; the Anchor Items that came at the end only contained short additional, but not crucial, information. These three sequential clusters shaped the "CBS Evening News" until the 1990s.

In the Swiss “Tagesschau,” the Lead-in–Package sequential cluster did not exist until 1968. Until 1966, there were no sequential clusters at all, as only Film Items were broadcast. Even after the introduction of a newsreader, only every sixth Film Item was introduced by a Lead-in. The Lead-in–Film Item cluster only emerged after 1980, with the anchor leading in most news items. The Lead-in–Package cluster emerged at the same time.

The programs’ different market orientations can be seen in the different kinds of and changes (or stability in the case of CBS) in sequential clusters. “Tagesschau” presented news for a long time as if were declaring an immutable truth: at first there was no visible newsreader or anchor and thus no sequential cluster including Lead-ins; later on, after the introduction of newsreaders, the distanced reporting and seemingly immediate presentation of facts was upheld. Only in the 1980s, when "Tagesschau" became more market-oriented, did the Lead-in–Film Item sequential cluster arise. In the "CBS Evening News," in contrast, the market orientation is reflected (and created) by an omnipresent anchor who, by looking directly into the camera, seems to be talking to us. By leading in all Packages and completing them in Anchor Items, the anchor becomes a seemingly all-knowing person.

In the 1990s, a new cluster became sequentialized: Lead-in–Package–Interview with correspondent. While until that time it was mostly politicians and experts who were interviewed in Packages or in self-contained Interviews with their own Lead-ins, in both shows correspondents began to be interviewed in connection with their Package. News reporting became conversationalized, a trend that can be interpreted as a kind of informalization in which the news’ communication practices come closer to the everyday communication practices of the audience. These interviews also came with a change in the journalist’s role: s/he became an expert.

4. Conclusion

The analysis shows that single show formats consist of stylistic configurations in which journalistic norms and values are materialized through the concurrence and mutual enhancement of specific genre formations at different levels: genre profiles with specific genre repertoires; genre frequencies; genre networks; and genre styles, e.g. the arrangement of single text parts, the use of factual or emotional lexis, the use of verb tenses and moods, the footing of utterances (in Goffman’s sense), the relationship between the text and the footage, the aesthetics of the footage, etc. Culture is thus established and bequeathed in semiotic practices; cultural changes are tied to changes in these practices.

A look at the genre repertoires of the two shows indicates that both shows rely on similar genres; TV news shows, at least at first glance, seem to have developed internationally conventionalized genres, probably due to their similar communicative situations and purposes, as well as to the exchange of international news (and therefore genres). But already the small differences between the two repertoires regarding the Stand-up and the Newsreader Item hint at a different staging of authenticity in the two shows: in the Stand-up, a correspondent on the scene reports on an event, while in the Newsreader Item a person in the studio reads the news from a paper in a detached
manner. While in the first case it is the person investigating the event who guarantees the reported facts, in the second case it is the printed text, read in a very formal setting, that offers this guarantee.

It is in genre frequencies that the differences between the two programs are most striking. In the "CBS Evening News," the Package has been the all-dominant genre since the 1960s. "Tagesschau," in contrast, has had a much more dynamic history regarding genre frequencies. The entire show originally consisted of Film Items, a genre that remained dominant until the late 1970s and that was characterized by a very distanced style of reporting. Beginning in the 1980s, Film Items largely came to be replaced by Packages that staged closeness on different levels. News Presentation became more important in both shows, but this development started later in "Tagesschau" (with no News Presentation at all in the beginning). These changing frequencies show long-term trends regarding crucial genres, which seem to remain stable or slowly replace certain other genres. These trends can be interpreted as evidence that changes in, or the stability of, the textual context itself can be influential: a decreasing share seems to entail a further decrease, and an increasing share seems to entail the opposite. Once initiated, a change seems to put pressure on the persons producing the texts to adapt to the newly arising genres (see also Devitt 2004, 122). In this manner, cultural norms and values are spread by action adjustment, a process that can also occur through unconscious imitation.

A cultural analysis shows how journalistic norms and values are reflected and at the same time (re)produced at different stylistic levels. The Film Items of "Tagesschau" showed considerable variation in the 1950s, a variation that was later eliminated in favor of a style in which facts are "proclaimed" in a highly distanced manner. The entire style of these Film Items aims at this (temporal, local and emotional) distance: there is an invisible, anonymous newsreader instead of a correspondent on the scene who speaks into the camera; the information is presented in the inverted-pyramid style and with hardly any emotional vocabulary, thereby inhibiting any dramatic effect; the relationship between the text and the footage is loose; there are several long and medium-long shots, etc. While the market orientation of some of the "narrative" Film Items of the 1950s was extremely high, the market orientation of the Film Items beginning in the 1960 was low, given the mostly static and distanced reporting of the facts. With that change also came a certain way of staging authenticity: the facts are presented as if set in stone, as mirroring a stable truth that exists outside its representation by the medium.

Packages instead tend to stage closeness, and they do so in a temporal, local and emotional sense. Here an identified person reports from (and is therefore close to) the scene, is brought close to the audience by speaking into the camera, usually tells a story more than reports facts and includes emotional details. A more dramatic feeling is also evoked through the use of medium-close and close shots, a tight relationship between the text and the footage, etc. In the "CBS Evening News," in which the Package has been the dominant genre from the beginning, this staging of closeness can already be observed in the 1960s. In "Tagesschau," the Package only arose in the late 1970s, but it is today its most important genre. The Package is a genre for show formats that are more market-oriented because its style is intended to involve the audience emotionally. Regarding authenticity, the Package tends to present information as the current state of a never-ending process of investigation, truth appears to be more fluid and information is presented as resulting from an act of selection and
interpretation. While CBS Packages tend to reinforce the staging of closeness, "Tagesschau" seems to have partly returned to more traditional, distanced ways of reporting since 2005, when its most recent format was introduced.

The different and changing market orientations of the two shows, as well as the ways in which they stage authenticity, can also be seen in their genre networks: in "Tagesschau," sequential clusters with Lead-ins only appeared in the 1980s.

Genre profiles – which consist of genre repertoires, genre frequencies and genre networks – and genre styles can be understood and interpreted as objectivations of news culture. News genres are not predetermined by the events reported or the medium used: they are formations of cultural practice. The creation of a journalistic culture as a group identity relies on this semiotic process of adjustment and therefore on the objectivation and materialization of cultural norms and values. News culture – or, broadly said, genre culture – is therefore also a medium through which these culturally significant processes occur.

Works Cited


