

CHANGING FACES – CHANGING CULTURES

THE SWISS TV NEWS SHOW TAGESSCHAU FROM THE 50S TO TODAY¹

The representation of reality in tv news shows – as long as it follows the well established forms – often seems to be self-evident, predetermined by the event reported. But a look at older stories from tv news shows demonstrates that the forms of reporting had to be developed and established, that some forms stood the test of time while others did not.²

This paper presents parts of a bigger project, in which I analyze the cultural characteristics of tv news and compare Swiss and American tv news from the 1950s to the present day.³ I focus on so-called ‘text types’. The field of linguistics distinguishes between different text types such as scientific articles, cooking recipes, obituaries and so on. Contemporary linguistics also describes conversations and multimedia signs, that include language signs, as texts.⁴ Texts are not only defined by their form and content, by the situation in which they are realized and by their communicative function, but also by the culture in which they are realized. And vice versa, a culture is influenced by the way the world is structured in its texts.⁵

In this paper I will concentrate on the changing design of the only Swiss national television news show in German, TAGESSCHAU. The Swiss national tv station is a public station; about 70% of its revenues are paid by the viewers. I will present four main periods in the development of the show, analyzing their design and the realized text types within, based on an analysis of at least one week in each decade. I will discuss the question why the show was designed in these ways, and – contrary to other analyses in this field – I will argue that national characteristics are *not* an adequate explanation. Rather, the journalistic cultures seem to determine the news style – of course influenced by the nature of the media system, the media market and technical developments. I also will argue that in the case of the Swiss TAGESSCHAU there is no continuous development towards an ‘americanized’ news show.

The 50s: entertaining film stories

The first TAGESSCHAU program was broadcast on August 29, 1953, and it consisted of two news items – one about the opening celebration of the airport in Zürich, the other about the world bicycle championship in Zürich.⁶ About three months later, the TAGESSCHAU was broadcast four times, later seven times a week. Each show was about ten minutes long.

The early TAGESSCHAU consisted (except for the credits, which are not archived) entirely of ‘film items’ – news items where an anonymous voice reads the story over a news film. Only in rare cases are there soundbites of persons involved in the reported event. This convention has a technical basis and started to change in 1958/1959.⁷ Persons of the editorial staff (correspondents, newsreaders, or an anchor) never appeared on screen. At the beginning of each show, there were usually a few items about international politics (not regarding Switzerland), then other issues from foreign countries would be presented, and at the end, one or two film items about events in Switzerland would be shown. Occasionally, the last film item would represent a foreign country, often reporting on a (popular) cultural event with little spoken text, sometimes with music. Examples include a Cuban ballerina or a Russian animal tamer in the circus, taking a bath with a tiger. The show thus moved on from hard news to soft news (as it does until today) and in most of the cases from foreign countries to Switzerland. In the week analyzed, there is not one film item about Swiss politics.

Only able to produce one or two film items about Swiss topics each day, more than one third of the TAGESSCHAU of the 50s, consisted of ‘human interest’ stories (e.g. about children who play TV or a car slalom on a frozen lake); half as much focused politics, and also important were stories about wars, science and culture. The importance of human interest stories and the fact that most of the film items in the 50s do not follow the ‘inverted pyramid-style’ but have a more popular narrative pattern that resembles a story told chronologically, indicate that entertainment and the demonstration of oddities from all over the world were very important. On the other hand, the positioning of political stories at the beginning of the show indicates their accredited importance. But also here, ‘good news’ prevailed – there hardly was any controversial news and almost everything was presented in a paternalistic manner.

Behind this design lies that the journalistic staff often hardly had enough film stories to fill the show.⁸ On the other hand, there was also a particular understanding of the TAGESSCHAU. Felix Hurter, chief of the TAGESSCHAU from its beginning to 1963, said in 1956, that the TAGESSCHAU was like a new form of the printed illustrated magazine – depending on pictures.⁹ The comparison to the magazine not only applies to the pictures, but the TAGESSCHAU also had the content of an illustrated magazine, a mixture of hard and soft news, aimed at entertainment.

That the early shows of the *TAGESSCHAU* were aimed at entertainment also is reflected in the fact that only very seldom was a photo or a map shown instead of a film – this, by the way, changed in the 60s. This choice shows that the availability of a film obviously was more important than the aim to give the latest news.

The 60s and the 70s: detached information

Ten years later, in 1968, the design of the *TAGESSCHAU* had changed drastically. The form of presentation by a newsreader, the types of events presented and the forms of presentation in the news items differed greatly from the show of the 50s. The wish for a more pleasing presentation with a newsreader on the screen arose at the beginning of the 60s, especially in the French speaking part of Switzerland, where the competition with the French TV station was feared.¹⁰ But as the Swiss *TAGESSCHAU* was broadcasted in all language areas of Switzerland and did not have an own studio, it only could be realized with invisible newsreaders, reading the text in German, Italian or French at the same time. In 1966 though, the *TAGESSCHAU* got its own studio and the three versions of the show could be broadcasted staggered with a newsreader on the screen. This led to more flexibility in the visual design of breaking news (at this time, this meant news from the same day) where no film or picture was available. But – and this is equally important – it also gave the *TAGESSCHAU* a more human face. From now on, there would be a visible person presenting the show. Although the para-social communication¹¹ was reduced to a minimum (there was not always a greeting and not always a good-bye; the newsreader had his eyes most of the time on the textpaper he held in front of his chest), the rare lead-ins and the newsreader items were not read by an anonymous voice out of nowhere but by a visible person. Newsreader items and voice-overs (a mixture of newsreader item and film item, mostly with photos instead of film) were realized quite often – a little more than 34% of the show's duration in the week analyzed consisted of these two text types. And these text types were mostly used to report on political events (more than 60% of the film items, about 77% of the voice overs). The infrequent use of lead-ins reflects the fact that most of the stories were disjointedly strung together, without introductions or connections. On the other hand, *TAGESSCHAU* introduced the reading of headlines to give the audience a preliminary overview.



Newsreader in the show of July 11, 1968. Source: SF DRS

‘Hard news’ – above all, political events – became and would from then on remain the core of the TAGESSCHAU. Also in contrast to the 50s, there was a lot of ‘bad news’. In the week analyzed, more than 60% of the show’s duration was filled with news items on political events. As was the case in 1958, the hard news was reported first, followed by the soft news; new was the weather forecast at the end of the show.

Finally, the individual news films became shorter, from an average 85 seconds in 1958 to 58 seconds in 1968. The new text types, newsreader items and voice overs, were always shorter than the news films. This not only led to more events reported in each show, but also to a faster pace of and more condensed reporting in general.

While the TAGESSCHAU from the 50s was more of a TV magazine, equally informing and entertaining with its news films, the TAGESSCHAU of the 60s featured primarily short, condensed information about hard news. This can be seen in the emergence and ample use of new text-laden text types, in the increased focus on political issues and in the faster pace of the show. But also the *forms* of reporting changed. The topic development of the stories from 1958 on is chronological. Events are narrated in the order they happened; for example in a story about riots in the order demonstration – street fights – clean up. The stories of 1968 have a different topic development: In the 60s the inverted pyramid became the norm. In the first one or two sentences, the ‘W-questions’ (what, who, when, where, how, eventually also why) are answered. The stories are told in a very detached manner, without making an emotional appeal to the audience. While the footage in the film items of the 50s exactly fits the text in most cases – Brosius and Birk write of ‘text illustrating’ pictures¹² – and thereby document and exemplify the text, in the 60s and 70s more standardized pictures prevail, which often only loosely fit the text.

The new concept of the TAGESSCHAU apparently was successful: At the beginning of the 70s, the TAGESSCHAU was the most watched show on Swiss TV.¹³

The design of the show did not change significantly until 1980. Nevertheless there are two important developments that can be seen in the week analyzed from 1978: The emergence of the text type ‘package’ – that is, a news story which is produced by a correspondent named by the newsreader. Sometimes one can see this correspondent on the scene and often it will include soundbites. While in most of the text types produced in the late 70s a detached manner of reporting prevails, this new text type – the core of American TV news shows since the 60s – indicates at least a partial change away from the detached, anonymous announcement of news (more on the package below). The second important development is the newsreader’s more rapid rate of speaking. While the duration of an average film item stayed the same, and the average length of a newsreader item even increased, the speech rate increased about 10%.

The 80s: packages and multiple presenters

In 1980, a re-designed *TAGESSCHAU* format was introduced. The duration of the single show was raised from 15 to 25 minutes. Instead of just a newsreader there was now an anchor in an armchair introducing, leading over to and concluding film items and packages. The aims of this new design were more analysis, more background and more national news.¹⁴ This format – which came together with a new airtime – was very controversial and was replaced by a revised version after just one year.

In 1985, the *TAGESSCHAU* was re-designed again. The aim of the new show was to be ‘more direct, more immediate and more lively’, as the then program chief Ulrich Kündig said.¹⁵ In the middle of the editorial office there were now two desks with an anchor, a newsreader and a sport journalist.

While in the 60s the main task of the person in the news studio was to read news items in a detached manner, in this new concept the main task of the anchor was that of a presenter – almost a host – greeting the audience, introducing almost every news item and thereby leading the audience through the events of the day (‘We will come to the weather forecast in a moment, but first you see ...’),¹⁶ organizing the show (‘Also the news section [part of the show consisting of short news items, M.L.], Leon Huber [anchor addresses the newsreader next to him, M.L.], is first about the consequences of the reactor accident in Chernobyl’),¹⁷ giving the word to other persons (like to the newsreader in the studio, Leon Huber), complementing their stories, joking sometimes (after a story about a sportive activity of then us-president Reagan: ‘He who remains fit will resist all storms. The weather here was inhospitable’)¹⁸ and finally saying good bye to the audience. The parasocial communication was strengthened by talking to the audience directly (sometimes casually), but also by the sometimes informal communication between the persons in the studio.

Hard news prevailed¹⁹ as in the 60s. But the order in which the events were presented was new. The succession hard news before soft news remained. In the 60s the international news was presented before the national news; this changed in the shows from the 80s. In the weeks analyzed from 1982 and 1986, Swiss topics were presented first – unless there was an extremely important international event. And Swiss topics took more show time: While in 1982 24% of the show’s duration was dedicated to Swiss topics or Swiss aspects of international topics, that percentage rose to 54% in 1986.

While the pace of the show increased between 1958, 1968 and 1978, there were mixed developments between 1978 and the 80s. On



The news show studio in 1985. Source: SF DRS

the one hand, the average film item became 29 seconds longer and the so-called packages had an average length of 2 minutes and 17 seconds. On the other hand, the speech rate increased again by about another 10%.

Comparing the text types produced in the news shows from 1968 and 1986, a few important changes can be noticed. First, the lead-ins became much more important (4% to 13% of the show's duration). This again shows the importance of the anchor as intermediary between news and audience. Second, the statement (1968: 10%) disappeared completely as autonomous text type, while interviews (from 0 to 11%) became quite common. Dialogue replaced monologue. Finally, the film items decreased from 49% to 21%, while packages made up 20% in 1986.

The introduction of packages in the 70s led to a new text type. One characteristic of the Swiss film items is the detached manner in which they proclaim the truth anonymously, stressing absolute objectivity. In the case of packages, the author of the news item is named by the anchor in the lead-in or in the lead-out, and he or she – in the 80s still only seldomly – appears on the screen. The fact that the correspondent is named and sometimes appears on screen, as well as the visibility of the anchor and the newsreader in the editorial office, are signs of the *production* of the story, while in the detached news items of the 60s traces of the production are obscured. But there also is a difference in the way authenticity is staged. While in the 60s authenticity was staged through a detached, objective proclamation of the truth, in the 80s authenticity is – at least partly – staged by stressing closeness to the reported events, for example by using soundbites or footage which emphasizes closeness, or sometimes by reporting critically from the audience's perspective. And instead of the 'inverted pyramid-style', there are packages that represent an event in what Djerff-Pierre calls a 'constructive approach'²⁰ by 'assembling factual data from different places and points in time, documenting in pictures and weighing the assessments and views of different actors against one another'.²¹ In these packages, text-illustrating pictures (sometimes with text inserts, charts, graphics etc.) prevail again. But nevertheless, elements of many packages still come in the detached 'inverted pyramid-style' in the 80s, as do almost all news films.

The TAGESSCHAU of the 60s and 70s presented primarily hard news in a condensed, text-laden and detached manner. In the 80s there was a shift towards more parasocial communication with the audience and partly within the studio, and there was more dialogue in the show. And – beginning with the introduction of the packages in the 70s – there was a tendency towards a staging of closeness and critical reporting. Additionally, there was a concentration on Swiss topics.

The 90s: the omniscient anchor

On August 20, 1990 a new show design was introduced. The format based on multiple persons in the studio was abandoned (except for interview guests); the new show should have – according to the then chief Hans Peter Stalder – more speed, and it should be more concise for the audience.²² The show's duration was shortened from 28 to 23 minutes. The anchor was no longer seated in the editorial office but in an artificial, grey studio setting.

In August 1992, the *TAGESSCHAU* was re-designed again. The weather forecast was separated from the show and from then on presented as its own show – a new law regarding television sponsorship made that possible. This new show aimed – as a 'renovation group' said – for more dynamism and flexibility; the anchor, it was believed, should be nearer to the audience.²³ The then chief editor, Peter Studer, said, the term 'event' should be understood more broadly, and more emotionally moving content should be included.²⁴ This design of the show – with a slight makeover in December 1996 – remains until today. Also in 1996, the so called 'duplex-window' was introduced, a technology that allowed to broadcast a split screen, where the audience can see two frames with two persons – e.g. the anchor and a correspondent – in different places talking with each other.

Although the text types 'anchor item' and 'voice over' almost disappeared in the 90s (which also meant that there was no longer much news which was simply read to the audience), the anchor is more central to the setting than ever before. Leading in every story, introducing and interviewing all interviewees and, 'switching' live to almost every place on earth (permanent correspondent offices were installed in 1990 in Washington, Brussels and Bonn, 1991 in Moscow),²⁵ he or she seems to know and control all the news. Often, the anchor frames events, e.g. in the show of March 24, 1999, when she refers to the events regarding the conflict between Yugoslavia and NATO as a 'countdown', thereby not only framing the reported events, but also presenting these events in a thrilling way, stressing the ongoing nature of the stories presented, and the need to stay informed.

As the anchor presents the news alone, there is no more communication between the journalists in the studio. But given the importance of the text type 'interview' – that are often interviews with correspondents – there still is communication between the journalistic staff.

While the speech rate increased only slightly compared to 1986, the pace of the show increased because all of the main text types became shorter overall. The lead-in dropped from an average 24 seconds in 1986



Anchor in the show of March 24, 1999. Source: SF DRS

to 16 seconds, the film item from 87 to 47 seconds, the interview from 124 to 86 and the package from 137 to 97.

I already mentioned that text types in which news are read to the audience without film, photo or graphic (like the anchor item or the beginning of a voice over) became much fewer (a little bit more than 2% of the show's duration in the week analyzed are voice overs; there are no anchor items at all). Film items remained at about 21%. Both the interview and the package gained about 10% – the interview went up to 21%, the package to 30%. But – in contrast to e.g. American packages – the correspondent cannot always be seen on the scene in his or her package.

In the 90s, the anchor's position was strengthened. He or she was the only journalistic staff member in the studio visible to the audience. Except for interviews, the anchor could always be seen in a medium close or close shot. The trend towards parasocial communication, emphasized since the 80s, continued apace. There were more packages and more interviews, both text types that at least partly stage closeness; text types in which news items are read by a person on screen became rare. And the pace of the show became faster. On the other hand, still more than 20% of the show's duration consists of film items read by an anonymous voice in a detached manner.

The meaning of the forms

As the analysis of the text types in terms of their form and content shows, tv news texts do not develop continuously in a certain direction – e.g. from serious to lightweight journalism, as the concept of 'Americanization' suggests. The staging of closeness to the audience for example is not a new characteristic of the Swiss tv news text emerging during the 90s, but can also be found in the texts of the 50s – realized with different means in each phase. Also, the emphasis on visuality (instead of read text) can be found in the 50s; then even more than today.

How can these observed changes be explained? In a lot of linguistic studies the specific characteristics of texts are equated with national characteristics that 'appear' in language use.²⁶ This equation does not always seem adequate. In the case of tv news, for example, a look at the media technology, the media system, the media market and journalistic professionalism seems to deliver more plausible explanations.²⁷

The use of soundbites surely depends on the developing media technology, for example, and the fact that the Swiss TAGESSCHAU does not emphasize closeness in the 60s and 70s can be explained by understanding that it was then a very successful public broadcast show without competitor. The show emphasized closeness (at least partially) in the 80s and 90s, which could be explained through the changes in the media market in Europe towards commercialization

since the 80s.²⁸ And that it staged closeness through the use of popular narrative means in the 50s could be explained through the fact that at this time the show – and the medium itself – had to attract (more) audience.

But these factors do not produce a concluding explanation. In comparison with other European countries,²⁹ we see that producers of other shows made different decisions in similar situations. In the Swedish news shows (very similar in its particulars to the Swiss show) for example, the detached way of reporting was already present in the show's 1950s beginnings³⁰ and to this day the German *TAGESSCHAU* features a newsreader instead of an anchor. On the other hand, a shift towards more popular forms of reporting can be observed in the case of the Swiss TV news as well as in that of the Swedish TV news *before* there was a competition between private and public national TV news shows, and before foreign private TV stations became popular. And the fact that the film items of the *TAGESSCHAU* of the 50s are designed like short movies is probably more due to the fact that the then very popular *FILMWOCHENSCHAU* newsreel, commonly shown in movie theaters, used similar forms. The TV did not have to make a very big effort to attract the audience; as a contemporary witness said: 'The audience was curious and even thankful for everything that was broadcast. Whatever we produced hit right home'.³¹

While the media system, the media market and the technology are framing TV news, the most important factor in the design of the forms seems to be the news production practice. There always are stylistic decisions determining a show's forms of reporting that cannot be explained exclusively by the media system or technology. We could speak here of journalistic cultures which shape these forms. By culture I think of an ensemble of practices, used for 'the production and the exchange of meanings'.³² It is in the practice, or in this case in language use, that cultural meanings are transported and generated. The form of a text is always more than just a tool that transmits the content. Textual functions (like 'informing' or 'commenting') always can be realized with different forms. So there always is the possibility of choice or, which is the same, of style. And it is this choice that gives every verbal action an additional symbolic potential.³³ Thus, the different trends in journalistic culture have a meaning of their own that goes beyond the facts and figures reported.

Very tentatively, the following phases in journalistic cultures of the Swiss *TAGESSCHAU* could be distinguished:

50s: The journalist as entertaining informer; paternalistic, conformist, entertaining

60s/70s: The journalist as neutral informer; factual, impartial, neutral

80s: The journalist as critical informer; close, active, critical

90s: The journalist as omnipresent informer; close, quick, omnipresent.

Further research, especially a more detailed analysis of the language use in the TV news shows, has to be done to characterize the journalistic culture more pre-

cisely and accurately. But the data presented here suggest that the journalistic culture is the most important factor regarding the form of reporting in TV news – more important than the media system, the media market or the technological possibilities. Moreover, they suggest that the style of TV news cannot adequately be explained by a vague reference to national characteristics.

Notes

1 Thanks to Matt Stahl for his useful comments on this text and to Heiner Hug, chief editor of the Swiss *TAGESSCHAU*, for permitting to reprint the screenshots in this article.

2 P. Ludes, G. Schütte, J.F. Staab, 'Entwicklung, Funktion, Präsentationsformen und Texttypen der Fernsehnachrichten', in: J.-F. Leonhard et al. (eds), *Medienwissenschaft. Ein Handbuch zur Entwicklung der Medien und Kommunikationsformen*. Berlin/New York 2002 (= Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 15.3), p. 2308-2321; M. Muckenhaupt, 'Von der Tagesschau zur Infoshow. Sprachliche und journalistische Tendenzen in der Geschichte der Fernsehnachrichten', in: H.J. Heringer (ed.), *Tendenzen der deutschen Gegenwartssprache*, Tübingen 1994, p. 81-120; M. Djerff-Pierre, 'Squaring the Circle: Public Service and Commercial News on Swedish Television 1946-99', in: *Journalism Studies*, 2000, p. 239-260.

3 According to the focus of this project, the analyzed days were chosen according to an event that was reported during several days and extensively in both shows, e.g. the invasion in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the summit at Camp David in 1978 or the Gulf War in 1991. Of the (few) weeks that came into question, shows were chosen with a time interval of about ten years, in case of a format change with smaller intervals. Out of these weeks, 5 days were chosen and analyzed: 1968: 20.8., 22.8., 23.8., 26.8., 27.8.; 1978: 6.9., 7.9., 8.9., 18.9., 19.9.; 1982: II. – 15.II.; 1986: 28.4. – 2.5.; 1991: 17.1., 18.1., 19.1., 21.1., 22.1.; 1999: 24.3., 25.3., 26.3., 28.3., 29.3.

In the Swiss federal archive and also in the archive of the Swiss TV station itself, only single news stories can be found until the end of the 80s. Footage of the anchor or newscast reader has not been archived. But the corresponding text is archived with the anchor's or newsreader's manuscripts. In most of these cases until the 80s, only the film of the stories has been archived, without the spoken comment. The wording of the comment can be found again in the manuscripts. Few films are missing; in these cases only the manuscripts are conserved.

4 U. Fix, 'Grundzüge der Textlinguistik', in: W. Fleischer, G. Helbig, G. Lerchner (eds), *Kleine Enzyklopädie Deutsche Sprache*, Frankfurt am Main 2001, p. 470-511; K. Adamzik, *Textlinguistik. Eine einführende Darstellung*, Tübingen 2004 (= Germanistische Arbeitshefte 40).

5 U. Fix, 'Cultural decularity in different types of texts', in: *Linguistics and intercultural communication. Proceedings of Voronezh State University*, 2, 2001, p. 79-85; U. Fix, S. Habscheid, J. Klein (eds), *Zur Kulturspezifik von Textsorten*, Tübingen 2001 (= Textsorten 3).

6 Schweizer Fernsehen DRS [= SF DRS], *50 Jahre Tagesschau*, Zürich 2003, p. 1, http://www.sfdrs-pressdienst.ch/sfdrs/mainframe.aspx?public=yes&cat=77422&cattyp=chronik_current_message&sto=1 (year 2003, page 9), accessed May 25, 2005.

7 E. Sutter, *Chronik Tagesschau*, n.p. 1998, p. 3; http://www.memoriav.ch/de/home/video/pdf/CHRONIK_Tagesschau.pdf, accessed May 25, 2005.

8 Until 1961 there was no Eurovision news exchange; the films arrived already developed by plane; when there was fog at the airport, there were no actual films from the previous day. Sutter, *Chronik Tagesschau*, p. 1f., 4.

9 H.R. Haller, 'Die Aktualität im Fernsehprogramm', in: *Radiozeitung* 27.5. – 2.6.1956, n.p. 1956, p. 20.

10 Sutter, *Chronik Tagesschau*, p. 6.

11 J. Meyrowitz, *No Sense of Place: The Impact of Electronic Media on Social Behaviour*, New York 1985.

12 H.-B. Brosius, M. Birk, 'Text-Bild-Korrespondenz und Informationsvermittlung durch Fernsehnachrichten', in: *Rundfunk und Fernsehen* 42, 2, 1994, p. 171-183.

13 *SF DRS, 50 Jahre Tagesschau*, p. 5.

14 *Idem*, p. 7.

15 *Idem*, p. 9.

16 German original: 'Zum Wetterbericht kommen wir in einigen Augenblicken – doch sehen Sie zunächst [...].'

17 German original: 'Auch im Narichtenteil, Leon Huber, geht es zunächst um die Folgen des Reaktorunfalls in Tschernobyl.'

18 German original: 'Wer fit bleibt, trotz allen Stürmen. Das Wetter bei uns war unwirtlich.'

19 At last if the nuclear accident in Chernobyl is not regarded as sensational news, which, given its meaning and the way it was presented, seems adequate.

20 Djerff-Pierre, 'Squaring the Circle', p. 248.

21 *Idem*.

22 *SF DRS, 50 Jahre Tagesschau*, p. 11.

23 *Idem*, p. 12.

24 *Idem*.

25 Cf. Schweizer Fernsehen DRS (N.D.), 20. August 1990: *Start des 'Programms 90'*, Zürich n.d., http://www.sfdrs-pressediens.ch/sfdrs/mainframe.aspx?public=yes&cat=77422&cattyp=chronik_current_message&sto=1 (year 1990, page 2), accessed May 25, 2005.

26 For TV news: H. Landbeck, *Medienkultur im nationalen Vergleich: Inszenierungsstrategien von Fernsehnachrichten am Beispiel der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Frankreichs*, Tübingen 1991 (= *Medien in Forschung und Unterricht. Serie A* 33).

27 D.C. Hallin, P. Mancini, *Comparing Media Systems. Three Models of Media and Politics*, Cambridge 2004 (= *Communication, Society and Politics*).

28 *Idem*, chapter 8.

29 Cf. for Sweden: Djerff-Pierre, 'Squaring the Circle', for Germany: Ludes et al., 'Entwicklung, Funktion, Präsentationsformen und Texttypen der Fernsehnachrichten', or Muckenhaupt, 'Von der Tagesschau zur Infoshow'.

30 Djerff-Pierre, 'Squaring the Circle', p. 257.

31 German original: 'Das Publikum war neugierig und sogar dankbar für alles, was kam. Jeder "Pfupf", den man herausliess, hat bei den Leuten eingeschlagen'. Schweizer Fernsehen DRS, 23. November 1953: *Offizielle Eröffnung des Versuchsbetriebs*, Zürich n.d., http://www.sfdrs-pressediens.ch/sfdrs/mainframe.aspx?public=yes&cat=77422&cattyp=chronik_current_message&sto=1 (year 1990, page 2), accessed May 25, 2005.

32 S. Hall, 'Introduction', in: Stuart Hall (ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices*, London 1997, p. 2.

33 Cf. A. Linke, 'Sprache, Gesellschaft und Geschichte. Überlegungen zur symbolischen Funktion kommunikativer Praktiken der Distanz', in: *Zeitschrift für germanistische Linguistik*, 26, 1998, p. 150.