The Linguistics of Newswriting

Daniel Perrin

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Perrin,   Daniel (2003). Towards a pragmatics of writing. Introduction to the special issue The pragmatics of writing. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *35*(6), 825–828.

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Perrin,   Daniel (2011). Language policy, tacit knowledge, and institutional learning. The case of the Swiss national broadcast company. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, *4*(2).

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Perrin,   Daniel, & Grésillon, Almuth (2013, in preparation). Methodology in text production research: From speaking about writing to tracking text production. In Daniel Perrin & Eva-Maria Jakobs (Eds.), *Handbook of Writing and Text Production* (Handbook of Applied Linguistics series, 10). New York, NY: De Gruyter.

Preface

"Nevertheless, the gaps in research on news language remain very much as identified by Bell and Garrett (1998) – there is a dearth of work on the production of news language and to a lesser extent on its reception." That was how Allan Bell concluded his article about news language for the Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics (Bell, 2006, 617). How right he was.

Investigating text production processes in media workplaces remains a gap in all the disciplines involved: writing research, journalism studies, and applied linguistics. Linguistics first focused on written language, later on it described conversations as processes, and only then rediscovered written language from a process perspective. But media texts are usually still investigated as products only, without "empirical ethnographic considerations" (Widdowson, 2000, 22).

That is why I started combining ethnography with: computer logging from text production research; micro-macro perspectives from sociolinguistics; and language mediation approaches from applied linguistics. I began a series of increasingly complex field studies of journalistic text production in 1995: first projects on a local level, then on a national level, and finally projects on European and international levels.

More and more researchers are now building on the research designs developed in these projects, not only for news production research but also for investigating text production processes in domains such as translation, education, and academia. This approach to doing applied linguistics in professional settings is what I aim to transfer from the German context to the international community of applied linguistics.

This book is meant to show that, why, and how (a) Allan Bell's "dearth of work" is actually being addressed now; (b) some, still mainly European, applied linguists are in a pole position to fill in "the gaps"; and (c) applied linguistics is the very discipline to address socially crucial topics such as language use in the workplace and in the public sphere.

Table of contents

The parts of the book

In Part A of the book, I identify research into newswriting[1] as a gap in linguistically-based approaches to the analysis of professional language use. I then elaborate on what applied linguistics can contribute to the scientific analysis and professional practice of newswriting and, vice versa, what investigating this professional field can contribute to applied linguistics.

In Part B, I outline the main research interests and methods at the intersection of the major fields involved, explain how the linguistics of newswriting can theoretically and methodologically be related to other disciplines, and specify what added value this offers to (applied) linguistics itself, to related academic disciplines, and to the professional field under investigation.

In Part C, I identify and discuss the results of medialinguistic research into newswriting. In a linguistic framework of environments, functions, and structures, I reconstruct newswriting as a situated activity of language use related to individual, organizational, and societal empowerments and constraints. The robust awareness of these aspects is what I term the medialinguistic mindset of newswriting.

In Part D, I argue that shaping the medialinguistic mindset is a precondition, a goal, *and* a consequence of knowledge transformation among all the fields involved. I explain how transformation can be triggered by linguistically-based transdisciplinary research frameworks, in which knowledge generation and knowledge implementation are linked systematically.

In Part E, finally, I reconsider the empirical basis of knowledge transformation: the data corpora, their architecture and maintenance, their accessibility to users from all fields involved, their potential for transdisciplinary discourse, and their power to open up research into newswriting processes to global scientific communities.

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1.   The key terms used in the book are emphasized by font and color and indexed at the end.

A Challenge
Providing added value by applying linguistics

The outcome makes it all worthwhile. Applying and thus transforming knowledge from one field of human activity to another usually requires a lot of effort. What is the motivation for applied linguistics doing so – in particular for the professional activity of newswriting?

In Part A, I outline the key concepts of this book: newswriting, applied linguistics, and knowledge transformation. Starting from the Idée suisse research project and a case study referred to as the Leba case, I sketch what applied linguistics can contribute to the scientific analysis and professional practice of newswriting and, vice versa, what this field of application can contribute to linguistics. Based on initial practical and theoretical insights, I then outline the knowledge transformation approach of this book. The chapters of Part A are:

A|1   **Situating newswriting as a socially relevant application field**: the social context: promoting public understanding (A|1.0); organizational context: the Swiss public service TV stations (A|1.1); program context: the main news programs, items, and genres (A|1.2); newsroom context: journalists' roles in collaborative newswriting (A|1.3); workflow context: daily routines between meetings and airtime (A|1.4).

A|2   **Applying linguistics in a socially relevant professional setting:** the Leba case: staging the story by changing one word (A|2.0); starting from the right discipline (A|2.1); distinguishing linguistics … (A|2.2); … and applied linguistics (A|2.3); outlining media linguistics (A|2.4); focusing on the linguistics of newswriting (A|2.5).

A|3   **Adding value through knowledge transformation:** the Idée suisse findings (A|3.0); demarcating scientific knowledge (A|3.1); managing knowledge transformation from the science perspective (A|3.2); developing a language to systematically talk about newswriting (A|3.3).

A|4   **Summary and conclusion**

In Chapter A|1, I situate newswriting as the field of professional language use to be investigated. In A|2, I then relate current concepts of applied linguistics to fields of professional language use. Based on this preliminary understanding of newswriting and linguistics, I argue in A|3 that both fields can systematically gain value if they transcend the borders of their respective knowledge cultures, clarify their different understandings of knowledge, and translate experienced practitioners' tacit knowledge into mid-range theories about what works under which conditions. Chapter A|4 summarizes Part A and concludes that, starting from shared key concepts of newswriting, researchers and practitioners can systematically re-contextualize problems and theoretical explanations in order to develop new solutions together.

Situating newswriting as a socially relevant application field

In this chapter, I situate newswriting as the field of professional language use to be investigated. To illustrate its relevance and dynamics, I start with a close-up view from the Idée suisse project, where our research team investigated language policy, norms and practices of the Swiss Broadcasting Corporation SRG SSR (i.e. SRG) (A|1.0). Further examples from this project serve as starting points for all of the chapters in this book.

The social relevance of the public service broadcaster SRG is reflected by its presence throughout the four linguistic regions of Switzerland: SRG is represented in the French, the German, the Italian and the Romansh parts with own radio and TV stations. All four regions have their own radio news programs; in addition, three of them have full TV news programs. In their own regions, the public TV stations are market leaders (A|1.1).

Across the linguistic regions, Tagesschau, Téléjournal, and 10 vor 10 are the daily news programs with the highest audience reach. They differ in their scopes. Whereas the German news program Tagesschau focuses on classical news for as large an audience as possible, the complementary 10 vor 10, broadcasted by the same company, provides infotainment. By contrast Téléjournal, the only daily news program in the French region, combines the two approaches (A|1.2).

In the three newsrooms, news are produced through similar institutional patterns of roles and collaboration: Managing editors are responsible for the entire news programs, such as Téléjournal, while producers control daily outputs. Desk coordinators set mid- and long-term agendas, whereas news editors as well as reporters and correspondents produce single items. Anchors and speakers present the news products and thus transform written to spoken language (A|1.3).

These and many more roles are involved in the daily workflow that starts in the morning with newsroom conferences and ends with the airtime of the one or the latest issue per day, respectively. In between, the teams coordinate items and issues, define the tasks, and prepare and implement the news products in the live broadcasts. The individuals and teams have to combine routines and creativity to reach their goals of establishing social relevance on time (A|1.4).

A|1.0   The social context: Promoting public understanding

Promoting public understanding[2] (PPU) is what the programming mandate asks the Swiss public broadcasting company SRG to do (Swiss Confederation, 2006). From a sociolinguistic perspective (C|2.4), this means linking speech communities with other speech communities, both between and within the German-, French-, Italian-, and Romansh-speaking parts of Switzerland. In the Idée suisse project, we investigated whether and how the media company, caught between public service demands and market forces, should and actually does fulfil such language policy requirements. Four research modules were combined in an "ethnography of language policy" (Johnson, 2009): module A focused on language policy expectations; B on media management's interpretation; C on media production, and D on media reflection in the newsrooms (B|2.0).

Methodologically, ethnography (D|1.1) was extended through supplementary research frameworks, for example Grounded Theory (D|2.1) and Transdisciplinary Action Research (D|3.1). Interviews with policy-makers and media managers were triangulated with in-depth analyses of writing processes and workplace conversations (B|3.0). The overall findings show that, whereas the managers are usually frustrated by the expectations of media policy-makers (A|1.0|h), some experienced journalists find emergent solutions to overcome the conflict between the public mandate and the market (A|2.0). This tacit knowledge can be identified and made explicit to the entire organization in systemic knowledge transformation, such as empirically-grounded recommendations (A|3.0|b).

In this section of the book, I first explain the research question of the entire project in more detail (Section a). Then, I elaborate on the mandate of PPU and its propositional reconstruction in the Idée suisse project (b). After presenting findings from guided interviews with policy makers and media managers (c–g), I conclude with an outline of the resulting mid-range theory of PPU (h).

a   *The research question of the Idée suisse project*

Public service broadcasting companies are among the most important broadcasters in the world. In Switzerland, there is one public broadcaster, SRG, which is also the Swiss market leader. As a public service institution, SRG has a federal, societal, cultural, and linguistic mandate to fulfil: "[the SRG] promotes understanding, cohesion and exchange between the parts of the country, linguistic communities, cultures and social groupings [...]" (Swiss Confederation, 2006, federal programming mandate, article 24, paragraph 1). Promoting social integration by promoting public understanding is the SRG mandate and was the starting point for the Idée suisse research project, which serves as an example of applied linguistic

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2.   The underlined terms are defined in the text.

research in newswriting throughout the book. The project aims at recommending how the mandate could be better implemented.

In multilingual countries such as Canada or Switzerland, *promoting public understanding* (PPU) means promoting discourse across the language boundaries: for example between the German, French, Italian, and Romansh parts of Switzerland (e.g. Schönhagen & Trebbe, 2009). From a sociolinguistic point of view, however, the *language boundaries* concept has to be refined (e.g. Widmer, Coray, Acklin Muji, & Godel, 2004). Urban and rural, poor and rich, lay persons and experts, immigrants and citizens, … different speech communities speak different linguistic varieties and interact with different views of the world. This context challenges public service broadcasters in terms of "language ecology" (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008), even within single linguistic regions. As the mandate is oriented to promoting public understanding between all kinds of communities, we first focused on internal multilingualism or heteroglossia (e.g. Blommaert et al., 2009, 205) in the IDÉE SUISSE research project.

As a media enterprise, though, SRG is subject to market and competitive forces. Losing audience share would mean losing legitimacy and public importance. Therefore, the mandate presupposes reaching the public to promote public understanding. We assumed that policy makers, management, and journalists interpret the mandate in different ways. On a conceptual level, we thus had to identify the potentially contradictory interpretations and expectations brought in by the various stakeholders. On a performance level, we aimed at identifying the practices the various actors perform to live up to these expectations. Put simply, we wanted to find out how they do and how they could do what they have to do. This calls for a complex multimethod project design.

b   *Conflicting expectations of PPU*

We conceptualized PPU as a complex situated activity taking place throughout the media organization, from the executive suites down to the newsrooms as the engines of production. PPU interacts with psychobiographical, organizational, and wider contextual structures of variegated durability and power, ranging from journalists' individual language awareness to the cultural resources of Switzerland as a rich country in the Western world. All these structures enable or constrain newswriting activity and are reproduced or altered by it. The key elements and relations in this interplay can be condensed into the following general proposition: *PPU involves agents, requires resources, is realized through journalistic practices, causes impacts, and triggers evaluations.*[3]

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3.   In distinguishing between the four epistemological perspectives of structure (the agents and non-human resources involved in PPU), dynamics (the practices PPU is realized by), identity (the impacts PPU is oriented towards), and evaluation (the valuation provoked by PPU), I am consistent with the MIC epistemology (see Section A|3.3 of this book).

- An agent involved in PPU is an individual or collective being engaged in the implementation of the mandate. Examples are journalists, lobbies, or the media.
- A resource required for PPU is a non-human, non-social entity needed to implement the mandate. Examples are money or laws.
- A journalistic practice that realizes PPU is an activity performed in the newsroom in order to fulfil the mandate. An example is how others are presented authentically.
- An impact caused by PPU is a phenomenon that is triggered by implementing the mandate. Examples are financial expenditures or societal integration.
- An evaluation triggered by PPU is an estimate of the relevance, feasibility, or degree of implementation of the mandate. An example is PPU being desirable but difficult to achieve.

Starting from this conceptual grid, the IDÉE SUISSE research group aimed to identify what PPU means to media policy-makers and SRG management – and where their views complement or contradict each other. The guided interviews held with experts were based on the above conceptual grid and the analysis of documents containing mandate-related propositions from the perspectives of media policy and management (see B|3.0, Fig. 5, project modules A and B).

The experts all had professional experience in at least two of the three domains of media policy, media management, and journalism. In addition, most of them had been involved as decision-makers in the structural changes of the Swiss media landscape since 1984, when media markets in Switzerland were opened step by step and SRG lost its monopoly as the only Swiss provider of radio and television programs. The experts represented three linguistic regions of Switzerland: eleven interviews were held in German, eight in French, four in Italian; all recordings were transcribed and coded by trained native speakers of the respective languages.

The result of the propositional interview analysis is a knowledge base describing how media policy-makers and SRG management relate agents (c), other resources (d), practices (e), impacts (f), and evaluations of the mandate (g). This map reveals systematic discrepancies in the understanding of the mandate. These discrepancies led the research group to the elaboration of a mid-range theory of PPU (h). The short excerpts below illustrate the knowledge map's key characteristics; the entire map can be explored on the web: www.news-writing.net/knowledgemap.

c   *PPU involves agents*

Implementing the mandate of *promoting public understanding* involves agents. Those identified explicitly in the documents and interviews are: (c_1) the journalists producing the media programs and items as the products a public service broadcasting company has to offer to the society; (c_2) the project networks and peer group of editorial staff the journalists work in; (c_3) economic organizations

such as media enterprises or professional organizations such as journalists' associations; (c_4) domains such as media or journalism; and (c_5) other societal sub-systems such as audiences, information sources, and policy makers. The propositional analysis reveals that, from the perspective of media policy in the public interest, the mandate of PPU is related to media in general and SRG in particular. In contrast, SRG management also relates PPU to media other than SRG or actors other than the media. Examples from the knowledge base highlight this discrepancy:

- PPU commits SRG as the Swiss public service provider $(c_3|$ organizations)[1000, 4]
- PPU commits all journalistic media $(c_4|$ domains)[1001]
- PPU does not commit the media $(c_4|$ domains)[1002]

d   *PPU requires resources*

Implementing the mandate of *promoting public understanding* requires resources. Those identified explicitly in the documents and interviews are: (d_1) legal resources such as constitutions, laws, by-laws, policy decisions, and autonomy; (d_2) economic resources such as money for foreign correspondents; (d_3) technical resources such as devices for communication between newsrooms; (d_4) organizational resources such as a correspondent's network; (d_5) program resources such as innovative broadcasts; (d_6) linguistic resources such as languages for facts and emotions; and (d_7) mental resources such as open-mindedness and reflection. The propositional analysis reveals that, from the perspective of media policy in the public interest, external resources for PPU such as financing are available, whereas internal resources such as commitment may be lacking. In contrast, from the perspective of the SRG management, SRG primarily lacks financial resources. Examples from the knowledge base highlight this discrepancy:

- PPU requires organizational autonomy $(d_1|$ legal resources)[1003]
- PPU requires financing $(d_2|$ economic resources)[1004]
- PPU requires commitment $(d_7|$ mental resources)[1005]
- PPU requires imagination $(d_7|$ mental resources)[1006]

e   *PPU is realized through practices*

Implementing the mandate of *promoting public understanding* is basically realized through journalistic practices. Those identified explicitly in the documents and interviews focus on five key factors of journalistic text production: (e_1) taking an own position, e.g. by using dialect for the regional market; (e_2) limiting the

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4.   The four-digit numbers refer to excerpts of verbal data, see www.news-writing.net/endnotes

topic, e.g. by topicalizing otherness; (e_3) finding the sources, e.g. by integrating quotes from other language regions; (e_4) staging the story, e.g. by presenting the other authentically; and (e_5) establishing relevance for the audience, e.g. by presenting solutions to problems of the audience. The propositional analysis reveals that most agents without journalistic experience confine themselves to aspects of multilingual or dialect story staging and to superficial aspects of other practices. In contrast, some agents with journalistic experience mention practices with the potential of bridging public and market needs within and across language regions. Examples from the knowledge base highlight this discrepancy:

- Using dialect as a unique selling point for German markets
  $(e_1|$ taking an own position)[1007]
- Topicalizing diversity $(e_3|$ finding the sources)[1008]
- Using appropriate German registers $(e_5|$ establishing relevance for the audience)[1009]

f   *PPU causes impacts*

Implementing the mandate of *promoting public understanding* causes impacts. Those identified explicitly in the documents and interviews are: (f_1) communication across social boundaries, e.g. between German- and French-speaking regions, old and young people, rural and urban citizens, or experts and lay people; (f_2) knowledge about and awareness of others and their problems; (f_3) societal and political integration as a consequence of communication and knowledge across societal and political boundaries. However, (f_4) PPU can also cause excessive costs; (f_5) the mandate can overburden the media; or (f_6) multilingual programs can scare away the audience. The propositional analysis reveals that, from the perspective of media policy in the public interest, impacts of PPU are positive in their function. In contrast, SRG management also refers to dysfunctional impacts of PPU and questions the potential of media to solve societal problems. Examples from the knowledge base highlight this discrepancy:

- PPU fosters intercultural communication $(f_1|$ across social boundaries)[1010]
- PPU fosters integration $(f_3|$ societal and political integration)[1011]
- PPU reduces audience share with programs in other languages
  $(f_6|$ loss of audience)[1012]

g   *PPU triggers evaluation*

Implementing the mandate of *promoting public understanding* triggers evaluation. On the basis of the propositional analysis, the mandate of PPU is seen (g_1) as more or less relevant, (g_2) feasible and (g_3) implemented. The evaluations of relevance range from considering PPU a relevant feature of media policy to treating it as an inappropriate and thus irrelevant legal regulation of language

use. The evaluations of feasibility range from considering PPU to be an accept-able mandate to criticizing it as an ideal far removed from media practice, imposed on SRG and media by incompetent media regulators. The evaluations of implementation range from fully to scarcely realized by SRG, where the latter is attributed to uninspiredness, laziness, or even hypocrisy on the part of the media organization. The analysis shows that evaluations from the perspective of media policy attest high relevance and feasibility but insufficient implementa-tion. In contrast, evaluations from the perspective of SRG management attest low relevance and feasibility but sufficient implementation. Examples from the knowledge base highlight this discrepancy:

- PPU provides a model for Europe (g_1| relevance)[1013]
- PPU is irrelevant for the audience (g_1| relevance)[1014]
- PPU is feasible for SRG with its generous resources (g_2| feasibility)[1015]
- PPU is feasible depending on the interpretation (g_2| feasibility)[1016]
- PPU is an overly ambitious mandate (g_2| feasibility)[1017]
- PPU overburdens the media (g_2| feasibility)[1018]
- SRG does enough (g_3| implementation)[1019]
- SRG is not creative enough (g_3| implementation)[1020]
- SRG is lazy and overly eager for audience share (g_3| implementation)[1021]

h   *Interim conclusion: A mid-range theory of PPU*

The interim findings show that media policy and media management differ in their conceptualization and evaluation of PPU. Media policy-makers expect the public service broadcaster to contribute to national integration by promot-ing public understanding, whereas managers usually are frustrated by these expectations. Some of them state that the media are not responsible for solving societal problems. The overall view of the management is far away from find-ing PPU relevant and feasible in an environment of increasing media market pressures. This means neglecting demands of public service in favor of market orientation. If the media organization were to act according to the pessimistic position that this project has revealed, it would clearly risk losing its status and financial support as a public service provider.

  On the other hand, SRG is the national market leader and generally per-ceived as fulfilling its mandate to the satisfaction of its stakeholders. Thus, from a systemic point of view, there must be solutions to overcome the conflict between the public mandate and market forces and to meet both organizational and public needs at the same time. If the knowledge about such solutions cannot be found in the executive suites, it must be located on the ground floor of SRG, in the newsrooms. The next sections zoom from the entire organization and its workflow (A|1.1–1.4) down to one case study of newswriting (A|2.0).

A|1.1   Organizational context: The Swiss public service TV stations

The Swiss public service broadcaster SRG is represented in all four linguistic regions of Switzerland. In the German and the French parts, the radio and the TV stations form separate organizational units: Schweizer Fernsehen and Télévision Suisse Romande. In contrast, radio and television are operated by a single broadcaster in the Italian part, Radiotelevisione Svizzera, and in the Romansh part, Radio e Televisiun Rumantscha (Fig. 1).[5]

Organizational unit of Swiss public TV →	SF Schweizer Fernsehen	TSR Télévision suisse Romande	TSI Radiotelevisione Svizzera	RTR Radio e televisiun Rumantscha
Language	German	French	Italian	Romansh
First language speakers in the region[6]	5 million	1.5 million	0.5 million	0.04 million
Audience shares – Public service – Foreign services – Swiss commercial	32.2% 52.1% 4.5%	31.1% 58.4% 0.4%	31.1% 54.0% 1.4%	
General news	Tagesschau	Téléjournal	Telegiornale	Telesguard
Audience reach	828 000	305 000	12 000	62 000
News magazine	10 vor 10	–	–	–
Audience reach	591 000			
Regional news	Schweiz aktuell	Journal régional	Il Quotidiano	–
Audience reach	531 000	305 000	48 000	

Fig. 1   Overview of the daily news programs of the four organizational units of Swiss national TV

In the three linguistic regions with a full TV program, the public service providers have the largest audience shares; the foreign service shares are pooled from several stations. *Audience share* indicates what percentage of the people watching TV on an average day opt for a specific station, for at least one minute.

All four regions have their own news programs: Tagesschau, Téléjournal, Telegiornale and Telesguard are the general news programs; Schweiz aktuell and Il Quotidiano focus on news from their specific linguistic

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5.   This applies to 2007 when all data for the present publication were collected. As of 2011 the Swiss public television and radio stations are integrated into one multimedia unit per linguistic region.

6.   The SRG stations serve a varying number of first language speakers in the respective linguistic regions. For 693,000 of the 7.7 million inhabitants of Switzerland, this is not one of the four national languages (Lüdi & Werlen, 2005).

regions; and the news magazine 10 vor 10 provides news infotainment and complements Tagesschau in the German-speaking region.

In terms of *audience reach*, Tagesschau, Téléjournal, and 10 vor 10 are the leaders, reflecting the larger numbers of speakers in the respective linguistic regions. Audience reach measures how many people older than three watch a specific program of a specific TV station on an average day for at least one minute. It is determined by observing a statistically representative sample of the people living in the service area, for example 1,300 people out of the 1.5 million in the French-speaking part of Switzerland.

Telesguard is an exception in the Swiss public TV news system. It is the only TV program of Radio e Televisiun Rumantscha and is broadcasted by the Swiss German station, as a brief Romansh window within the German program. This explains why Telesguard shows a relatively high audience reach of 62,000, compared to only 12,000 for Telegiornale in the far larger Italian-speaking region, and compared to only 39,000 people in Switzerland speaking Romansh as their first language.

A|1.2   Program context: The main news programs, items, and genres

The French language Téléjournal and the German language Tagesschau are the Swiss news programs not only with the largest audience share but also with the longest history and the strongest presence in the program structures of their stations. Third in terms of audience share is 10 vor 10, which has complemented Tagesschau since 1990 with one issue per business day, providing news infotainment (Fig. 2).

The three programs differ systematically in their scopes. According to their official policies[7], the traditional Swiss German news broadcast, Tagesschau, focuses on "recent information for as large an audience as possible", whereas the newer, complementary newsmagazine 10 vor 10 presents itself as a "point of reference in public discourse", providing reports "on the most relevant topics of the day" as well as "background stories", "additional investigations", and "surprising new ideas". By contrast, the only daily general news program in French, the Téléjournal, spices up its hard news program with some soft news and dramaturgically elaborated stories, especially in the mid-day issue.

Tagesschau and Téléjournal both have two longer issue slots: a day issue with news of the morning as well as the previous evening and a main issue in the early evening. In addition, Tagesschau has shorter interim and late issues with updates, summaries, and previews, while the evening Téléjournal issue is repeated in a loop from midnight until early morning. The newsmagazine

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7.   Program portraits Tagesschau and 10 vor 10 (E|3.2). Source: SRG intranet, March 1, 2007.

	Téléjournal	Tagesschau	10 vor 10
Start	1953[8]	1953	1990
Scope	general news	general news	news infotainment
Issues	12:45 | 21 min (day)	13:00 | 15–18 min (day)	
		18:00 | 12 min (evening)	
	19:30 | 28 min (main)	19:30 | 25 min (main)	
	repeated 00:30–06:00	23:45 | 10–12 min (late)	21:50 | 25 min
	daily	daily	Monday to Friday
	time shifts on weekends	time shifts on weekends	
Genres	news genres,	news genres,	news genres,
	15 sec – 3 min	15 sec – 3 min	12 sec – 2 min
	cluster, <3 min	cluster, <12 min	cluster, <12 min
			feature story, <7 min

Fig. 2   Organization of the three main news programs of Swiss national TV

10 vor 10, in contrast, provides just one issue, at 10 to 10 in the evening. All issues of the three news programs start with an opening block and then combine standardized with more flexible genres of news items, depending on the news situation and the issue slot. In all three programs at least some of the issues end with a culture or lifestyle item.

The most important group of genres in the repertoire of the three programs includes flash news (e.g. 15 sec.) presented as a block of 3–6 pieces of news, individually presented short news (e.g. 1 min.), and regular news reports (e.g. 3 min.). Interactivity is realized through studio or double box live interviews by the anchor: the double box interviews show the anchor as the interviewer in one window on the screen and an on-the-spot interviewee in the other. Different items and genres on the same topic can be combined into clusters (e.g. three minutes for an entire cluster in Téléjournal and ten minutes in Tagesschau). The Téléjournal journalists call such clusters *rockets of several stages*. 10 vor 10 complements these rather small-scale genres with a longer feature story (3–7 min.).

Introductions and transitions spoken by the anchors ensure coherence and promote the stories in all the three news programs. The managing editor of Tagesschau states in the handbook of Tagesschau that the intro carries the news (Ex. 1). Thus, intros should be collaboratively set up by anchors, news editors, and producers.

---

8.   In its first thirty years, the Téléjournal was produced by French-speaking journalists in Zurich, in the German-speaking part of Switzerland. Since 1982 it has been produced in Geneva, in the French-speaking part.

> "The main news belongs in the anchor's introduction. The anchor should convey facts. The anchor's introduction is not meant to cover something that the author cannot pack into the item (for example because of space restrictions). Anchor texts are also not meant to provide background information. They should not tell the whole story, either. After announcing the main news, the anchor should lead into the first sequence of the item."

Ex. 1   Translation from German language excerpt from the newsroom policy handbook written by the managing editor (Hug, 2007, 18)

A|1.3 Newsroom context: Journalists' roles in collaborative newswriting

Newswriting is practiced through similar institutional patterns of collaboration and "studio interaction" (Broth, 2008) in the three newsrooms: Managing editors maintain their programs' identities, producers control daily outputs, "inputers" or desk coordinators set mid- and long-term agendas, news editors as well as reporters and correspondents produce single items, and anchors and speakers present the news products and thus transform written to spoken language (Fig. 3). They all collaborate with colleagues in various roles, such as graphic designers and cutters who generate and edit pictures and dispatchers who organize technical processes.

Role	Focus	Téléjournal	Tagesschau	10 vor 10
Managing editor	program	1	1	1
Producer	issue	3	6 producers 7 co-producers	4
Inputer/ desk coordinator	agenda	1 international 1 politics/economics 1 society/culture 1 sports	1 international 1 national	1
News editor and reporter	item	50	60	24
Correspondent	item (parts)	45 national 15 international	20 national 13 international	27 national 12 international
Anchor	introduction	4	4 for main issues 8 for other issues	3
Speaker	formulation		7	
Full-time equivalents		42	43	26

Fig. 3   Newswriting roles, number of staff, and full-time equivalents for three news programs

Managing editors are responsible for: the implementation of the broadcaster's strategy; the compliance with legal regulations; the management and development of their organizational unit; the recruitment and professional education of

their staff; the identity of their program within the broadcaster's news program and the overall program; the cooperation and coordination with other organizational units and programs of the same broadcaster; and networking with politics, media, and other stakeholders. They link top management with the newsroom, for example by setting policies, publishing them in handbooks, and carrying out reviews of issues.

Producers are responsible for the production processes and the content and dramaturgy of the daily issues. They bring in ideas for topics and storylines and decide on the order of the items in the issues. Throughout the day, they supervise all production processes, chair meetings, and give feedback in quality check sessions. Thus, they work up to fourteen hours a day and can be contacted by phone day and night during their shifts as active producers. Such a shift lasts between three and five days; between shifts, producers compensate for overtime and work as reporters, while other colleagues take on the producer role. Whereas in 10 VOR 10 only one producer is active during a shift, the numerous daily issues of TAGESSCHAU and TÉLÉJOURNAL are handled with the help of co-producers. Experienced news journalists with skills in management and storytelling can be nominated producer or co-producer by the managing editor.

Inputers are responsible for agenda-setting and balancing coverage and approaches over the long term. Their focus is on continuity. To update their expert knowledge about the world, inputers collaborate closely with correspondents. They attend most of the newsroom management meetings and the daily staff meetings when they offer topics that the producers either accept or reject. At TÉLÉJOURNAL, there are four desk coordinators with inputer roles: international, politics and economics, society and culture, and sports.

News editors are responsible for their own items. They collaborate with their superiors, mainly the producers, to define the tasks and in particular the key message; with dispatchers to manage resources such as live links; with reporters, correspondents, text agents, as well as colleagues from news agencies and archives to get source material; with information designers to generate information graphics; with anchors, before cutting, for the introductions to the items; with cutters to generate and assemble the items; and with off-speakers for the voiceovers. They also keep the producers informed throughout the production process.

Reporters and correspondents are responsible for items or parts of items recorded in real-world settings. They collaborate with text agents, camera teams, news editors, and with their superiors. In TAGESSCHAU, TÉLÉJOURNAL, and 10 VOR 10 most journalists switch between the roles of reporter and news editor. Correspondents, in contrast, work for several media programs and stations. Thus, most of them are not part of the newsroom staff, but work for the TV station on a contract basis.

Anchors share responsibility for the introduction to the issue and items: They collaborate with producers on the issue and with news editors on the item level. During the broadcast, they are in constant contact with the producers and hold live interviews in the studio or via conference link-up. Star anchors can influence the items by writing introductions that force the news editors to rearrange parts of their items in order to avoid repetition. 10 VOR 10 and TÉLÉJOURNAL employ full-time anchors, whereas all the anchors at TAGESSCHAU also work in the roles of news editors and reporters. Anchors work shifts of a few days.

Speakers read offtext and voiceover translations in news items. Sometimes they alter formulations in the offtexts before speaking them. However, they often speak their texts live and extemporaneously while the item is being broadcasted. At TAGESSCHAU and TÉLÉJOURNAL (but not at 10 VOR 10), some news editors are permitted by the managing editor to exercise the speaker role; these speakers can read the offtext of their items themselves. However, most items are presented by professional speakers who never have the role of a journalist, but work for various programs of the TV station.

A|1.4 Workflow context: Daily routines between meetings and airtime

Newswriting and organizational value creation are highly interlinked. Global and national newsflows and the station's news broadcasting times drive the workflow in TV newsrooms. In all three newsrooms under investigation here, the teams meet at least twice a day to coordinate items and issues, to define the tasks, and to prepare and implement the news products in the live broadcasts. To reach their goals on time, the individuals and teams have to handle their social environments, related tasks, and professional tools.

For TAGESSCHAU and TÉLÉJOURNAL, the workflows are oriented towards the airtimes of several daily issues. In contrast, 10 VOR 10 orients its workflow to the single issue it broadcasts each business day (Fig. 4). This comparatively straightforward workflow can serve as a model to illustrate the interplay between timelines, checkpoints, tasks, activities, roles, and resources involved (Fig. 5).

Fig. 4 ▇ Newsroom conferences and ▇ airtimes in the daily ▇ workflow of three SRG newsrooms

10vor10   Story meeting   Story meeting   Airtime

09   10   11   12   13   14   15   16   17   18   19   20   21   22   …

Browsing topics
Planning tasks
Researching and planning stories
Planning issue
Recording video - and soundbites
Editing items   Checking items
Finalizing issue
Broadcasting issue

Defining the task

Monitoring competitors
Evaluating last issue
Balancing topics
Organizing production   planning product and process
Producing new item   updating plans and controlling production
Fine-tuning issue   evaluating product

Implementing the product

Checking item
Fine-tuning item
Setting order of issue
TV broadcasting
Keywording and linking
Web broadcasting
Checking audience share

Handling social environment

Chief editor   checking
Inputer   acquiring knowledge on topic
Producer   planning gist, storyline, workflow   updating plans   updating item, checking, finalizing
Dispatcher   booking infrastructure
Textagent   preparing interviews   doing interviews
News editor   reading   planning product and process   writing voiceover
Reporter   getting material on the spot
Correspondent   getting material on the spot
Information designer   designing infographics
Ad-hoc translator   translating on-text
Cutter   editing video
Speaker   finalizing
Anchor   writing intro

Handling task environment

Infographics/charts   ordering and collaborating
Field interview   ordering or doing
Studio interview   ordering or doing
Double box interview   ordering and doing
Anchor texts   collaborating
Video inserts   preparing

Handling tools environment

Workplace   browsing   researching and planning
Field equipment   doing field interview
Video editing room   editing item
Studio   doing studio interview
Speaker cabin   finalizing
Video direction   directing

Fig. 5   Daily workflow in the 10 VOR 10 newsroom, specified for journalistic activity fields

A|2 Applying linguistics in a socially relevant professional setting

In this chapter, I relate current concepts of applied linguistics to fields of professional language use such as newswriting. The public mandate and the market position of SRG make newswriting a potentially relevant activity. Exploiting the SRG potential, however, needs strategies and practices to convey socially relevant matters to a large audience in a comprehensible and attractive way. This is what the journalist in the Leba case does (A|2.0). Analyzing such a case in order to systematically identify functional strategies and practices requires scientific tools. Such tools are developed and provided by scientific disciplines, as presented in the next sections.

Disciplines combine research fields, such as language use, media communication, or newswriting, with specific research questions and methods. In doing so, they enable investigations of an object of study such as newswriting as promoting public understanding in all its depth. Communication and media are topics many scientific disciplines are interested in (A|2.1).

One of these disciplines is linguistics. Its central concern is language. More precisely, natural language, whether spoken, written or signed. General linguistics is interested in all kinds and all aspects of languages: the sounds, words, sentences and texts; the meaning, mental processing, social relevance, and power; and their contexts from oral and written to hypertextual and hypermedia environments (A|2.2).

Whereas linguistics is interested in language as such, applied linguistics focuses on language use. More precisely, it addresses social problems and solutions in which language use plays a crucial role. Areas of interest for applied linguistics are, for example, language learning, multilingualism, setting language policy, or specific language use in legal, forensic, clinical, and organizational contexts (A|2.3).

For all these areas of specific language use, scientific subdisciplines have developed. The linguistic subdiscipline that investigates language use in public discourse and the media is called media linguistics. It combines theoretical and applied approaches. A theoretical approach can, for example, draw on media corpora to analyze language change over decades or centuries (A|2.4). An applied approach can focus on newswriting (A|2.5).

A|2.0 The LEBA case: Staging the story by changing one word

The LEBA case story is the first of a series of five case stories. They all draw on case studies from the IDÉE SUISSE project and the data were collected in the TÉLÉJOURNAL newsroom in Grounded Theory procedures (D|4.1). In this book, the case stories illustrate newswriting in various critical situations (D|3.0). Together the five case stories cover a wide range of tasks in daily newswriting practice and of professional experience allocated to these tasks.

Case stories differ from case studies in two key properties: They represent results of the research process, and they are narratives. As narratives they follow a dramaturgy of raising and resolving suspense (E|2.2). This text design is oriented towards comprehensibility and attractiveness for a professional but not necessarily academic readership. Of course, case studies are also referred to beyond these stories: as data excerpts or tables, for example (D|1.0, Fig. 1).

In summary, the LEBA case concerns the issue of ethnic and religious diversity as well as expansion plans of neighboring countries repeatedly threatening national unity in Lebanon. In 2005, the Lebanese Prime Minister, Rafik Hariri, was killed in a bomb attack, and on February 14, 2007, the second anniversary of the assassination was commemorated with a national demonstration in Beirut. TÉLÉVISION SUISSE ROMANDE started covering the topic in the noon issue of TÉLÉJOURNAL. While European media often report on politically motivated violence in Lebanon, the journalist R.G. highlighted peaceful aspects of the demonstrations in his news item. The LEBA case documents the emergence and implementation of the idea to change one particular word and use it as a leitmotif.

The following paragraphs tell the LEBA case story according to the IDÉE SUISSE story pattern, in nine steps: starting with the journalist's view on his or her professional biography, the story takes the reader to the newsroom profile and outlines of production and collaboration patterns, still as perceived by the journalist. Then the new assignment is introduced, with its inherent conflicts and critical situations. A process description shows how the journalist deals with the critical situations, coming to a solution that is mirrored in the product. Detail analyses focus on linguistic work in the rich points of the case: where micro decisions trigger macro change. Finally, the transformation potential of the case is discussed.

a   *The journalist R.G.*

R.G., born in 1959, acquired a degree in modern languages, took a six-month trip around the world to "twenty or thirty countries" in between,[1022] wrote four suitcases full of travel diaries that he still reads,[1023] and produced short films, "three to four minutes long", for the television travel show TRIP AROUND THE WORLD.[1024] He completed a two-year program in journalism and worked as a journalist at RADIO SUISSE ROMANDE, the French-speaking public service

radio station in Switzerland, for twenty years. In the first ten years, he worked on the local news desk and after that in foreign affairs, which involved a lot of traveling.[1025] On the side, he helped set up an agency and produced foreign television reportages for it.[1026] R.G. still travels a lot; in the previous year, for instance, he was in Lebanon.

At the time of data collection, he had been working for two years as a foreign affairs journalist at Téléjournal, which is the main newscast of Télévision Suisse Romande, the French-speaking public service TV station in Switzerland. He elaborates on both writing the texts of his items and presenting them himself, saying that he wants to combine his radio experience[1027] with the visual environment of television: "I'm still trying to find the right tune."[1028]

R.G.'s view on the *Téléjournal* newsroom

R.G. says that Téléjournal should answer its viewers' questions about what has happened each day in Switzerland and the rest of the world.[1029] The editorial board decides on the topics, but then the journalists are free to design the news items as they see fit.[1030] Whereas the noon edition of the Téléjournal is often rather "potluck", as R.G. says, the evening edition is the "grand performance", which is usually shaped by strategic decisions of the editorial board.[1031]

In contrast to news magazine shows, it is essential for Téléjournal to be current and on top of the news, focusing on what has actually happened.[1032] Other standards include clarity[1033] and accuracy[1034]. As broad an audience as possible should be able and want to understand the news items.[1035] Focus and perspective are important for the viewers, not the amount of information: too much information could overload them.[1036] It is an advantage to be familiar with a region and to be able to evaluate its topics and spokespersons from one's own viewpoint.[1037] According to R.G., this type of experience is also appreciated by the editorial board.[1038]

R.G.'s view on production patterns

R.G. says that he usually reads international newspapers and googles;[1039] which provides him with ideas for topics and perspectives.[1040] At the same time, he looks at the new pictures that come in[1041] – and rummages around in his memories. He combines, condenses, and reduces[1042] things that he has read, seen, and experienced[1043] to make his own stories as close as possible to reality.[1044] Sometimes, while reading in a café, he jots down a couple of lines on paper which then become the key sentences in the news item that he later writes on the computer.[1045]

He says he normally goes to the cutting room with a very clear idea of how he wants to organize the information; the content of the item hardly ever changes there.[1046] However, he often shortens and condenses the text to suit the images.[1047] Adapting his text to fit his formulations to the images, he says he

tries to highlight what he perceives to be special about each event[1048] and the perspective of the people involved.[1049] What matters is to "be as fair as possible in describing the situation, yet go beyond just the statistics and the outcome",[1050] especially for repeated topics such as another assassination in Iraq.[1051]

d   *R.G.'s view on collaboration patterns*

R.G. says that he likes collaborating with cutters[1052] and that their opinions interest him,[1053] such as how to close a story: it has to fit but should also be elegantly formulated. Since the story has its own logic, he tries to tell it based on the information he wants to convey, but with an elegant or striking ending.[1054] If a cutter says she finds the conclusion is "a bit sweet", he knows that he has gone too far.[1055] R.G. sometimes cuts his images himself because there are not enough cutting workstations or cutters, but says that the results are poorer then.[1056] When collaborating with the cutter, R.G. usually reads aloud sections of text written so far, for example to match sound and timing with the pictures.[1057]

Cooperation with the anchorperson is also important, since the introduction sets the stage and at the same time promotes the item.[1058] R.G. says that he prepares a draft for the anchor that the latter adapts to suit his or her own style.[1059] It is easy to revise and adapt things, because everyone can see each other's texts in the text editing system.[1060] Discussions arise when the anchor wants to add more information, which could decrease some of the suspense for the item itself. As R.G. says, he sometimes adapts his text then, but sometimes he wants interesting things to be left for the item so that he has enough to tell.[1061]

In addition to these interactions with the cutter and the anchor, R.G. also collaborates with people more distant from the writing process. For example, he uploads his text file from time to time to make it accessible for the secretary who is in charge of writing the captions.[1062] As well, R.G. has personal contacts from his travels that he can draw on to get impressions from locals, for example demonstrators.[1063]

e   *The LEBA task*

At the 9:30 morning conference of the TÉLÉJOURNAL newsroom team on February 14, 2007, R.G. received the assignment to prepare an item about demonstrations in Lebanon for the noon edition of the TÉLÉJOURNAL.[1064] He found the deadline tight, which helped make him concentrate on the main topic:[1065] tens of thousands of demonstrators from all over Lebanon streaming into Beirut on the second anniversary of the killing of Prime Minister Rafik Hariri. They were protesting against the possibility of renewed civil war that would partition their country among neighboring countries and, above all, Syria's influence. So far there had been no violence[1066] – however, after the two Syrian terror acts of the previous day, new violence was what demonstrators were afraid of, R.G. says.[1067]

f   *The LEBA production process*

At 10:40 a.m., R.G. started his production process by collaborating with the cutter. Because of the time difference, the events of the day in Beirut could be summarized in Switzerland in the morning. Thus, R.G. was able to exploit the lull before the evening rush for the few cutting workstations to coordinate images and text with the cutter.

Since R.G. knows his way around Lebanon and had been there recently, he says he feels familiar with the topic.[1068] He reads an ample amount of text too[1069] and receives lots of visual material – two hours of images from Lebanese TV, mostly crowds of people with placards.[1070] In addition, he obtains video recordings of two interviews with demonstrators.[1071] Although he discovers two passages with relevant quotes in the recordings, he says he considers it an effort to make the material vibrant.[1072]

In this he limits himself to the main topic, "a photograph" of the demonstrations starting on the martyrs' square.[1073] He consciously abstains from biographical background information[1074] and sensational pictures of the assassination of the former prime minister of Lebanon that the demonstrators were commemorating – the assassination had already been shown so many times.[1075] Moreover, he decides not to start with pictures of the demonstration itself. Instead, he first shows masses of people arriving to demonstrate.[1076]

After R.G. had written the first two paragraphs and translated the selected quotes from a written English translation he had received from the news service,[1077] the computer crashed.[1078] The translations were not saved, so R.G. had to do them again before he could write the last three paragraphs. This crash and other computer problems increased the time pressure, in particular for the cutter who, as R.G. says, then had to rely on R.G. for the story instead of asking critical questions.[1079]

During the entire, more or less linear, writing process (Fig. 6), R.G. checked for incoming news on his topic.[1080] He says that he wants to stay aware of the latest developments in Lebanon while writing, and is looking forward to continuing the Lebanon story beyond the present assignment. He assumes for instance that he would revise the item again for the evening news, keeping the quotes to save time, but updating and elaborating on the rest of the news.[1081]

g   *The LEBA product*

At the end of the production process, the news item was 80 seconds long and was broadcasted at 12:53 p.m. R.G. did the voiceover, and a female and a male speaker each read one of the translations of the quotes (Ex. 2).

```
001   M:  Au Liban, journée sous haute tension à Beirut
          In Lebanon, on a day of high tension in Beirut
002       où l'on commémore
          where is being commemorated
003       les deux ans de l'assassinat de Rafik Hariri,
          the assassination of Rafik Hariri, two years ago,
004       des milliers de fidèles de l'ancien premier ministre
          thousands faithful to the former prime minister
005       ont afflué ce matin vers la place des martyrs
          poured into Martyrs' Square this morning
006       dans le centre de la capitale Libanaise.
          in the centre of the Lebanese capital.
007       Une manifestation encadrée par un dispositif de sécurité
          maximum.
          A demonstration that was flanked by a maximum of security
          measures.
008       R[…] G[…]
          R[…] G[…]
```



```
009   O:  Les Libanais ne travaillent pas en ce jour anniversaire.
          The Lebanese do not work on this anniversary day.
```



```
010       Ils sont donc venus par dizaines de milliers
          So they have come by the tens of thousands
```



```
011       de tout le pays.
          from all over the country.
```



```
012       De Tripoli au nord,
          From Tripoli in the north
013       ou de Saida au Sud.
          or from Saida in the south.
```



```
014       Saida, la ville de Rafik Hariri,
          Saida – the city of Rafik Hariri,
```



```
015       assassiné il y a deux ans, jour pour jour.
          assassinated two years ago to the day.
```



```
016       Ils sont venus par la route
          They have come by road
```



```
017       et même pour certains par la voie tranquille de la
          Méditerrané.
          and some also by the tranquil path of the Mediterranean.
```



```
018       Point commun de tous ces manifestants:
          What all the demonstrators have in common:
019       Le drapeau Libanais pour dire l'amour
          the Lebanese flag to express the love
```

```
020        qu'ils vouent à leur pays écartelé
           they avow for their quartered country
```



```
021        convoité par des voisins trop encombrants.
           (which is) coveted by troublesome neighbors.
```



```
022   A:   Nous sommes ici pour Rafik Hariri et tous les martyrs.
           We are here for Rafik Hariri and all the martyrs.
023        Et pour dire vrai:
           And to truly say:
024        Je proteste contre la Syrie.
           I protest against Syria.
```



```
025   A:   Nous voulons la culture, l'éducation, les moyens de
           transport,
           We want culture, education, public transportation,
026        pas les armes.
           not arms.
027        Nous désirons apprendre progresser et mener une vie normale
           We wish to learn, make progress, and live a normal life
028        comme tout le monde.
           like everyone (else).
```



```
029   O:   Manifestation orchestrée par la majorité anti-Syrienne,
           The demonstration is orchestrated by the anti-Syrian
           majority,
```



```
030        actuellement au pouvoir,
           currently in power
```



```
031        mais dont la légitimité est contestée
           but whose legitimacy is contested
```



```
032        par les forces de l'opposition
           by the opposition forces,
033        conduites par les Shiites du Hezbollah.
           led by the Shiites of Hezbollah.
034        D'où la crainte de nouvelles violences aujourd'hui
           [this is] the origin of the fear of new violence today,
```



```
035        d'autant que résonnent encore dans toutes les têtes,
           even more so as still resounding in people's heads,
```



```
036        les deux explosions survenues hier matin,
           the two explosions that went off yesterday morning
```



```
037        dans la montagne chrétienne toute proche.
           on the Christian mountain very nearby.
```

	038	Deux attentats non revendiqués, *Two unattributed attacks*
	039	mais double avertissement pour l'armée libanaise, *but double the warning to the Lebanese army,*
	040	la seule à garantir pour l'instant l'unité du pays. *the only guarantee of the country's unity at the moment.*

Ex. 2   Original French news item from the LEBA case, with English glosses
Source: tsr_tj_070214_1245_guillet_libanon_item

h   *Focus of analysis*

In an early, linear phase in the writing process, as represented in the progression graph (Fig. 6, revisions 1–25), R.G. wrote the voiceover for the introductory scene. The scene shows how people traveled en masse to the demonstration by boat. Finding these boats in the video material surprised him, he says.[1082] In his very first sentence, R.G. refers to another fact new to him: as he just learns from the news service, the Lebanese had that day off.[1083] So the beginning of the product was shaped by details that were new to the experienced journalist.

He then took a closer look at the pictures that were new to him and made a revision of a word that turned out to be the pivot point of the whole writing process. In the first sentence of the second paragraph, as represented in S-notation (Ex. 3), R.G. had first talked about an expressway to describe the direct route over the Mediterranean sea, "la voie express de la méditerrannée". While interweaving the text with the images he realized that a tranquil path, "la voie tranquille", would better fit the slow journey of a boat.[1084] So he deleted "express" and inserted "tranquille" instead (Ex. 3). With this revision, cued by new details and R.G.'s language awareness, the design of the item emerged: R. S. started combining strong symbols.

With "tranquille" R.G. found the leitmotif of his item. He says that he loves the adjective because it corresponds not only to the image of the boats but also to the tranquility of the demonstration. He expects the "tranquil" to resonate in the minds of the audience.[1085] Just as consciously, he talks about using the term "drapeau libanais", the Lebanese flag, as a symbol of the demonstrators' desire for political independence.[1086] The same is true for the term "résonnent", resonate: explosions from Syrian terror attacks had not simply happened the previous day, they were reverberating in the minds of the demonstrators.[1087]

Revisions in process
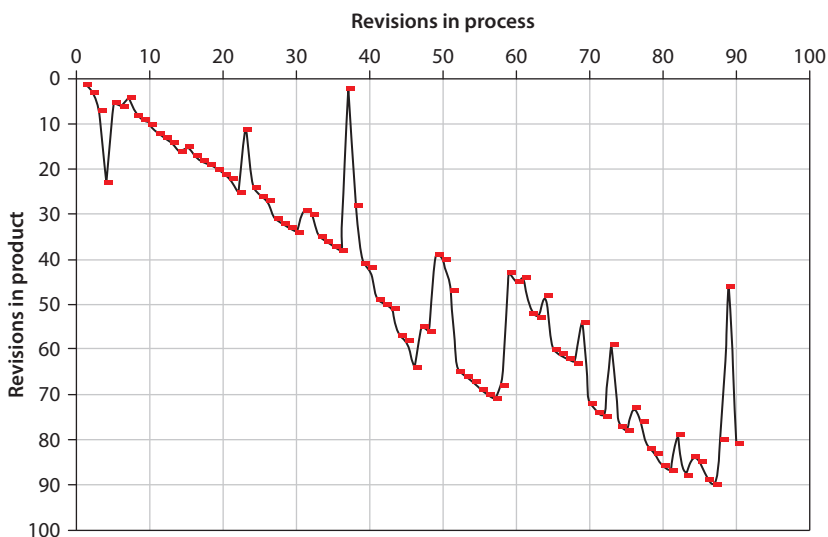
Fig. 6 Text progression from the LEBA case. Source: tsr_tj_070214_1245_guillet_libanon_progress. Despite repeatedly checking for incoming news, R.G. writes his text in quite a linear way, starting with the introduction and ending with the conclusion. Considerable deviations from linear writing occur when R.G. repairs his text after a computer crash (revisions 38–57) and immediately after constructing the leitmotif (revison 23). For an explanation of progression graphs see Section E|2.1 of the book.

```
19{Ils sont venus p}19|20ar la route et même pour certains par la voie
20[express]20|2121{tranquille}21   de   la   Médit4[e|4]4érannée......|5
```

Ex. 3 Revisions from the LEBA case
Source: tsr_tj_070214_1245_guillet_libanon_snt.
For an explanation of S-notation see Section E|1.3.

i *Potential for knowledge transformation*

R.G. overcame the critical situation of using brash stereotypes when under time pressure. Instead of catering to the market and resorting to predictable images that could overshadow publicly relevant developments, he absorbed his source material, listened to what was being said, and discerned what was important in the pictures. By doing so, he was able to discover a gentle access to the topic that allowed him to produce a coherent and fresh story (activity field of STAGING THE STORY; C|2.5.4) and at the same time managed to reflect the political finesse (ESTABLISHING RELEVANCE FOR THE AUDIENCE; C|2.5.5) required by the mandate of promoting public understanding.

A|2.1 Starting from the right discipline

The Leba case story ended with a reference to *activity fields*. This term stands for linguistic activities, in this case for the language use in newswriting processes. Investigating such activity requires analysis tools from linguistics as a scientific discipline concerned with language.

Science organizes itself into disciplines. A scientific discipline is a social institution that does science on its own object of study, with its own research questions and its own methods. A scientific subdiscipline is a part of a scientific discipline that clearly and steadily sets itself apart from the rest of the discipline with its content, research question, or methods (e.g. Turner, 2000).

A discipline, thus, is determined by its object of study, its research questions and its methods; a subdiscipline by an own focus within a discipline. Linguistics uses, for example, conversation analysis (method) to examine regularities (research question) of language and language use (object of study), whereas forensic linguistics focuses on language use in criminal contexts.

The significance of disciplines and subdisciplines as an organizing principle of science is apparent in university programs, research conferences, and publications as focal points of academic discourse:

- University programs: a subject like linguistics is offered by universities around the world; this helps to renew and expand the scientific community and thereby maintain and cultivate the discipline.
- Research: research is organized in research programs such as the Research Program 56 of the Swiss National Science Foundation, a program promoting linguistically-based interdisciplinary research.
- Conferences: the conferences of associations of applied linguistics <www.aila.info> systematically build bridges between linguistics and domains of language use and highlight the social benefits of applied linguistics.
- Publications: in journals such as the Journal of Pragmatics or the International Journal of Applied Linguistics scientific communities discuss research into linguistic phenomena.

Communication (B|2.1.3) and media (B|2.1.4) are topics among many others that are dealt with in many disciplines, such as sociology, political science, economics, law, psychology, and education. In some cases there are subdisciplines, such as media sociology, media economics, media law, media psychology, and media education. From a linguistic point of view, such (sub)disciplines treat aspects of the multilayered phenomena of language use with their own research questions and diverse methods. For example, media economics investigates journalistic media from an economic point of view.

Some (sub)disciplines concentrate completely on mass media or journalistic communication: communication studies, media studies, and journalism studies. How these disciplines distinguish themselves from each other is the object of recurring arguments (e.g. Roe, 2003). In any case, from a linguistic point of view, they also describe social, organizational, economic, technological, and other aspects of the settings in which members of the media create their offers of communication by producing texts.

Language and language use in the media are focused on by all the (sub) disciplines that work with language and languages as well as with signs and texts in general: semiotics for example investigates the way sign systems influence one another in multi-semiotic media (e.g. Hess-Lüttich, 2002; Bezemer & Jewitt, 2009). Disciplines focused on language within a cultural region, such as English, German or Romance studies, investigate the respective language in media. Literary studies treats media texts as examples of everyday texts to contrast with literature. Language teaching recognizes that media language is a factor in socialization. Stylistics and rhetoric discuss the form and effect of media language, often in comparison with languages from other domains.

All of these (sub)disciplines sometimes deal with news, writing, and even newswriting from theoretical or applied perspectives. But none of them systematically investigates newswriting as a socially relevant field of language use.

A|2.2 Distinguishing linguistics …

The central concern of (general) linguistics is language: contrary to semiotics, linguistics just investigates natural language, whether spoken, written, or signed. Linguistics differs from disciplines such as German studies or Romance studies in that it does this beyond the constraints of single languages. It describes languages, rather than judging them as linguistic criticism does, and, different from literary studies, is interested in language in all of its uses.

Linguistics is the scientific discipline that deals with language as a human capacity, with natural languages, and with language use.

Linguistics has reconstructed language in three research paradigms since the early 20th century: first structurally, as a system of sounds, words and sentences; then generatively, as a product of cognitive activity; then pragmatically, as a trigger for and trace of social activity in specific language use settings. From a writing research perspective, the focus shifted "from linguistics to text linguistics to text production" (De Beaugrande, 1989). The linguistic subdisciplines that emerged as a consequence of such developments all deal with the same general objects of study, namely language and language use. However, each discipline adopts its own perspective.

- Subdisciplines such as phonology, phonetics, morphology, syntax, and text linguistics are based on structural elements of language (i.e. sounds, words, sentences, and texts).
- Subdisciplines such as semantics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, and pragmatics are based on functions of language (e.g. denoting, thinking, acting, or building communities).
- Subdisciplines such as conversation analysis, writing studies, discourse studies, and hypermedia studies are based on the environment of language use (e.g. discussions or hypermedia environments).

All the subdisciplines aim to describe in theoretical terms the regularities that hold for all language users in general or for the language users within a language community. The linguistics of newswriting considers news journalists to be such a language community.

A|2.3   … and applied linguistics

Similarly to other academic disciplines, linguistics has also developed an applied variant (e.g. Bygate, 2005). While the classical academic subjects derive their questions from theoretical considerations, the applied subjects deal with problems from practice and base their treatment of them on theory (see D|3.1 for a theoretical discussion of the application concept).

Applied linguistics as a "user-friendly linguistics" (Wei, 2007, 117), for example, deals with the optimization of language use for certain communicative tasks and domains, including language learning or workplace communication (e.g. Cicourel, 2003; Alatis, Hamilton, & Tan, 2002; S. Candlin, 2003; Evensen, 2013). It can investigate the repertoires of strategies that individuals or language communities use when they make linguistic decisions (e.g. Cook, 2003, 125; Zhong & Newhagen, 2009) in discussions and writing processes. Then, these repertoires can be expanded through teaching and learning processes.

Applied linguistics is the disciplinary variant of linguistics that uses and develops linguistic theories, methods and knowledge to deal with problems of language use in specific fields of application (e.g. Brumfit, 1997, 91–93; AILA, 2011). Whereas "linguistics applied" investigates practice to clarify theoretically relevant questions, applied linguistics starts its research projects from practically relevant questions (Widdowson, 2000).

As a discipline (e.g. Brumfit, 1997), applied linguistics develops subdisciplines related to domains whose language use is socially significant; it differs noticeably from language use in other domains and is related to domain-specific problems. Examples of such subdisciplines include:

- Forensic linguistics deals with language use in legal investigations and judicial practice, where language can yield alibis and evidence.
- Clinical linguistics deals with language use in therapy for language, communicative, and other related disorders.
- Organizational linguistics deals with language use in occupational settings, where language guides organizational processes of value creation.
- Media linguistics deals with language use in the media, where language is made accessible by technical means.

More than one applied discipline can deal with the same object of study. In the LEBA case, for example, the work done by the journalist R.G. can be analyzed from economic or linguistic perspectives. When R.G. draws on source materials, he links to both an intertextual chain and a chain of economic value production (Fig. 7).

| other providers | other providers | other providers | other providers | other providers | other providers |

| Protester | VJ | Local TV | Newswires | SRG SSR | TÉLÉJOURNAL |

| | other addressees | other addressees | other addressees | other addressees | other addressees |

| Source | News materials production | News item production |
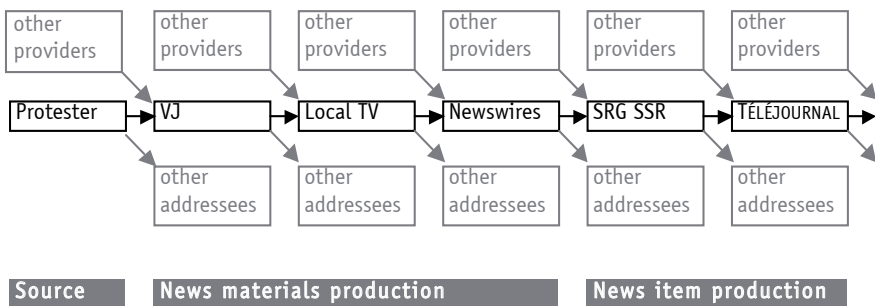
Fig. 7   The intertextual chain from comments of protesters to quotes in a TÉLÉJOURNAL news item

From an applied economics perspective, the question arises of how value is created in such production chains: at all the stations between source and audience, the news is further contextualized and shaped towards an intended end-user and sold at a higher price. From a linguistic perspective, linguistic utterances such as the quote by the protesters in the LEBA case are re-contextualized: cut from their original context and pasted into a new one. An applied linguistics approach could investigate how such re-contextualizations can be made in a way for the journalists to easily handle the task while, at the same time, the original context and meaning of the utterance remain clear for the target audience.

    To provide an interim summary: From a linguistic point of view, non-linguistic (sub)disciplines such as media economics focus on the domains in which language use occurs (A|2.1), whereas linguistics focuses on language use itself (A|2.2). In addition, applied linguistics clarifies and addresses research questions derived from practice (A|2.3), and media linguistics (A|2.4) concentrates on language use in media settings, e.g. newswriting.

A|2.4 Outlining media linguistics

Journalistic media constitute a socially important area of activity whose language use can differ from the use in other areas (A|2.1). This language use in media – or in a narrower sense, in journalistic media (B|2.5) – is the focus of interest of media linguistics. Media linguistics is the subdiscipline of (applied) linguistics that deals with the relationship between language and media (e.g. Perrin, 2011b).

As a subdiscipline situated between the theoretical and the applied variants of linguistics, media linguistics is guided by theory *and* practice. Guided by theory, it uses data from media settings to answer research questions raised by linguistics itself. Guided by practice, it clarifies problems of media practice with linguistic tools – and in doing so also assesses the scope of the theory (e.g. C.N. Candlin & Sarangi, 2004, 3). The scientific discipline and professional field are therefore related to one another as shown below (Fig. 8).
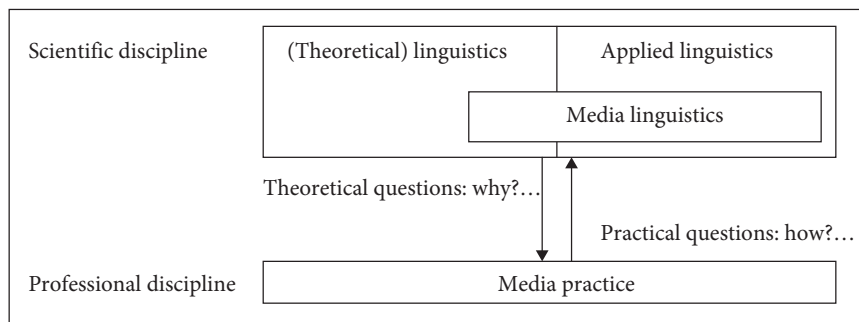
Fig. 8   Media linguistics as a subdiscipline of linguistics, interacting with media practice

Media linguistics, guided by theory, can use the Leba case to investigate how language users deal with other people's utterances. More generally, theoretically-oriented media linguistics analyzes how production conditions of journalistic media influence language use within these media, and, in reverse, how language use also influences the production and ultimately the social meaning of journalistic work (e.g. Bell & Garrett, 1998; Boyd-Barret, 1994; Cotter, 2010; Fairclough, 1995; Fowler, 1991; Kress, 1986; Montgomery, 2007). Guided by practice, it can search for language use that, for example, helps journalists handle quotes or leifmotifs in ways that foster public understanding.

So what is the primary interest of media linguistics? The next table provides a schematic answer (Fig. 9). It shows the field of language use in journalism. The field is categorized into research questions concerning users, activities, and linguistic descriptions of language.

Research questions concerning		Language users			
		Sources	Media	Audiences	Public
Language activity	Production	…	scope 2	scope 1	
	Reception	…	…	scope 3	…
Language description	Synchronic	…	scope 4	…	
	Diachronic	scope 5		…	…

Fig. 9   Categorization of medialinguistic research questions

- Language users: the participants in public communication are the sources, the media producers, the target audiences, and the general public. Sources, media producers, and target audiences are directly involved in journalistic communication. The general public is involved indirectly, for instance when they participate in media blogs or talk to journalists or sources after reading, viewing, or listening to media items (scope 1).

- Language activity: journalistic communication often restricts language users to either producer or receiver roles. Media producers, for example, create media items (scope 2), and target audiences receive them (scope 3). In communicative events such as research discussions or blogs, however, quick switching between producer and receiver roles is common.

- Language description: linguistics considers language synchronically, at one point in time, or diachronically, over the course of time. A synchronic description can indicate which specialized journalistic terms denote quotes (scope 4). A diachronic description can reveal language change over centuries (e.g. Studer, 2008) or show whether and how one language influences another – for example how the language of sources can influence the language of journalistic media (scope 5).

Investigating newswriting combines all the research questions: Journalists receive source materials and produce media items for their audiences. During the newswriting process, their linguistic products undergo micro-diachronic changes.

A|2.5 Focusing on the linguistics of newswriting

Compared to linguistics in general, media linguistics is a somewhat narrow sub-discipline. However, upon closer view it still addresses a huge variety of research fields (A|2.4). Investigating language change in the context of news media is quite different from analyzing media interviews. The production of news is yet another research field.

The linguistics of newswriting is the area within media linguistics that investigates the linguistically-based practices of professional news production (e.g. Perrin, 2003; Van Hout & Jacobs, 2008). The social setting that the linguistics of newswriting is interested in is the newsroom. The relevant contextual resources (D|4.1|a₃) are the global and local newsflows, media organizations, and public discourse (e.g. Machin & Niblock, 2006; Van Dijk, 2001).

The key language users in the linguistics of newswriting are the journalists and editors as individuals and editorial teams or media organizations as collectives. They are in close contact with sources and in permanent indirect contact with their audiences. Social media accelerate and intensify interaction between these agent groups.

The linguistic activity highlighted in the linguistics of newswriting is cooperative writing. In a narrow understanding, writing is limited to the production of written language. In a broader sense, it encompasses all linguistically-based editing at the interface of text, sound and pictures. In addition, writing processes include reading phases, for example reading source texts.

All these processes take time. Therefore, the linguistics of newswriting considers the dynamics of text production. In a large timeframe, workflows in the newsroom are analyzed. In a medium timeframe, writing sessions to produce a particular news item are investigated. In a small timeframe, the focus is on single decisions during the writing process.

Guided by practice, the linguistics of newswriting clarifies problems of media practice with linguistic tools. In doing so, it also assesses the scope of the theory. The LEBA case, for example, has shown how an experienced journalist as a "reflective practitioner" (Schön, 1983) used a leitmotif to bridge policy and market expectations. He acted according to the mid-range theory of promoting public understanding (A|1.0|h). Exploiting such findings requires knowledge transformation (A|3).

A|3   Adding value through knowledge transformation

This chapter focuses on the outcomes of applied linguistics. Investigating news-writing to identify good practices (D|3.0), as in the Leba case, only makes sense if stakeholders are interested in the resulting knowledge. These viewpoints are what the Idée suisse project clarified at the interface of its micro and macro analyses. Four approaches of framing the discrepancy between policy expectations and management positions were evaluated. The one considered most appropriate, the tacit knowledge frame, calls for organizational knowledge transformation (A|3.0).

Transforming knowledge between a scientific discipline, such as applied linguistics, and a professional discipline, such as journalism, requires different understandings of knowledge to be clarified. Whereas sciences condense systematic knowledge into theories, professionals draw on prototypical knowledge from everyday experience. Professional knowledge, in contrast to scientific knowledge, is oriented towards practical solutions, but suffers from a lack of overall perspective. Applied linguistics aims at mapping the two approaches (A|3.1).

This means translating between conceptualizations. If applied linguistics wants to contribute to solving practical problems, such as promoting public understanding in a context of contradictory expectations, it has to generalize empirical findings and formulate suggestions. Generalizing consists of, for example, translating experienced practitioners' tacit knowledge into mid-range theories about what works for whom under which conditions. Formulating suggestions, in reverse, consists of finding ways to help practitioners learn from others and from theory. This is what is termed *knowledge transformation* in applied research (A|3.2).

For such knowledge transformation, technical terms and practical formulations have been developed. This applies in particular to traditional settings such as language education. For newswriting, however, appropriate concepts and terms still have to be developed and introduced. Therefore, this section ends by reflecting on terms that capture the dynamics of writing in a practically and theoretically sound way. The transformation terminology symbolizes, on a small scale, the value a change of perspective adds to both theory and practice: developing tools to ground the theoretically conceivable in empirical experience – and to open practice to the unfamiliar, unexpected, but basically conceivable (A|3.3).

A|3.0 The IDÉE SUISSE findings

Practical solutions emerge when experienced journalists tackle complex and unexpected problems in critical situations within their daily routines. In any case, such solutions are not part of explicit organizational knowledge that management and staff can draw on, but must be based on tacit knowledge (e.g. Agar, 2010; Polanyi, 1966). Locating and transforming this knowledge for the whole of SRG would augment the potential of organizational success in terms of both economic interests and public demands.

However, before micro findings from writing research at the workplace can be related to social findings, the organizational understandings have to be clarified (e.g. Kelly-Holmes, 2010, 28–33). This is what the IDÉE SUISSE project did at the interface of its micro and macro analyses. Four approaches of framing the discrepancy between policy expectations and management positions were evaluated. The one considered most appropriate, the tacit knowledge frame, calls for organizational knowledge transformation (Section a). Such transformation draws on knowledge derived from the bottom of the organization. The management can foster workplace conditions that facilitate knowledge transformation instead of constraining it (b).

a *Framing divergence*

In our approach, a contradiction that was identified serves as a trigger for further research and knowledge transformation. The approach is based on assumptions developed in the framework of Transdisciplinary Action Research (e.g. Hirsch Hadorn et al., 2008; Lewin, 1951). A basic assumption in this framework is systemic congruence: an organization succeeds if it wants and is able to do what it has to do. In other words: An organization's situated activity can only be internally functional (i.e. contribute to the organization's survival and growth), if it also is externally functional (i.e. it meets environmental needs). This notion can be explained by contrasting the chosen tacit knowledge frame with its opposites: the *hypocrisy* frame, the *consonance/dissonance* frame, and the *functional dysfunction* frame (Fig. 10).

Interpretation of the findings as …		Externally functional	
		–	+
Internally functional	+	Hypocrisy frame "two-faced but adequate"	Tacit knowledge frame "promising"
	–	Consonance/dissonance frame "failure"	Functional dysfunction frame: "irritating but adequate"

Fig. 10 Matrix of approaches framing divergences in an organization's structures and activities

In the *hypocrisy* frame, organizations such as SRG only survive due to their inner "hypocrisy" (Brunsson, 2002): these organizations are exposed to contradictory expectations from their environments. To survive, they have to respond to all of these contradictory expectations – with integrative talk but contradictory outputs, and with actions far removed from talk, provided by different, incongruently acting organizational units and roles. From an internal point of view, nothing needs to be changed, as long as no external stakeholder really commits the organization to doing what it is expected to do. However, public service media are being increasingly scrutinized by external stakeholders – conditions are less than ideal for SRG to survive in the hypocrisy frame.

In the *consonance/dissonance* frame, all of the units and levels of an organization should focus on and reach the same target. In this frame, the frustration of the management in the face of the perceived gap between public mandate and market demands would be taken as failure. In its decisions and actions, the SRG management more or less fails to do what it claims in its public relations statements and what it is expected to do. By being externally dysfunctional, it is also internally dysfunctional. The global interpretation of the divergent project findings from modules A and B would be failure – difficult, if not impossible to change. In this frame, the end of public service media and all other institutions experiencing similar tensions would simply be a matter of time. The fact that such institutions survive shows that the consonance/dissonance frame is too simplistic.

In the *functional dysfunction* frame, disappointing communication is seen as an excellent trigger for meta-communicative follow-up communication – and communication is what communities are built on. The apparent paradox, in other words, is that even by violating public expectations, the media in general and public media in particular contribute to public discourse and integration. From an external point of view, nothing would have to be changed, even though it may be less than motivating to work for a media organization whose output quality does not matter. In a wider context of "deliberative" democracies (Habermas, 1992), media are considered to offer reasonable communicational contributions to public discourse (e.g. Schudson, 2008). By such a rationale, quality matters – and is enabled and ensured by public funding. Limiting public media's role to functional dysfunction would fall short.

In the *tacit knowledge* frame, at least single exponents succeed in doing what the organization has to do. Through situated activity in seemingly contradictory social settings, they develop emergent solutions bridging internal with external expectations. For the case of SRG this could mean that exponents such as experienced journalists develop and apply sophisticated strategies, practices, and routines of language use that meet both organizational and public needs at

the same time. In doing so, they fill the gap left by the management. Sharing their knowledge would benefit the whole organization in bridging market pressure and policy expectations.

b   *Macro level recommendations*

From the Idée suisse findings we have drawn the following five macro level recommendations for policy makers and media managers.

- Plan dynamically. Not surprisingly, a naïve view of language planning as top-down implementation of policies falls short. Setting language policy – language "policing" – is better understood as the interplay of policy and practice (Blommaert et al., 2009, 203; Kelly-Holmes, Moriarty, & Pietikäinen, 2009, 228). Preferred language use is oriented to shared goals and grounded in shared attitudes, knowledge, and methods. More surprisingly, neither media policy-makers nor media management seem to be aware of these problems related to attempts at top-down policing. Frustration on both sides – mandate is unrealistic vs. SRG is lazy – could be overcome by a more integrative, dynamic view of policing.

- Integrate practitioners. Practicing language policing dynamically and comprehensively means integrating those involved, as stakeholders of both the problems and the solutions (D|3.1|a). As could be shown in the Idée suisse project, experienced journalists contribute to promoting public understanding by emergent solutions based on their tacit knowledge. Locally, they prove that public mandate and market demands can be bridged with appropriate attitudes, knowledge, and methods. Knowing more about their approaches could help; first, it enables other practitioners to learn from their experience in the organization; second, it allows the management to develop and radiate a positive, non-hypocritical view of the mandate; and finally, it helps media policy to legitimize public funding in the public interest.

- Foster emergent solutions. Media policy-makers and media management need not know in detail how the mandate can be fulfilled. As one of the expert interviewees said, PPU starts in the newsrooms (A|1.0|d). However, there is no justification for media policy-makers and management not to know how to foster this creative approach to demanding challenges in the organization and particularly in the newsrooms. This is where research can make a contribution.

- Transform knowledge. If existing knowledge has not yet been released, then knowledge experts can help to identify and transform it. Researchers at the interface of applied linguistics (A|2.2) and research frameworks such as

ethnography (D|1) and Transdisciplinary Action Research (D|2) are experienced at revealing "what works for whom in what circumstances" (e.g. Sealey & Carter, 2004, 197, drawing on Pawson & Tilley, 1997), at reflecting on the "transferability" of such situated knowledge (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, 21–22), and at returning the knowledge to the organization in understandable and sustainable generalized forms, for example as ethnographically-based narratives and typologies of critical situations and good practices.

- Scale up. If a knowledge transformation approach is promising on the level of internal multilingualism – promoting public understanding between societal groups such as the politically informed vs. uninformed – it is even more necessary on the level of communication and understanding across linguistic regions. The interviews from the IDÉE SUISSE project's macro level modules A and B (B|3.0) show that the SRG management has been disappointed by practically all organizational measures taken at this level (A|1.0). Apparently, practicing (external) multilingualism means wasting economic resources and frightening the audience away. Again, more subtle, case-sensitive solutions from the ground floor are in high demand – even more so in the face of media convergence and increasing multilingualism in glocalized and translocal newsflows (e.g. Perrin, 2011a) as well as local diversity (e.g. Kelly-Holmes et al., 2009, 240).

Thus, the conditions for emergent solutions in newsteams need to be systematically improved top-down by media policy and media management, and the tacit knowledge involved must be systematically identified bottom-up at the workplaces and then made available to the whole organization. Based on these recommendations, the stakeholders working in media policy, media management, media practice, and media research have established follow-up measures for knowledge transformation, such as systematic organizational development, consulting, coaching, and training (E|3).

Such transformation involving stakeholders from science and practice requires the different understandings of knowledge to be clarified. Whereas sciences condense systematic knowledge in theories, professionals draw on prototypical knowledge from everyday experience. Professional knowledge, in contrast to scientific knowledge, is oriented towards practical solutions, but is often tacit, contradictory, and detail-oriented. Applied sciences, such as applied linguistics, aim at integrating the two approaches.

For the linguistics of newswriting, this means integrating knowledge for scientists such as linguiststs on the one hand and for practitioners such as journalists and policy makers on the other.

A|3.1   Demarcating scientific knowledge

Science investigates what regularities lie beneath the surface of the observable – for example how a text comes into being in intertextual environments such as newsrooms, and in the interplay of routine and creativity.

In a broad understanding, science sees itself as the main domain that uses theoretically-grounded rules to create, process, and provide theoretical knowledge. It does so by linking existing knowledge in new ways or by researching its object of study empirically, in practice. Such an object of study, for example, is the way journalistic media deal with quotes or leitmotifs. Knowledge can be related to one case, to more than one, or to all possible cases.

The goal of scientific knowledge production is to develop and verify theories. A theory is the explicit, reproducible, non-contradictory, and systematic interconnection of claims about the regularities characterizing a reconstructed segment of reality (e.g. T. S. Kuhn, 1962).

One example is the structuration theory (e.g. Giddens, 1997). It states that not only are actors influenced by social conditions, but through their actions they create reality and therefore further shape the contextual rules – such as journalistic norms for dealing with comments from sources.

Another example, domain theory (e.g. Layder, 1998), also explains the interplay of social structures and situated activity, but focuses on layers of social structures, on realities with diverse durability. According to domain theory, creating and changing realities is easy on the layer of social settings such as newsrooms, but hard or impossible within a human lifespan on the level of contextual resources such as the East-West divide (D|4.1|a). This is how I conceptualize the interplay of structure and agency in this book.

Grand theories such as the structuration theory or the domain theory represent a highly abstract form of knowledge. Closer to particular contexts of human experience, mid-range theories explain what works for whom under which conditions. An example is the mid-range theory of PPU explaining the organizational and societal meaning of policy makers' and media managers' divergent views on PPU (A|1.0|h).

Theories are one, very explicit and systematic, form of knowledge. In the context of transdisciplinarity (D|3.1), knowledge is generally understood as the individual or collective representation of mentally-reflected, aggregated experience. Knowledge reconstructs segments of reality from particular perspectives (D|4.1|d).

Knowledge can refer to material objects such as the boats in the Leba case, properties such as their speed or tranquility, abstract entities such as demonstrations or semiotic processes such as newswriting. The linguistics of newswriting is primarily interested in such procedural knowledge about how texts emerge.

Knowledge is embodied both in biological and non-biological structures. Examples for biological structures are people's minds, examples for non-biological structures are materialized texts, such as black ink on white paper. Mentally-represented knowledge is closely linked to people's awareness, for example their language awareness: their consciousness and attentiveness in solving language problems in specific communication situations (e.g. Svalberg, 2007). Knowledge transformation to practitioners is intended to raise their awareness, instead of just conveying static knowledge.

Based on such an understanding of knowledge, knowledge transformation is the process of mediating knowledge between stakeholders in a way that those addressed can link the new knowledge to their existing knowledge and apply it in their contexts to solve relevant problems.

In practice, knowledge transformation constantly happens between and within cultures such as the French- and German-speaking populations of the same country; domains such as politics and journalism; organizations such as broadcasters and administrations; and individuals such as an expert and a beginner. Transdisciplinary research projects, such as IDÉE SUISSE, aim at purposeful, systematic knowledge transformation between practice and science. From a practitioners' viewpoint, this means reframing persistent problems and broadening the range of conceivable options. From a scientists' viewpoint, it means testing findings and their applicability in a highly complex environment, for example in a newsroom.

A|3.2 Managing knowledge transformation from the science perspective

Science works on two different levels. On the level of the object of research, it determines its focus, clarifies terms such as writing strategy with explicit definitions, links these to hypotheses as empirically verifiable statements about the object of research, and expresses knowledge that is currently accepted as theories. In the history of science, a bundle of theories becomes a paradigm if it remains stable and important for a long period of time. In linguistics, such paradigms refer to language as a human capacity or a system of verbal signs (B|2.2).

On the meta level, science questions itself theoretically, anchors itself in society, manages its activities, and develops methods to create and transform knowledge (Fig. 11). In such an understanding of science, knowledge transformation is a crucial practice of the "research cycle" (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009, 26–27, 41–43).

Knowledge forms Meta level → Object level ↓	Research methodology	Scientific – Meta theories – Policies – Management – …	Transformation methodology

Paradigms
+ enduring

Generally valid claims

Theories
+ consistent

Hypotheses
+ interconnected

Supporting and testing theories empirically

Definitions
+ delimited

knowledge production

Concepts
+ represented

describing, explaining and changing practice

Objects of study
+ considered

Real world

Unique case

Theories

– Abstraction +

Practices

Methods to create knowledge

Methods to transform knowledge

Fig. 11   Cyclic knowledge creation and transformation in research practice

A|3.3   Developing a language to talk about newswriting

Generating knowledge in research groups and sharing it across disciplines requires a common language or, more precisely, common linguistic means (e.g. Antos, 2005; Mantovani, 2001). These linguistic means have to refer to the key concepts shared by researchers and practitioners. In the case of newswriting, language concepts and terms for writing activities and contexts have to be found or to be developed and introduced.

In the present book, the terms are introduced step by step and listed in the index at the end. So far, the following concepts and terms for situating the field have been introduced: scientific discipline, scientific subdiscipline (A|2.1); linguistics (A|2.2), applied linguistics (A|2.3), media linguistics (A|2.4), linguistics of newswriting (A|2.5); and science, theory, knowledge, and knowledge transformation (A|3.1). Also introduced have been two key terms for the analysis of writing processes: S-notation (A|2.0|h and E|1.3) and progression graph (A|2.0|h and E|2.1). The cross references following the terms indicate where they are used for the first time and where they are explained in detail.

Beyond single concepts and terms, a focus on the dynamics of writing requires a universal epistemology, scalable from micro to macro dynamics. The approach used in this book is called *multilevel integrated cognition* (MIC). In line with its authors (Wasserman, Clair, & Wilson, 2009, 367–378; K. L. Wilson & Lowndes, 2004), I consider it a dynamic formalism for conceptualizing the human world in empirically-grounded research.

MIC combines four levels for conceptualizing aspects of the world: the Static (structural properties such as being alive), the Dynamic (processes such as growth), the Evaluative (judgments, values, feelings), and the Self/Identity (uniqueness within a frame of reference, such as one's creativity and emergent potential for impact).

In the section in this book about the broadcaster SRG and its mandate (A|1), I applied the MIC epistemology on a macro level: to distinguish between the agents and non-human resources involved in PPU (structure), the practices realizing PPU (dynamics), the intended impacts of PPU (identity), and the stakeholders' opinions about PPU (evaluation). On a micro level, MIC is used, for example, to distinguish between writing phases of goal setting (identity), planning (structure), controlling the writing flow (dynamics), and checking and revising (evaluation).

Summary and conclusion

Part A of the book outlined the Idée suisse project to illustrate the social relevance of language use in the media. Communicational offers in news programs can stimulate public discourse and foster social integration in multicultural and multilingual environments. Media policy, in the case of the Idée suisse project, clearly believes in the relevance, feasibility, and implementation of the public mandate. Media managers, in the face of market pressure, are far less optimistic. Findings from the project explain that practices to promote public understanding have to be identified at the bottom of the organization, in the newsrooms. An organizational portrait outlined how, by whom, and with what effect flows of news are being processed in these newsrooms (A|1).

A detailed analysis of a single newswriting process, the Leba case, has provided evidence that an experienced journalist can find emergent solutions to bridge market demands and the public mandate. By altering a single word, he found a leitmotif that helped him overcome stereotypes and explain phenomena from new perspectives. Analyzing such situated activity of newswriting systematically requires scientific knowledge from the right disciplines. Linguistics is the key discipline for the analysis of human language and language use, applied linguistics focuses on real-world problems, media linguistics relates language use to media and public discourse, and the linguistics of newswriting investigates production processes in the newsroom from an applied linguistics perspective (A|2).

Finding that individual journalists can solve a problem that the media management feels overburdened with does not necessarily mean that these findings are a starting point for knowledge transformation. Depending on the organizational understanding, knowledge from the bottom can be considered threatening, useless, or valuable. In the tacit knowledge approach applied in the Idée suisse project and in this book, individual solutions to handle critical situations are generalized as good practice models. Identifying and generalizing such knowledge presupposes that the practitioners' and scientists' diverse approaches to knowledge have been clarified. Only then can systematic knowledge transformation be implemented. Such transformation starts with clear concepts about newswriting (A|3) and ends with the re-contextualization and solution of the problems addressed (Part B).

B   Procedure

Adding value by re-contextualizing problems

In the previous part of the book, I argued why applied linguistics and journalism can both gain value from knowledge transformation. What kind of added value is this, and how can we achieve it?

In this part, I explain the value that a transdisciplinary approach can add to both research and practice. Drawing on the analysis of practices in the Leba case introduced in Part A, I discuss conditions in which re-contextualizing problems and triangulating methods can foster the creation of relevant knowledge for all stakeholders involved: the academic disciplines, the professional fields under investigation, and society at large. The chapters of Part B are:

B|1   **Overcoming disciplinary boundaries:** the Idée suisse research collaboration (B|1.0); integrating disciplinary approaches (B|1.1); aggregating knowledge in multidisciplinary collaboration (B|1.2); approaching the object of study in interdisciplinary collaboration (B|1.3); contextualizing problems in transdisciplinary collaboration (B|1.4).

B|2   **Contextualizing newswriting as the object of study:** the Idée suisse project design (B|2.0); epistemological interests related to newswriting (B|2.1); newswriting as language use (B|2.2); newswriting as writing at work (B|2.3); newswriting as providing content for journalistic media (B|2.4); identifying the gap: what do they do when they write? (B|2.5)

B|3   **Triangulating newswriting research methods:** The Idée suisse multimethod approach (B|3.0); method and methodology (B|3.1); tracking intertextual chains with version analysis (B|3.2); tracing writing processes with progression analysis (B|3.3); revealing audience design with variation analysis (B|3.4); investigating language policing with metadiscourse analysis (B|3.5); combining perspectives with multimethod approaches (B|3.6).

B|4   **Summary and conclusion**

In Chapter B|1, I discuss recent concepts of collaboration among scientific fields as well as between scientific and non-scientific fields. In B|2, I conceptualize newswriting in terms of epistemological interests. I then outline relevant approaches in applied linguistics, writing research, and journalism studies in order to specify the gap that the linguistics of newswriting has to fill. As I put forth in B|3, filling this gap requires triangulating micro and macro levels, product and process perspectives, as well as theoretical and practical questions. Only multimethod approaches in transdisciplinary frameworks meet all these requirements. Chapter B|4 summarizes Part B and concludes that the Idée suisse approach provides the tools needed to develop a centerpiece of medialinguistic research: the systematic knowledge about news journalists' awareness of their writing activities. I call this the medialinguistic mindset of newswriting.

B|1 Overcoming disciplinary boundaries

In this chapter, I discuss ways of combining disciplines that contribute to the linguistics of newswriting. Scientific disciplines can be not only too wide for the investigation of a specific application field but also too narrow. Contextualizing newswriting activities within media organizations and society at large, for example, requires collaboration with the discipline of sociology. Integrating journalism studies helps understand how properties of media and public discourse enable and constrain the writing processes in the newsroom. Therefore, the Idée suisse project was set up by an interdisciplinary research team of linguists, sociologists, and media and communication scientists (B|1.0).

In the last decade, such collaborations across disciplines have developed into three types. In multidisciplinary collaboration, various scientific disciplines complement each other with their perspectives on the same, shared research question. In interdisciplinary collaboration, they also share or jointly develop methods and theories. In transdisciplinary collaboration, finally, scientific disciplines collaborate with non-scientific disciplines, such as journalism (B|1.1). The last three sections of the chapter elaborate on those forms of disciplinary collaborations.

In multidisciplinary collaborations, media linguistics and the linguistics of newswriting enhance, for example, their repertoires of research methods and knowledge transformation methods. In the Idée suisse project, capturing the micro movements of writing processes at the computer workplaces was just such a multidisciplinary methodological challenge (B|1.2).

In interdisciplinary collaborations, various disciplines can contribute to new knowledge about newswriting with their experience. The key disciplines are: linguistics, with its knowledge about language use; journalism studies, with its concepts of media, journalism, and public discourse; and social theory, with its approaches to organizations and society (B|1.3).

In transdisciplinary collaborations, finally, practitioners such as policy makers, media managers, and journalists are integrated in all the phases of research and transformation projects in order to shape the research question, develop practically-relevant knowledge, and solve practical problems by implementing this knowledge (B|1.4).

B|1.0 The Idée suisse research collaboration

In the Idée suisse project, we aimed at reconstructing promoting public understanding as the interplay of situated linguistic micro activity with social macro structures (e.g. J. A. Fishman, 1972). We thus based our research on integrative social theory; the strength of this theory is its capacity to explain situated activity as influencing and being influenced by social structures. Among these theories,

we decided on Realist Social Theory (D|4.1) for two reasons: First, it is linguistically elaborated (e.g. Carter & Sealey, 2000; Sealey & Carter, 2004; and Sealey, 2007). Second, it is linked to recent journalism theories by reflecting on "reality without scare quotes" (Wright, 2011; see also Toynbee, 2008; Gauthier, 2005; Lau, 2004).

From a linguistic perspective, Realist Social Theory (RST) explains both the micro dynamics of situated language production as well as long-term language change. When the journalist in the Leba case termed the trajectory of the boat *tranquil* instead of *express*, he coined a leitmotif that reframed the demonstration in Lebanon. By changing just one word, he succeeded in abandoning brash stereotypes – at least for the timeframe of his media item. However, he did not change language or reality in a long-term perspective. RST clearly distinguishes between flexible structures, such as a newsroom's storytelling patterns, and robust structures, such as cultural stereotypes (e.g. Archer, 1995; Layder, 1997; Layder, 1998).

From a journalistic perspective, transdisciplinary projects such as Idée suisse have to account for journalists' professional understanding of reality. Journalistic ethics are based on an ideal of separating facts from fiction and opinions. Approaching journalism and newswriting with a purely constructivist concept of reality, as often practiced by communication studies and cultural studies, results in an epistemological gap between theory and practice in journalism. RST overcomes this conflict of paradigms by understanding both media items and scientific theories "as constructs – but as constructs formed in conjunction with realities external to them" (Wright, 2011, 3).

In the RST view, journalists have to develop their practices towards an account of reality that is as adequate as possible. Transdisciplinary projects such as Idée suisse can help them achieve this goal. To set up the project in a theoretically sound way, researchers from the fields of linguistics, sociology, and journalism studies had to share their knowledge.

B|1.1   Integrating disciplinary approaches

Scientific disciplines can be not only too wide for specific research (A|2), but also too narrow (e.g. Meyerhoff, 2003; Sarangi & Van Leeuwen, 2003). Inquiries into suitable methodology or into language use in journalistic media, for example, extend beyond media linguistics in general or the linguistics of newswriting in particular. They call for approaches that reach across several disciplines (e.g. Rampton, 2008).

In multidisciplinary research, scientific disciplines work together by addressing shared research questions. In the Idée suisse project, the two disciplines of writing research and methodology share their interest in methods to capture writing processes at the workplace. Their contributions to a methodological framework complement each other. Methodology brings in knowledge about triangulating methods (B|3); writing research contributes knowledge about key logging at computer workplaces (B|1.2).

In interdisciplinary research, scientific disciplines collaborate by addressing shared research questions and also by developing methods or theories together. The mid-range theory of promoting public understanding (A|1.0|h), for example, draws on integrated knowledge from linguistics, sociology and journalism studies. Throughout the project, scientific disciplines collaborated to explain conditions and consequences of writing practices (writing research) in journalism (journalism studies) as a socially relevant (sociology) field of language use (applied linguistics) (B|1.3).

In transdisciplinary research, scientific disciplines collaborate with non-scientific fields in order to create shared knowledge and solve real-world problems. Identifying experienced journalists' knowledge and transforming it for the entire media organization requires the involvement and participation of practitioners throughout the project. Only then can professionals' everyday theories be accessed and developed, leading to concerted, solution-oriented theory building (B|1.4).

The complexity of collaboration increases gradually: multidisciplinary collaboration allows for the interdisciplinary developments needed for transdisciplinary solutions to practical problems. These problems, such as promoting public understanding, usually require the knowledge of more than one scientific discipline.

B|1.2 Aggregating knowledge in multidisciplinary collaboration

Like any scientific discipline, media linguistics in general and the linguistics of newswriting in particular have an obligation to operate not only on the object level by investigating the object of study, but also on the disciplinary meta level by reflecting on themselves – on their research methods, knowledge transformation methods, science management, and science policies. Multidisciplinary cooperation encompasses the following:

First, a media linguistics that wants to understand its object empirically needs suitable research methods. How, for example, can it acquire meaningful data about text production without disturbing the work processes in practice and distorting the findings? Such questions are dealt with by disciplines that research human activity in natural contexts, such as anthropology (e.g. Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz, 2008), industrial sociology, and organizational psychology.

Second, a media linguistics that wants to contribute to solving problems of language practice needs suitable methods of knowledge transformation. How, for example, can attitudes, knowledge, and work methods be improved to optimize text production in the complex setting of an editorial department? Such questions are dealt with by disciplines such as education and applied psychology.

Third, a media linguistics that also wants to hold its own on the market must understand this market. How, for example, do media companies, torn between public and economic interests (e.g. Djerf-Pierre, 2000), interact with the "craft" of

journalism (Cotter, 2010, 30–47), the "deeply embedded culture of professionalism" (Ryfe, 2009), in times of radical change (e.g. Lewis, Williams, & Franklin, 2008)? Such questions are dealt with by disciplines such as industrial sociology, organizational psychology, and media economics.

Finally, a media linguistics that wants to develop scientifically, needs solidly anchored and powerful scientific activities (e.g. Antos, 2003; C. N. Candlin & Sarangi, 2004). How do disciplines form profiles and how do they overcome disciplinary limits? How do they ensure the quality of their basic research, applied research, and contract research? Such questions are dealt with by disciplines such as the philosophy of science and the sociology of science.

B|1.3 Approaching the object of study in interdisciplinary collaboration

Both journalism studies and media linguistics deal with public discourse: first, with the production and reception of communicational offers; second, with the products themselves; and third, with the setting that this communication influences and is influenced by. Interdisciplinary cooperation is a logical consequence (Fig. 1).
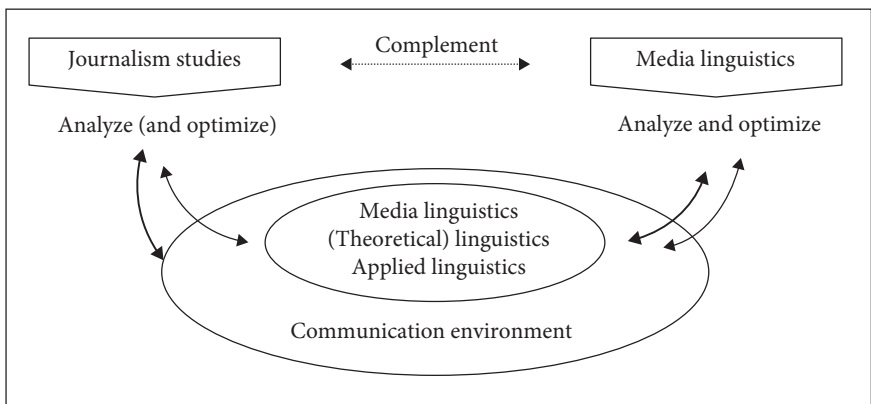
Fig. 1   Interdisciplinary cooperation of media linguistics with journalism studies

The two disciplines, journalism studies and media linguistics, complement each other in their epistemological interests and methods: journalism studies in the tradition of communication studies (e.g. Roe, 2003; but see Richardson, 2008) primarily seek to establish the general validity of its findings with statistical probability. This entails broad surveys with little effort applied to the individual cases. Media linguistics, on the other hand, often seeks to discover regularities in language-based constructions of meaning even in individual cases in a detailed, precise, and conclusive manner. It then argues for the significance of its findings in terms of relevance and plausibility, as opposed to statistics.

With an interdisciplinary approach, journalism studies and media linguistics can, for example, do broad-based research into how political demonstrations in the Middle East generally are framed by the media. On the other hand, a few deep insights into newswriting processes can provide evidence that experienced journalists can abandon stereotypes, for example by working carefully with linguistic means and by re-contextualizing pictures in a different way from their colleagues.

B|1.4   Contextualizing problems in transdisciplinary collaboration

Whoever uses language does so by drawing on experience, that is on practically acquired knowledge about language and language use. This knowledge is partly conscious and accessible as language awareness (A|3.1). Transdisciplinary media linguistics, particularly the linguistics of newswriting, links the language awareness, professional experience, and problem-solving practices of journalists to scientific knowledge. It does so in order to recognize problems of practice, develop solutions, and anchor the solutions in practice.

Transdisciplinary collaboration is by no means limited to project phases implementing solutions. In transdisciplinary projects, practitioners and researchers collaborate from the beginning of the project. The practitioners' knowledge can be integrated advantageously into the formulation of research questions, into the search for problems and solutions, and into the building of theory – provided that science and practice communicate with each other.

To do this, a gap has to be overcome: scientists who want to work in a transdisciplinary way with media practitioners have to mediate between the professions and languages on both sides and must be able to switch codes. Because of their sensitivity to code-switching and translation issues, linguists with a sociolinguistics background are better prepared than professionals from other disciplines who work with journalistic media. For projects such as IDÉE SUISSE, linguists are therefore predestined to be involved on two levels: on an object level they contribute their knowledge about language use in the field of investigation; on a meta level they manage the translation processes between the researchers' and the practitioners' conceptualizations.

Technical terms for writing activities that are understood and accepted by both journalists and researchers can only be found and developed when all parties involved have explained and mapped their concepts. In research practice, this means learning to conceive one's problems through the eyes of others. In transdisciplinary collaboration, a technical term such as *writing strategy* results from mutual learning in the project phase when problems are defined. At the same time it is a precondition for knowledge transformation, for example when experienced journalists' writing strategies of promoting public understanding are condensed in good practice models (D|3.1|c$_3$).

B|2 Contextualizing newswriting as the object of study

This chapter starts by explaining how the transdisciplinary approach shaped the Idée suisse project design. The key concept of promoting public understanding was investigated from various theoretical and practical perspectives. The project stakeholders wanted to find out whether and how their views complemented and contradicted each other and what they could learn from each other. Such an approach presupposes understanding of knowledge as bound to epistemological interests (B|2.0).

Whereas reality can be seen as existing independently from being perceived and known, the knowledge about this reality is always constructed. This step from ontology, the nature of being, to epistemology, the knowledge about being, implies taking a particular perspective: all knowledge is bound to points of view, frames of reference – and interests. Depending on the epistemological interest, an object of study, such as newswriting, appears in a particular shape. Other epistemological interests result in other shapes of this object (B|2.1).

In linguistics, newswriting is conceptualized as language and language use. Mental and social structures interact when thoughts take form in language. The resulting texts are seen as traces of this interaction and as triggers for new cognitive and social processes at the time when the texts are heard or read (B|2.2).

Writing research sees newswriting as a reproductive process in which media professionals transform source texts into target texts. This happens at collaborative workplaces, in processes of goal setting, planning, formulating, and revising. Integrated are reading phases: authors read source texts and their own emerging text before, while, and after writing (B|2.3).

Journalism studies sees newswriting as the production of communicational offers of public importance under economic conditions. This happens in a digital environment of converging media technologies and glocalized newsflows. Whereas social media blur the boundaries between individual and mass communication, newswriting is still seen, primarily, as writing for mass audiences (B|2.4).

The gap left by these three approaches is the contextualized analysis of journalistic writing strategies, practices, routines, and procedures (B|2.5).

B|2.0 The IDÉE SUISSE project design

The IDÉE SUISSE project combines four modules. Module A focuses on media policy, B on media management, C on media production, and D on media reflection. In the first phase of the project (modules A and B), policy documents were analyzed and experts interviewed. In the second phase, the situated activity of text production of fifteen journalists from three newsrooms was analyzed. Data about observable text production (module C) and individual and shared reflection at the workplace (module D) were captured for each journalist over a week (Fig. 2).

Timeline →	Year 1	Year 2				Year 3		
Modules ↓	Q4	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q1	Q2	Q3
	O N D	J F M	A M J	J A S	O N D	J F M	A M J	J A S
Module A								
Module B								
Module C								
Module D								
Meta planning								
Internal workshop	1			2		3		4
External workshop	1			2		3		4
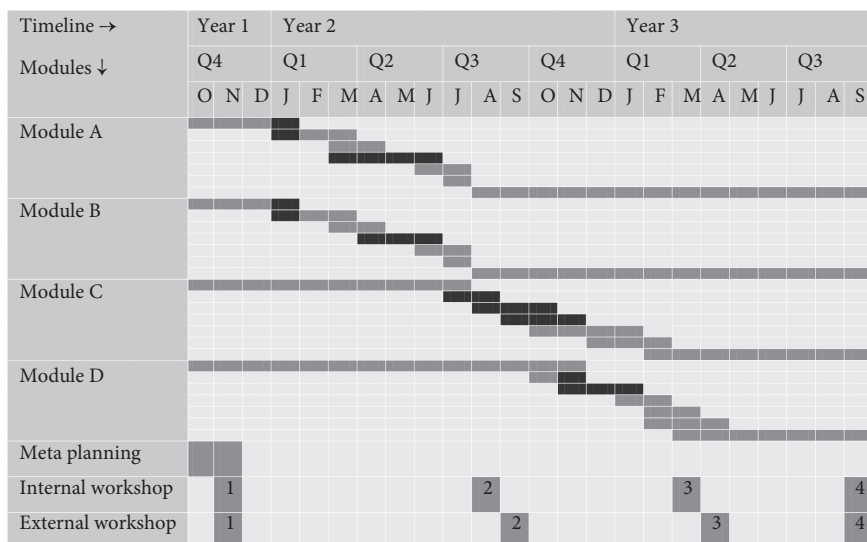
Fig. 2   The IDÉE SUISSE project schedule (Perrin, Schanne, & Wyss, 2005, 13, adapted)

Within the two years of the project, the research activity shifted from modules A and B to C and D. The grey fields in the schedule symbolize activity in general, the black ones field work. The subdivisions within the module rows stand for subtasks such as theory and method development, field preparation, and data processing. In the project schedule, internal workshops allowed for interdisciplinary collaboration and external workshops for transdisciplinary collaboration with practitioners. In these workshops, the project team shaped the research question (workshop 1), developed the multimethod approach (2), discussed empirical findings (3), and implemented results (4). At this point, all epistemological interests involved were clarified and mapped.

B|2.1   Epistemological interests related to newswriting

There is no such thing as knowledge per se. Knowledge is bound to perspectives and interests. The epistemological interest is the focus of concern and awareness in investigating an object of study. Such interests drive research, theory building, and science itself, "although these [interests] are not always made explicit" (Sealey & Carter, 2004, 1). Any proposition about an object of study, such as newswriting, is at least implicitly related to ontological claims about what exists in the world, epistemological claims about what is interesting to be known, and methodological claims about how to generate this knowledge (e.g. Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, 19).

Thus science can never be free from interests, but it can be clear and well-founded regarding its interest and approach. In the IDÉE SUISSE project, an epistemological interest of society at large was to foster social integration by enabling the broadcaster to fulfil its public mandate. The media management could be – but was not – interested in finding out that such a mandate over-burdens media. Journalists' epistemological interests pointed towards learning from good practice models. Researchers, finally, were interested in developing grounded theories, in proving that their disciplines matter, and in helping solve practical problems. All these interests had to be made explicit and then negotiated and mapped in the IDÉE SUISSE project.

Defining the epistemological interest at the start of a research project (and reconsidering the definition, if necessary, throughout the project) is important because the interest shapes the object under investigation. The material object exists independent of scientific interest and is a part of the real world that science wants to investigate. In contrast, the formal object or "object of study" (Leont'ev, 1971) is the concept researchers construct from this material object, based on their perceptions that are influenced by epistemological interests. All scientific claims, hypotheses, and theories then hold for the formal but not for the material object.

Thus, newswriting as a formal object of study differs from discipline to discipline, and approach to approach. Depending on epistemological interests, it has been conceptualized, for example, as language use (B|2.2), as writing at work (B|2.3), or as providing media content (B|2.4).

B|2.2   Newswriting as language use

In the semiotic understanding of the term, even animals and computers communicate with languages. Linguistics, on the other hand, concentrates on human language, which it understands as human competence, a sign system, and individual utterances. Thus, linguistics reconstructs its material object in three formal "objects of linguistics" (De Saussure, 1916).

Language is, first, the capacity of people to guide cognitive and communicative processes with verbal signs; second, a system of verbal signs that, third,

serves as a basis for a linguistic community's concrete expression of units of a language. Linguists have conceptualized their object of study as a system of signs used for communication (e.g. Sapir, 1921); as the entirety of all possible utterances in a language community (e.g. Bloomfield, 1926); as the set of sentences in a formal system (Chomsky, 1957); or as an "activity basically of four kinds: speaking, listening, writing and reading" (Halliday, McIntosh, & Strevens, 1964, 9).

In terms of human capacity, language is the genetically-determined, neurophysiologically-based talent of people to communicate and think linguistically. All humans are capable of exchanging information about things that are far beyond the immediate communication situation by using language, such as in the Leba case the demonstrations in another part of the world referring to events from another point in time.

In terms of a system of verbal signs, language is what is used for communication by a particular community. The media item in the Leba case draws on two quotes, one in Arabic and one in English, both translated into German for the target audience of the news program.

In terms of concrete traces of "using language" (Clark, 1996), language consists of utterances and material representations. "Voie tranquille", the tranquil way as a leitmotif by the Leba journalist, represents a stretch of language, a nominal phrase consisting of two short words, a total of fourteen characters and one blank, written and spoken on February 14, 2007. However, what language use means in contexts such as "human knowledge", the "understanding of social action" and the "mediation of social relations" (Sealey & Carter, 2004, 44), remains to be clarified.

Researching language use means first and foremost examining stretches of verbal signs. They are the result of language use and form the basis for new language use. That is how language production, products and comprehension interact as "structured social contexts within which people seek to pursue their interests" (Sealey & Carter, 2004, 18). The processes of language use can be investigated as individual cognitive activity, as social activity, or as socio-cognitive activity (Fig. 3).

Research focus		Social	
		–	+
Cognitive	–	language used	language use as situated activity giving indirect access to socio-cultural structures: Settings and resources
	+	language use as situated activity giving indirect access to individual structures: Psychobiography	language use as situated activity giving indirect access to individually reflected sociocultural structures

Fig. 3   Language use as situated activity and an interface to cognitive and social resources

For the leitmotif and the quote in the Leba case, this four-fold approach to language (e.g. Brumfit, 2001, 55–56; Cicourel, 1975; Filliettaz, 2002; Leont'ev, 1971; Vygotsky, 1978) means:

As stretches of language used, the quotes of the leitmotif appear in a news item and are implicitly or explicitly related to former texts and contexts. Whereas the audience can see and hear where the quotes come from, most of them will not link the *tranquil way* to *express way*, which is what the boat connection is called in the region the item reports on.

As cognitively based activity, the use of the leitmotif provides evidence of the journalist's knowledge about dramaturgy, stereotypes, metaphors, and the region his item covers.

As a socially-based activity, it shows that other journalists reproduce narratives and stereotypes, in this case about the violence in Lebanon.

As an individually reflected socio-cognitive activity, finally, the leitmotif and the approval of it in the subsequent newsroom conference show how individuals can willingly vary or even change the narratives reproduced in newsrooms and societies.

B|2.3 Newswriting as writing at work

Writing research conceptualizes writing as the production of texts, as cognitive problem solving (e.g. Cooper & Matsuhashi, 1983), and as the collaborative practice of social meaning making (e.g. Gunnarsson, 1997; Prior, 2006; Lillis, 2013). It investigates writing through laboratory experiments and field research. The experimental research explains cognitive activities such as micro pauses for planning. The field studies provide knowledge about writing processes in settings such as school and professions. The present state of research results from two paradigm shifts (e.g. Schultz, 2006).

In a first paradigm shift, the focus of interest moved from the product to the process. Researchers started to go beyond final text versions and authors' subjective reports about their writing experience (e.g. Hodge, 1979; Pitts, 1982). Draft versions from different stages in a writing process were compared. Manuscripts were analyzed for traces of revision processes, such as cross-outs and insertions. This approach is still practiced in the field of literary writing, where archival research reveals the genesis of masterpieces (e.g. Bazerman, 2008; Grésillon, 1997).

A second paradigm shift took research from the laboratory to "real life" (Van der Geest, 1996). Researchers moved from testing subjects with experimental tasks (e.g. Rodriguez & Severinson-Eklundh, 2006) to workplace ethnography (e.g. Bracewell, 2003), for example to describe professionals' writing expertise (e.g. Beaufort, 2005, 210). Later, ethnography was complemented by recordings of writing activities (e.g. Latif, 2008), such as keylogging (E|1.2). The first multimethod approach that combined ethnography and keylogging at the workplace was progression analysis (B|3.3).

Writing research in the field of journalism sees newswriting as a reproductive process in which professionals contribute to glocalized newsflows by transforming source texts into public target texts. This happens at collaborative digital workplaces (e.g. Hemmingway, 2007), in highly standardized formats and timeframes, and in recursive phases such as goal setting, planning, formulating, revising, and reading. Conflicts between routine and creativity, or speed and accuracy, are to be expected.

Based on such knowledge from writing research, writing education develops contextualized models of good writing practice, evaluates writing competence according to these models, and designs writing courses (e.g. Jakobs & Perrin, 2008; Jones & Stubbe, 2004; Olson, 1987; Surma, 2000).

B|2.4   Newswriting as providing content for journalistic media

Communication and media studies foreground the *media* aspect of newswriting and reflect on the nature of the media concept in general. In a very broad view, many things can serve as a medium in communication: a sound wave carrier such as the air, a status symbol such as a car, or a system of signs such as the English language. In a stricter sense, a medium is a technical means or instrument to produce, store, reproduce, and transmit signs. However, this definition is still very broad. *Media* could mean all technical communication media such as postcards, the internet, and even a public address system. Every form of communication except face-to-face conversations uses such technical tools.

Media in the sense used here means *news media*. A news medium is a technical means used to produce and publish communication offers of public importance under economic conditions (e.g. Luhmann, 1996). With this focused media concept, media linguistics refers to an independent and socially relevant field of language application, similar to forensic, clinical, or organizational linguistics. *News medium* is socially, economically, and communicatively more strictly defined than *medium*.

Communication offers of public importance contribute to the production of public knowledge and understanding in societies whose "institutions of opinion" (Myers, 2005) reach far. Abandoning the stereotype of violent people in Lebanon, and realizing that demonstrations there can be tranquil and peaceful, fosters social understanding in a regionally (e.g. Androutsopoulos, 2010) and globally (e.g. Blommaert, 2010) connected world.

Economic conditions means the obligation to create value as a "constrained author" (Reich, 2010) in work-sharing, technology-based (e.g. Pavlik, 2000; Plesner, 2009), and routinized (e.g. Berkowitz, 1992) production processes (e.g. Baisnée & Dominique, 2006). The protesters' quotes go through an intertextual chain of economic value production (A|2.3). At each station, journalists select source materials, revise them, and sell them to new addressees.

To publish means the professional activity of disseminating "content" (e.g. Carpentier & De Cleen, 2008) outside of the production situation, to audiences unknown as individuals. The TÉLÉJOURNAL newsroom addresses an audience that can only be described statistically, using sampling techniques and projections.

B|2.5   Identifying the gap: What do they do when they write?

The main disciplines involved – linguistics, writing research, and journalism studies – leave a gap to be closed by the linguistics of newswriting: investigating "the role of the practitioner in the production of news language, an approach largely absent from existing linguistic research" (Cotter, 2010, 1). Put simply, this means finding out what journalists want to do and what they actually do when writing, and why they do it: their strategies, practices, routines, and procedures (Fig. 4).

Situated activity of text production	[– dynamics] static entities of text production: Text product, formulation, genre, …			
	[+ dynamics] dynamic entities of text production	[+ target focus] strategy	…	…
		[+ activity focus] practice	…	…
			[+ pattern] routine	…
				[+ institutionalized] procedure

Fig. 4   Manifestations of the situated activity of text production

Situated activity means activity in multi-layered contexts of newsrooms, media organizations, newsflows, and society at large. Such situated activity manifests itself in static and, predominantly, dynamic entities of text production (e.g. Lillis, 2008, 374). Strategies represent potential dynamics, whereas practices, routines, and procedures represent actual dynamics (e.g. Bisaillon, 2007).

By writing strategy, I mean the reinforced, conscious, and therefore articulable idea of how decisions are to be made during the act of writing so that the writing process or text product has a great probability of fulfilling the intended function. Strategies are recursive: they can contain (sub)strategies. Individuals and collectives have repertoires of writing strategies: the sets of strategies available when writing.

In contrast to strategies, practices refer to actual activity. The data format (E|1.3) of strategies is [do X because Y is true], of practices it is only [do X]. Routines are automated practices, and procedures are institutionalized routines: the activities one normally performs unconsciously as a member of a social group such as a newsroom team.

Triangulating newswriting research methods

In this chapter, I argue that filling the gap left for the linguistics of newswriting means thoroughly investigating newswriting as situated activity at the workplace. This requires combining micro and macro levels, product and process perspectives, as well as theoretical and practical questions. In the Idée suisse project, it resulted in a complex project design of four modules. Each module combined specific methods to investigate particular aspects of newswriting (B|3.0).

However, before combining research methods in transdisciplinary projects, they have to be deliberately chosen and transparently explained across disciplinary boundaries. Theoretical questions need to be clarified, such as: should and can various methods validate, complement, or contradict each other? These are questions methodology deals with. In the Idée suisse project, four methods were combined pragmatically. They focus on versions, progression, variation, and metadiscourse in the context of newswriting (B|3.1).

Version analysis traces linguistic products in an intertextual chain. It elaborates on the changes in texts' linguistic features from version to version throughout the chains (B|3.2).

Progression analysis is a multimethod approach to obtain and relate data on three levels: the work situation, the writing movements, and the writing strategies and conscious practices (B|3.3).

Variation analysis investigates the type and frequency of typical features of certain language users' productions in certain kinds of communication situations such as newswriting for a specific audience (B|3.4).

Metadiscourse analysis investigates communication about language and language use. In doing so, it reveals how rules of language use are consciously negotiated and applied in a community (B|3.5).

With these four methods, newswriting can be investigated from product and process perspectives, as cognitive and social activity, and on micro and macro levels. In contrast, investigating only text products, as often practiced in empirical approaches, would fall short of explaining newswriting or adding value to both scientific and professional knowledge (B|3.6).

B|3.0   The IDÉE SUISSE multimethod approach

The multimethod approach applied in the IDÉE SUISSE project was extended progression analysis (B|3.3). The interplay of modules, data, and methods is visualized and described below (Fig. 5).
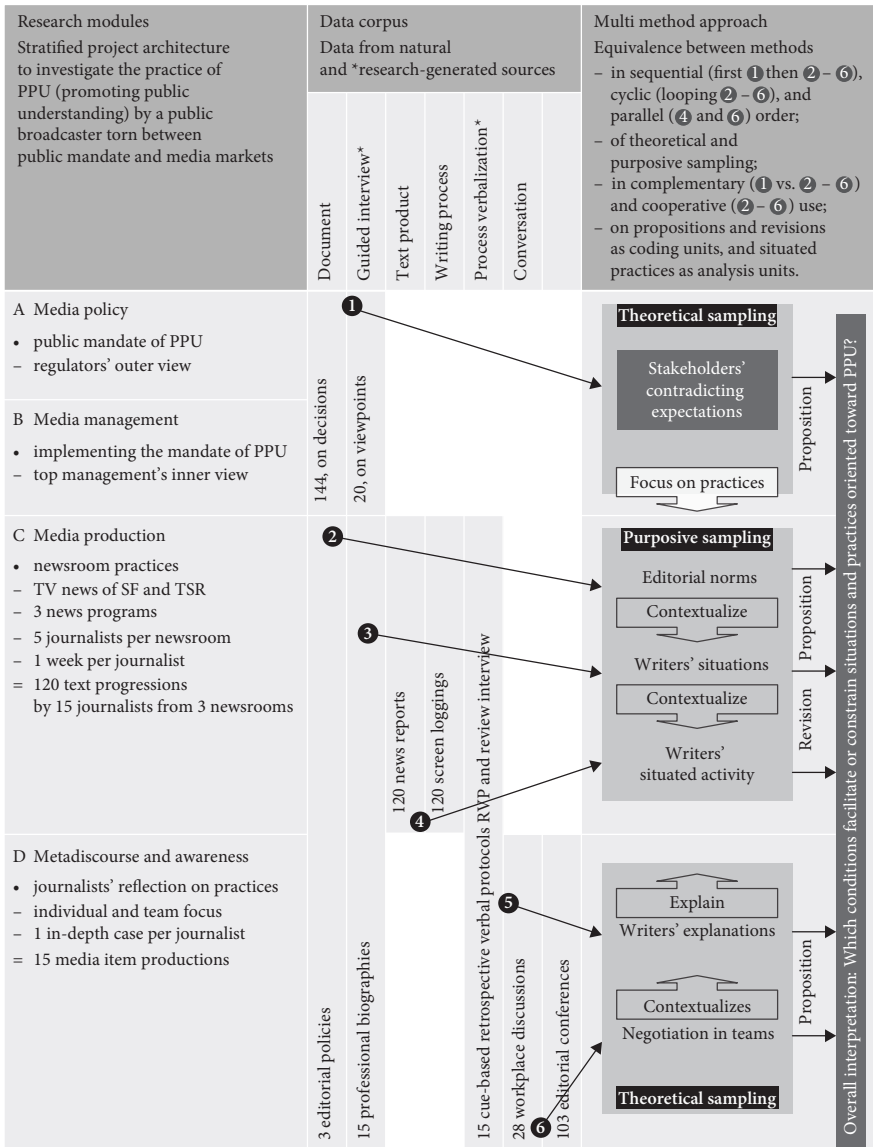
Fig. 5   Modules, data, and mixed method approach of the IDÉE SUISSE research project

First, the three columns of the figure will be outlined, then the research in the four project modules will be explained in more detail.

The leftmost column of the figure outlines the four research modules. The Idée suisse research project started with an overall analysis of the societal and organizational context: What do media policy and media management expect SRG to do, i.e. how do they understand the public mandate of promoting public understanding? In the first phase of the project (modules A and B), policy documents were analyzed and experts interviewed. In the second phase, the situated activity of text production of fifteen journalists from three newsrooms was analyzed. Data about observable text production (module C) and individual and shared reflection at the workplace (module D) were captured over a week for each journalist. One case of text production per journalist was selected for in-depth analysis, as described below.

The middle column of the figure outlines the data corpus of the project. Progression analysis draws on data from both natural and research-generated sources: 144 documents, 120 multimodal news reports, 120 writing processes, 28 workplace discussions, 103 editorial conferences, guided interviews with 20 experts and 15 journalists, and one cue-based retrospective verbal protocol per journalist. Situated in between are notes from participant observations in the field, where, for example, researchers can take the role of assistants in reporter teams.

As the rightmost column shows, the methods and sampling techniques from all four project modules were combined in a complex design of equally important methods. Modules A and B were performed before C and D, so the propositional document and interview analysis ❶ precedes the other methods. The methods ❷–❻ were repeated cyclically, one cycle per journalist. In doing so, the writing processes ❹ and the workplace discussions ❻ were recorded in parallel during one week per journalist, whereas the biographical interviews ❸ took place at the beginning of each week and the retrospective verbal protocol ❺ once during the week, after the writing process we had selected as the in-depth case. Method ❶, which investigates policy makers and managers, is complementary to methods ❷–❻, which are combined to investigate writers. Coding units in general were propositions, except for the analysis of the observable text production ❹, where revisions were coded. Key aspects of these methods will be explained in more detail below and throughout the book (e.g. E|1.3).

In the modules A and B, data from interviews with twenty experts were analyzed through theoretical sampling: case by case, interview by interview. Upon completion of each case analysis, the new findings were integrated into the growing knowledge base. This knowledge base consists of a propositional network of key concepts and relations explaining and evaluating the implementation of the mandate, such as PPU commits all journalistic media

(A|1.0|c). Based on the increased level of knowledge, a new case was selected – a case considered promising to develop, change, or reject crucial aspects of the knowledge generated so far. The cycles of case selection, data collection and analysis, and knowledge integration were repeated until eliciting a further case did not hold the prospect of further increases in knowledge.

The result of this procedure was a detailed insight into stakeholders' conflicting expectations. Media policy (module A) expects public media to promote public understanding through their communicational offers, whereas media management (module B) considers implementing the mandate as infeasible or irrelevant in the face of market pressures. Grounded in these data, the mid-range theory of promoting public understanding was developed. A key inference derived from this theory is that, for the case of SRG, if solutions that bring together public and market demands cannot be revealed in the management suites of the organization, they have to be looked for in the newsrooms (A|1.0).

This meant a focus on journalistic practices in the second phase of the project (A|2.0; B|2.0). In module D, verbal data were analyzed, just as in modules A and B; propositions were again the coding units. Module C, however, focused on observable text production activity. There, the coding unit was the revision, a procedural unit of writing processes, consisting of an insertion into or a deletion from a growing text or media item (E|1.3). All of the revisions of 120 newswriting processes (position ❹ in Fig. 5 above) were identified and contextualized with propositional knowledge about:

- explicit editorial norms of text production. This knowledge was generated through propositional document analyses of the editorial policies in the three newsrooms investigated ❷.
- writers' individual and organizational situations. This knowledge was generated through propositional analyses of guided biographical interviews with fifteen journalists in the three newsrooms ❸.
- writers' individual language awareness. This knowledge was generated through propositional analyses of one cue-based retrospective verbal protocol and one review interview per journalist, focusing on their explanations of their writing activies in the one in-depth case per journalist ❺.
- writers' shared language awareness. This knowledge was generated through propositional analyses of the journalists' discussions: workplace negotiations on the one hand, such as conversations with cutters, and editorial conferences on the other. Both were recorded during one week per journalist under investigation and thus during five weeks per newsroom ❻.

The fifteen journalists were selected through purposive sampling, the selection criteria being: similar roles as news editor, different professional socializations

and experience, and availability in the period of data collection. As mentioned above, these journalists' writing activities and conversations were recorded during one week per journalist, starting with the first journalist in the first week, the second in the second, and so on. Therefore, the one case of text production we wanted to investigate in more detail within each journalist's production week was again elicited through theoretical sampling: case by case, in cycles of case selection, data collection and analysis, and knowledge integration. In doing so, a sample of 15 out of 120 recorded text production processes was selected and analyzed in thorough detail.

Extended progression analysis as practiced in the IDÉE SUISSE project, to sum up, investigates text production both as a situated activity and as a socio-cognitive reconstruction. On the level of performance or activity, directly observable moves such as revisions in a growing text are logged and analyzed. On the level of socio-cognitive conceptualization or reconstruction, progression analysis draws on verbal data to infer the context: cognitive and social structures that facilitate and constrain the situated activity of text production and that are reinforced or altered by it. Writing activities are coded in units of revisions, socio-cognitive reconstructions in units of propositions. In the IDÉE SUISSE project, all propositions coded from all research modules were used to contextualize and explain the revisions observed. This enabled us to find out which conditions facilitate or constrain situations and practices oriented towards PPU in the newsrooms.

B|3.1   Method and methodology

Research methods are theoretically-based procedures to clarify and answer research questions (e.g. Litosselity, 2009). Applying them results in a certain reliability and validity of the findings. From these two basic qualities, other method-related qualities of research can be derived (e.g. Dörnyei, 2007).

Reliability means that the same answers are obtained when someone else repeats an investigation following the same procedure. It requires precise work based on carefully considered, transparent rules. Validity means that similar answers are obtained when the same research question is investigated with another procedure. It can be achieved by procedures that capture the relevant features of a problem, rather than treating it in a methodically comfortable but simplistic way. If, for example, the question is which form a stretch of language will take in later texts, it is sufficient to compare the original utterance with later reproductions. However, if the reasons why an author re-contextualizes utterances are to be captured, then cognitive aspects have to be considered, too. Finally, if the author is seen as embedded in the social context of the newsroom, the media company, and society at large, then social aspects and interconnections should be included.

Qualitative research frameworks such as ethnography (D|1.1) tend to conceptualize and discuss the characteristics of their research differently from the terminology above, which stems from quantitative research. The additional concepts focus on specific aspects of validity (e.g. Cicourel, 2007). Dependability refers to the explicit reflection on how the research settings and contexts affected the findings; credibility means that the research participants have good reasons to trust the results; confirmability means the degree to which other researchers can confirm the results; and transferability describes the extent to which the results can be transferred to other contexts (e.g. Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, 21).

Research methods, therefore, must be deliberately chosen and transparently explained. They must explore the object of study to a depth that corresponds to the research question. Depending on the (media) linguistic research question, a method must capture the language produced (B|3.2), language use as a cognitive activity (B|3.3), language use as a social activity (B|3.4), or language use as an interplay of cognitive and social activity (B|3.5).

Within and across disciplines, the question as to which research method suits which research question is addressed by methodology, the scientific cross-sectional discipline that deals with the relationship between the object of study, research question, methods, and expected results in scientific research (e.g. Hesse-Biber, 2010, 456). In the Idée suisse project, general methodological considerations include:

- Field studies vs. laboratory research: Experiments in the laboratory allow for strict control over all parameters related to an object under investigation. On the other hand, they result in inadequate reduction when the interplay with contexts is too complex to be modeled in linear causal relations (e.g. Sullivan & Porter, 1993). Since newswriting is a highly contextualized activity, we decided on ethnographic field studies (D|1) rather than the contextual reduction necessary in experiments.

- Single case study vs. statistical representation: Mathematically composed, broad samples allow for statistically evident generalizations. On the other hand, the breadth of a data collection limits its depth; a plethora of cases cannot be analyzed as profoundly as a few handpicked ones (e.g. R.D. Abbott, Amtmann, & Munson, 2006; Schultz, 2006). Since our investigations of newswriting need to go into detail, we decided against statistical representation. Instead, we combined case studies with theoretical sampling. This research procedure allows for theoretically reflected generalizations from a small number of well-selected cases (D|2.1).

- Questions vs. observation: Questionnaries can easily be evaluated, and in-depth interviews and verbal protocols allow researchers to access mental reflections. On the other hand, such verbal data are closely related to the self-awareness of the people under investigation. In contrast, observation

directly captures people's actual activities, but leaves it to the researchers to interpret why those observed do what they do (e.g. Chin, 1994; Cottle, 1998). Since we are interested in both the journalists' views and their activities, we combine and triangulate verbal and observational methods and data (B|3.0) for multi-perspective insights (e.g. Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003; Woolley, 2009).

These general methodological decisions lay the groundwork for selecting and triangulating specific methods of writing research (B|3.2–3.6).

B|3.2   Tracking intertextual chains with version analysis

Linguistics investigates first and foremost stretches of language, linguistic products (e.g. McCarthy, 2001, 115). From this product perspective, a linguistics of newswriting that focuses on what is special in its application field (A|2.4) will emphasize the intertextual chains of newswriting: new texts are quickly and constantly created from earlier ones. What happens to the linguistic products in this process can be determined with version analysis.

Version analysis is the method of collecting and analyzing data in order to reconstruct the changes that linguistic features undergo in intertextual chains. The basis for comparing versions is text analysis.

Version analyses trace linguistic products and elaborate on the changes in text features from version to version throughout intertextual chains. The quotes from the protesters in the Leba item, for example, have been serially processed by at least five stations of intertextual reporting and, at the same time, of economic value production (A|2.3). Some prominent medialinguistic studies draw on version analyses to reveal how news changes throughout the intertextual chains (e.g. Van Dijk, 1988; Bell, 1991, 56 ff.; Luginbühl, Baumberger, Schwab, & Burger, 2002; Robinson, 2009).

A frequent variant of version analysis compares text versions before and after revision processes. The version analysis in the Fami case story, for example (D|5.0|h$_{11}$), contrasts text versions at four production states: after drafting, after the journalist's office session, after cutting, and after speaking. A minimal, noncomparative variant of version analysis is the text analysis of a single version, with implicit or explicit reference to other versions that were not explicitly analyzed (e.g. Ekström, 2001).

Comparing various versions of finished texts is sufficient to gain knowledge about how texts are adapted from version to version. However, version analysis fails to provide any information about whether the journalists were conscious of their actions when re-contextualizing or engaging in other practices of text production; whether the practices are typical of certain media with certain target audiences; or whether the issues associated with those practices are discussed and negotiated in the editorial offices. To generate such knowledge, additional methodological approaches are required.

B|3.3   Tracing writing processes with progression analysis

Linguistics can treat language as an interface between situated activity and cognitive structures and processes (B|2.2). From this cognitive perspective, a linguistics of newswriting interested in the particularities of its field (A|2.4) will emphasize individuals' language-related decisions in newswriting. What exactly do individual journalists do when they create customized items at the quick pace of media production? What are they trying to do, and why do they do it the way they do? This is what progression analysis captures.

Progression analysis is the multimethod approach of collecting and analyzing data in natural contexts in order to reconstruct text production processes as a cognitively controlled and socially anchored activity. It combines ethnographic observation, interviews, computer logging, and cue-based retrospective verbalizations to gather linguistic and contextual data. The approach was developed to investigate newswriting (e.g. Perrin, 2003; Sleurs, Jacobs, & Van Waes, 2003; Van Hout & Jacobs, 2008) and later transferred to other application fields of writing research, such as children's writing processes (e.g. Gnach, Wiesner, Bertschi-Kaufmann, & Perrin, 2007) and translation (e.g. Ehrensberger-Dow & Perrin, 2009). With progression analysis, data are obtained and related on three levels.

Before writing begins, progression analysis determines through interviews and observations what the writing situation is and what experience writers draw on to guide their actions. Important factors include the writing task, professional socialization, and economic, institutional, and technological influences on the work situation. In the Idée suisse project, data on the self-perception of the journalists investigated were obtained in semi-standardized interviews about their psychobiography, primarily in terms of their writing and professional experience, and their workplace. In addition, participatory and video observations were made about the various kinds of collaboration at the workplace.

During writing, progression analysis records every keystroke and writing movement in the emerging text with keylogging and screenshot recording programs that run in the background of the text editing programs the journalists usually use, for instance behind the user interfaces of the news editing systems. The recording can follow the writing process over several workstations and does not influence the performance of the editing system or the journalist (E|1.2).

When the writing is done, progression analysis records what the writers say about their activities. Preferably immediately after completing the writing process, writers view on the screen how their texts came into being. While doing so, they continuously comment on what they did when writing and why they did it. An audio recording is made of these cue-based retrospective verbal protocols (RVP). This level of progression analysis opens a window onto the mind of the

writer. The question is what can be recognized through this window: certainly not all of the decisions (and only the decisions) that the author actually made, but rather the decisions that an author could have made in principle (e.g. Camps, 2003; Ericsson & Simon, 1993; Hansen, 2006; Levy, Marek, & Lea, 1996; Smagorinsky, 2001). The RVP is transcribed and then encoded as the author's verbalization of aspects of his or her language awareness: writing strategies, and conscious writing practices (B|2.5). The result can be visualized in descriptions of the medialinguistic mindset (Part C) and dynamically visualized progression scores (E|2.1).

The data of these three stages complement each other to provide a multi-perspective, vivid picture of the object of study. In the IDÉE SUISSE project, the progression graphs and scores help us to detect problematic points in the emerging texts, and the computer logs provide detailed information about what happens on the screen at those points. The cue-based RVPs provide us with information about the journalists' awareness of what they are doing and why.

In sum, progression analysis allows researchers to consider all the revisions to the text as well as all the electronic resources accessed during the production process; to trace the development of the emerging media item; and, finally, to reconstruct collaboration at media workplaces from different perspectives. The main focus of progression analysis, however, is the individual's cognitive and manifest processes of writing. Social structures such as public mandates, organizational routines, and editorial policies are reconstructed through the perspectives of the individual agents involved: the writers under investigation. If editorial offices or even media organizations are to be investigated with respect to how they produce their texts as a social activity, then progression analysis has to be supplemented by two other methods: variation analysis (B|3.4) and metadiscourse analysis (B|3.5).

B|3.4   Revealing audience design with variation analysis

Linguistics can treat language as an interface between situated activity and social structures and processes (B|2.2). From this social perspective, a linguistics of newswriting interested in the particularities of its field (A|2.4) will focus on how social groups such as editorial teams customize their linguistic products for their target audiences. Which linguistic means, for example which gradient of formality, does an editorial office choose for which addressees? This is what variation analysis captures.

Variation analysis is the method of collecting and analyzing text data to reconstruct the special features of the language of a certain discourse community. The basis for comparing versions is discourse analysis.

Variation analyses investigate the type and frequency of typical features of certain language users' productions in certain kinds of communication situations, such as newswriting for a specific audience. What variation analysis

discerns is the differences between the language used in different situations by the same users (e.g. Koller, 2004) or by various users in similar situations (e.g. Fang, 1991; Werlen, 2000).

In the Idée suisse project, variation analyses show systematic differences between the three news programs investigated (D|4.0). The relation of item length and cuts, for example, document a higher pace of pictures in the French Téléjournal (4.5 sec. on average between visible cuts) than in the German Tagesschau (8.5 sec.) and 10 vor 10 (7 sec.). Similarly, variation analyses can reveal whether language properties of the newscast Tagesschau and the newsmagazine 10 vor 10, competing in the same German television program of the Swiss public broadcaster, differ according to their program profiles (E|3.2).

Such broadly-based variation analysis is able to show the special features of the language used in certain communities. However, what the method gains in width compared with a method such as progression analysis, it loses in depth. Why a community prefers to formulate its texts in a certain way and not another cannot be captured by variation analysis. It would be possible to regain some of that depth by using a procedure that examines not only the text products, but also the institutionalized discourses connected with them – the comments of the community about its joint efforts (B|3.5).

B|3.5   Investigating language policing with metadiscourse analysis

Linguistics can treat language as an interface between situated activity and cognitive and social structures and processes (B|2.2). From this socio-cognitive perspective, a linguistics of newswriting interested in the particularities of its field (A|2.4) will focus on editorial metadiscourse such as quality control discourse at editorial conferences or negotiations between journalists, anchors, and cutters. What do the various stakeholders think about their communicational offers? How do they evaluate their activity in relation to policies – and how do they reconstruct and alter those policies?

Metadiscourse analysis is the method of collecting and analyzing data in order to reconstruct the socially- and individually-anchored (language) awareness in a discourse community. The basis for analyzing the metadiscourse of text production is conversation and discourse analysis.

Metadiscourse analyses investigate spoken and written communication about language and language use. This includes the explicit planning or criticism of communication measures (e.g. Peterson, 2001), the clarification of misunderstandings and conversational repair (e.g. Häusermann, 2007), and follow-up communication by the audience (e.g. Klemm, 2000). In all these cases, the participants' reactions show how communicational offers have been received and understood. The analysis demonstrates how rules of language use are explicitly negotiated and applied in a community.

In the Leba case, due to a computer crash, the journalist lacks the time to discuss his item with the cutter (A|2.0|f). In other case stories from the Idée suisse project, cutters challenge the journalists' ethics and esthetics (C|1.0|h) or appear as critical audience representatives (C|2.0|h). On a macro level of the project, interviews and document analyses reveal policy makers' and media managers' contradictory evaluation of and expectations towards the broadcasters' – and the journalists' – ability to promote public understanding (A|1.0).

The focus of metadiscourse analysis, thus, scales up from negotiations about emerging texts at writers' workplaces to organizational quality control discourse and related discussions in society at large. Integrating metadiscourse analyses extends the reach of progression analysis from a single writer's micro activity to societal macro structures.

B|3.6   Combining perspectives with multimethod approaches

Four methodological approaches have been applied to investigate writing processes, linguistic variation, and metadiscourse, using examples from the Idée suisse project and referring to other medialinguistic research. The four approaches each capture overlapping facets of newswriting from their own perspectives, for example the source material, the work context, the thought patterns, the sequences of revisions in the writing process, the text products, the news programs, the editorial mission statement and policy, and the internal and external evaluation and development of norms. Within these facets, each approach has its own focus (Fig. 6).

Language as →	Product	Activity		
		Cognitive	Social	Socio-cognitive
Method → Object facets ↓	Version analysis	Progression analysis	Variation analysis	Metadiscourse analysis
Source material	text chain			
Work context		workplace, …		
Thought patterns		writing strategy		
Revisions		writing activity		
End products	final version			
News program			program profile	
Policy			mission, …	
Evaluation				norm discourse

Fig. 6   Medialinguistic methods as complementary approaches

The discussion above has shown that newswriting is accessible from these four perspectives and that each perspective calls for suitable methods. Questions about cognitive practices, for instance, can only be addressed using insights into cognitive relationships; the same is true for social practices and their interactions. Investigating stretches of language in a "one-size fits all approach" (Richardson, 2007, 76) is not enough – it cannot explain what is special about journalistic news production (e.g. Philo, 2007) and fails to reveal structures that "cannot be directly observed" (Ó Riain, 2009, 294).

The next table illustrates the interplay of the four methods by using the leitmotif example from the Leba case. The journalist changes "voie express" to "voie tranquille" (A|2.0|h). A micro version analysis comparing the first and the last version of the corresponding sentence shows the difference: one word has changed. The researcher interprets this revision as a reframing of the boat's speed and, in a wider context, of the activities the media item reports. However, only progression analysis provides evidence that the journalist consciously changed the word to use it as a leitmotif. Moreover, progression analysis indicates that this idea emerged when the experienced journalist was surprised by details from the source materials he carefully read and watched. A variation analysis contrasting processes and products by experienced and less experienced journalists then can reveal experience to be a strong predictor for success in handling critical situations and for results with a high potential to promote public understanding. A metadiscourse analysis, finally, can show whether the journalist's emergent solution is approved in the following editorial conference, and whether it corresponds, on a macro level, to the expectations of both media managers and policy makers. Such successful emergent solutions deserve to be disseminated through knowledge transformation measures (Part E).

Language as →	Product	Activity		
		Individual	Social	Socio-cognitive
Method → Object ↓	Version analysis	Progression analysis	Variation analysis	Metadiscourse analysis
Phenomenon: voie express > voie tranquille	reframes!			
	consciously?	consciously!		
		systematically?	systematically!	
			approved?	approved!
Statics	result	activity		
Dynamics	revision	emergence	contrast	dissemination

Fig. 7   The emergent leitmotif in the Leba case,
as captured with the four complementary methods

B|4 Summary and conclusion

Part B of this book described media linguistics as a subdiscipline of linguistics, dealing with a distinctive field of language use. This field differs from the fields of other subdisciplines by specific language environments, functions, and structures. In multidisciplinary collaboration, media linguistics accesses a wide range of research and transformation methods. In interdisciplinary collaboration, it contributes precise analyses of situated linguistic activity to the development of empirically-grounded theoretical knowledge. In transdisciplinary collaboration, it tests these theories against reality and solves practical problems (B|1).

As an object of knowledge generation and transformation in research projects, newswriting is shaped by the epistemological interests of the disciplines involved. Linguistics focuses on cognitively- and socially-bound language use and the language produced. Writing research foregrounds professional, collaborative text reproduction. Journalism studies reflects on the role of media providing communicational offers to public discourse. A broad understanding of *media* would divest media linguistics from its distinctive properties; almost all communication is related to media of some kind, such as telephones, pens, or sound waves. The gap left by the three disciplines is the analysis of journalistic writing activities in context (B|2).

When focusing on newswriting, media linguistics needs research methods to generate data about writing activities in complex contexts. This book presents the four research methods applied in the Idée suisse and related research projects, using them as examples of how to investigate newswriting practices as windows onto cognitive and societal structures and processes. These methods are: version analysis, progression analysis, variation analysis, and metadiscourse analysis. In the Idée suisse and similar projects, they were triangulated in a multimethod approach. Such an approach enables researchers to fill the above-mentioned gap by developing a centerpiece of medialinguistic research: the systematic knowledge about news journalists' individual and collective awareness of their potential and actual writing activities (B|3). I call this the medialinguistic mindset of newswriting (Part C).

C Solution

Identifying the medialinguistic mindset

In the previous parts of this book, I specified the gap that the linguistics of newswriting has to fill: investigating journalistic language use and, in particular, newswriting as a socially relevant practice in order to identify theoretical and practical problems and contribute to their solution. As I have argued, filling this gap requires integrating micro and macro levels, product and process perspectives, as well as theoretical and practical questions. What is the outcome of this integration?

In this part, I present the results of such integration, based on complementary case studies. Distinguishing between environments, functions, and structures, I reconstruct newswriting as a highly complex situated activity of language use. The robust awareness of the activity fields and their relation is what I term the medialinguistic mindset of newswriting. In the newsroom, this mindset fosters solving practical problems with linguistic means; in research, elaborating on the mindset bridges observable micro activity and social macro theory. The chapters of Part C are:

C|1 **Investigating language environments in newswriting**: the Yogy case: negotiating across socializations (C|1.0); interpersonal environment (C|1.1); intersituative environment (C|1.2); intertextual environment (C|1.3); intermodal environment (C|1.4); language environments and activity fields of newswriting (C|1.5).

C|2 **Investigating language functions in newswriting**: the Mars case: missing the key piece of explanation (C|2.0); referential function (C|2.1); cognitive function (C|2.2); interactive function (C|2.3); social function (C|2.4); language functions and activity fields of newswriting (C|2.5).

C|3 **Investigating language structures in newswriting**: the Gast case: struggling with vague key concepts (C|3.0); phonological structure (C|3.1); lexical structure (C|3.2); syntactic structure (C|3.3); textual structure (C|3.4); language structures and activity fields of newswriting (C|3.5).

C|4 **Summary and conclusion**: the writing research and applied linguistics perspectives (C|4.1); the practice perspective: the helix of situated newswriting (C|4.2); value added (C|4.3).

In Chapter C|1, I present increasingly complex linguistic environments of news text production. In C|2 and C|3, I identify problems of increasingly complex language functions and structures interacting with the different environments. In C|1 to C|3, I first provide a case story with an in-depth analysis of situated practice; then establish a frame of reference to locate theoretical and practical problems of language use and its analysis; and finally zoom into the related activity fields of newswriting. Chapter C|4 summarizes Part C and concludes that applied linguistics is in a good position to shape practitioners' mindsets of newswriting.

C|1 Investigating language environments in newswriting

In this chapter, the YOGY case from the IDÉE SUISSE project will serve as a practical example of the medialinguistic mindset being applied (C|1.0). I then present four increasingly complex environments of language use in the media: interpersonal (C|1.1), intersituative (C|1.2), intertextual (C|1.3), and intermodal (C|1.4). Finally, I zoom into the activity fields of newswriting that are related to these environments of language use (C|1.5).

Communicative language use is interpersonal in that it is directed to other people. Most journalistic communication starts with discussions, although the participants are oriented not only to their discussion partner but also to the media audience. Thus, conversation around newswriting is systematically different from everyday conversation (C|1.1).

Even what seems spontaneous in the media is done deliberately: with calculable effort and expenditure, in a pre-determined format, designed for simple access by an unknown audience far away from the production situation. Media items are therefore carefully edited – written in the sense of composed for inter-situational communication (C|1.2).

Journalistic text production transmits societal discourse, basically by drawing on discussions and written or recorded offers of communication. This intertextual practice occurs in journalistic communication throughout chains of text reproduction and according to domain-specific rules about dealing with sources (C|1.3).

The symbolic system of language, whether spoken or written, is always intersemiotically connected in media items: language never occurs as language only. The various forms of journalistic media permit and demand their own links between language and other symbolic systems. This has repercussions for the use of language (C|1.4).

In practice, newswriting takes place across these theoretically separate environments. News often refers to oral negotiations, bridges situations of production and reception, originates from source materials, and combines signs from different systems. The same applies for the processes of newswriting. Journalists negotiate with possible text agents, address their items to distant audiences, depend on sources, and process words and pictures. In doing so, they handle their tools and tasks collaboratively throughout the workflow in the newsroom (C|1.5).

C|1.0   The Yogy case: Negotiating across socializations

On March 7, 2007, an Indonesian plane operated by Garuda Indonesia crashed while attempting to land at Yogyakarta airport on the Indonesian island of Java. Most of the passengers were able to escape from the burning aircraft. Télévision Suisse Romande covered the topic in the noon and the evening issues of Téléjournal. The news items include harsh pictures that passengers shot with camcorders and mobile phones while escaping. The Yogy case documents the negotiation between the journalist C.A. and the cutter, representing different socializations and ethics. Out of conflicts between journalistic ethics and video clip esthetics, a sustainable third way of dramaturgy emerges: carefully explaining the dreadful.

a   *Journalist*

C.A., born in 1952, worked as a teacher in adult education at federal offices and universities of applied sciences.[1088] In 1991, he changed professions and started a second career as a journalist at the Nouveau Quotidien, which had just been set up as an innovative quality paper in the French-speaking part of Switzerland. Since 1999, he has been working as a foreign affairs journalist at Téléjournal.[1089] He finds television a "much more ponderous machinery" than the press newsroom where "you are much more independent" of others, such as cameramen or cutters.[1090]

The journalist's counterpart in the Yogy case is a cutter with far more experience in the video editing of films than news items. As an austerity measure, Télévision Suisse Romande had set up pools of cutters who were deployed to whatever task,[1091] regardless of their professional socialization.

b   *Newsroom*

C.A. says that the Téléjournal ideally transmits the key information about what can influence people's lives.[1092] The main selection criterion is the "objective importance" such as global warming, rather than "producing one or two items per day" on topics such as "it doesn't snow, it snows, oh yes it is going to snow, the snow is coming".[1093]

The primary goal is not to entertain people or raise audience share, especially because Téléjournal is a public service media broadcasting company.[1094] Since everybody in the French-speaking part of Switzerland belongs to the target audience of Téléjournal, children at dinner tables could be hurt by pictures of violence. On the other hand, avoiding such pictures means presenting a vision of a "completely aseptic" world. "It's a permanent discussion"; existing policies on such issues are "relatively general" and thus leave room for situative decisions.[1095]

c   *Production patterns*

Telling a story comprehensibly and within a given timeframe of twenty seconds, one minute, or sometimes two,[1096] is exactly what the journalist's job is, says C.A.[1097] In doing so, he has to adapt flexibly to all kinds of situations and circumstances that change from day to day. "This too makes this job interesting, it is hardly ever repetitive and monotone."[1098]

C.A. sometimes "discovers" topics only two or three hours before the audience, he says. First he will get an overview of the topic.[1099] He reads the newswires "that come in" in French and English, but also checks websites of newspapers such as the Spanish EL PAÍS in order to read a particular commentator and to discover a specific angle not covered by the newswires.[1100] In doing so, he already thinks about a possible starting point, an ending, and key formulations. "It's all art."[1101]

So he collects "bits and pieces of the material" and suddenly feels the need to "clear his mind" and takes a break. He then goes out to check his parking meter. "When I leave the newsroom I don't yet know how to set up my item, because there are so many ways to do it, and when I come back, I know."[1102]

d   *Collaboration patterns*

d₁   A "world of colleagues" is what C.A. says he can count on when gathering information – colleagues "who know much more than you about that topic and who can quickly shed light on it".[1103]

d₂   This is even more true for the video editing process. Although C.A. knows how to do it, he prefers collaborating with cutters for two reasons: first, "video editing is a profession in itself", and second, "I like the feedback, you know it's an exchange which is creative and profitable".[1104] Although some cutters would expect the journalist to come to the cutting room with a completed text, the "good cutters wouldn't appreciate this", C.A. says. Instead, they prefer working "in connection" with the journalist.[1105]

d₃   The anchor too is a role that C.A. sees in close collaboration with the news editor. For a better fit of intro and item, some anchors first carefully read what journalists have written and only then prepare their introductions.[1106] In reverse, journalists leave it to the anchors to "take care of the most up-to-date figures"; as a journalist, "you avoid giving numbers", for example of casualties, because they might change, but nevertheless they are news and "you are expected to give them".[1107] Finally, anchors are the ones in charge of interviewing studio guests or correspondents if the producers ask to supplement an item with an expert interview.[1108]

d₄   The chief editor is the one who decides when opinions differ. However, it is difficult to exert "military authority" with journalists, who basically "have an independent mind", so it is rather a "game of persuading" than "giving orders to

somebody who doesn't feel like following them".[1109] As C.A. puts it, this is also true for the collaboration with the producers of the noon editions "where you have to work faster". However, the producers of the evening editions sometimes tell an editor to start an item with specific pictures, even if another dramaturgy is close to completed. "Then there can be authoritative interventions." [1110]

e   *Task*

At the morning conference of the Téléjournal newsroom team on March 7, 2007, C.A. received the assignment to cover an aircraft accident in Yogyakarta, a city on Java Island. A Boeing 737 operated by the national airline Garuda Indonesia had crashed upon landing and burned up completely. Most passengers had survived, some of them shooting pictures with camcorders and cell phones while escaping. Such clips, together with pictures by Indonesian television, were distributed to newswires and availabe in the Téléjournal newsroom. In addition to the item itself, an interview with an aviation expert was taken into consideration.[1111] As the producer decided to open the noon and the evening issues of Téléjournal with C.A.'s item, this called for an attractive dramaturgy. The length limit was set to 80 seconds.[1112]

f   *Process*

f₁   When producing the Yogyakarta items, C.A. did not feel under time pressure, especially in the afternoon. "I really had time, […] we were fine tuning details."[1113]After the morning conference, C.A. started his production process by collaborating[1114] with the cutter. Scene by scene and paragraph by paragraph, they negotiated the interpretation and selection of the pictures, the sequence of the scenes, the translation of quotes,[1115] and the matching of pictures and text.[1116]

f₂   In doing so, they found a solution to combine "strong pictures"[1117] and "strong scenes"[1118] from the amateur footage with careful verbal embedding. Although C.A. stated that building the item on pictures from cell phones could contradict Téléjournal policies, he decided to go for it: "What we are doing is an experiment, and there may be consequences. […] If they don't like it [at the editorial conference after the noon broadcast], we'll improve it in the afternoon".[1119]

f₃   Shortly before the noon deadline, the colleague who was going to dub a security officer in the item (Ex. 1, lines 22–25) entered the cutting room and said that Radio Svizzera Italiana had broadcasted a witness interview with one of their correspondents who happened to be on board and who had survived the accident. "I'm telling you it's worth inserting a bit of a soundclip for tonight, you know."[1120] Indeed, the information was too late for the noon issue, but motivated C.A. to add a subsequent eyewitness report when updating the item for the evening issue of Téléjournal.

f[3]   In the afternoon, he first worked on this additional piece, the correspondent's eyewitness report. C.A. selected the "most interesting" sequence and had it translated by an Italian-speaking colleague.[1121] Later on, when he got the translation back from his colleague, he started "revising it a bit for stylistic refinements"[1122] such as lexical variety,[1123] but consistent with the terminology of the main item.[1124] Even in the final recording of the voiceover translation, C.A. changed "two or three words" to "put the text into his [the speaker's] mouth".[1125]

f[4]   As for the item itself, the editorial conference had approved the dramaturgy of the noon issue, so C.A. decided just to refine it and add some details. He searched for updates in the newswires,[1126] still couldn't find a precise figure for the number of casualties and thus decided to remain vague and "use the conditional form",[1127] previewed and collected some additional pictures "to save time for the cutter",[1128] copy-pasted the noon text into the new file for the evening issue,[1129] and then collaborated with the cutter on some additional pictures.[1130] This collaboration allowed and called for a few text additions and specifications.[1131]

g   *Product*

At the end of the production processes, the news item for the noon issue was 72 seconds long and broadcasted at 12:47 p.m. In the evening issue, the item itself started at 7:32 p.m. and lasted 84 seconds, followed by the eyewitness report lasting 97 seconds. C.A. did the voiceover, and two male speakers read the translations of the quotation in the item and the adjacent eyewitness report. The transcript shows the broadcasted version (Ex. 1).


```
001   M:  On commence par cette nouvelle catastrophe aérienne
          We begin with news from this new aviation catastrophe
002       ce matin en Indonésie.
          this morning in Indonesia.

003   M:  C'est un Boeing 737 de la compagnie nationale Garuda
          It is a Boeing 737 of the national company Garuda
004       qui s'est écrasé à l'atterrissage sur l'île de Java,
          that crashed upon landing on the island of Java
005       faisant une vingtaine de morts.
          killing about twenty people.
006       La plupart des passagers étaient Indonésiens,
          Most of the passengers were Indonesians
```



```
007       mais une délégation de diplomates et de journalistes Australiens
          but a delegation of Australian diplomats and journalists
008       se trouvait aussi à bord.
          was also on board.
009       Attention, certaines images peuvent choquer.
          Warning: some images might be shocking.
010       Elles sont commentées par C[…] A[…].
          They are commentated on by C[…] A[…].
```

011 O: Quelques instants après le crash,
         A few moments after the crash
012   la fuite éperdue, loin du Boeing
         the desperate escape, far from the Boeing,
013   de l'un des survivants.
         for one of the survivors.

014   Ce passager n'est pas encore à l'abri,
         This passenger is not yet safe
015   mais sa caméra est enclenchée.
         but his camera is on.
016   Pas moins de cent douze voyageurs
         No fewer than one hundred and twelve passengers
017   sur les cent trente-trois
         among the one hundred and thirty-three,

018   transportés par la compagnie indonésienne Garuda, ont survécu
         transported by the Indonesian company Garuda, survived
019   et six membres de l'équipage sur sept.
         and six out of seven members of the crew.

020   Mais beaucoup sont blessés.
         But many are injured.
021   Le témoignage d'un agent de sécurité de l'aéroport de
         Yogyakarta :
         *The statement of a security officer at the airport in
         Yogyakarta:*

022 A: J'ai entendu deux explosions
         I heard two explosions
023   et j'ai tiré quatre personnes hors de l'avion, saines et sauves.
         and I pulled four people out of the airplane, safe and sound.
024   Une trentaine de passagers se trouvaient déjà dehors,
         About thirty passengers were already outside
025   elles aussi toutes en vie.
         and they, too, were all alive.

026 O: Vingt-et-une personnes n'ont cependant pas réussi
         Twenty-one people, however, did not manage
027   à sauter hors de l'avion
         to get out of the airplane

028   et sont mortes carbonisées, coincées par les flammes
         and died, incinerated, trapped by the flames
029   à l'avant de l'appareil.
         in the front of the airplane.

030   Au moment de l'atterrissage,
         At the moment of the landing,
031   les passagers avaient été avertis
         the passengers had been warned
032   que le Boeing allait connaître de fortes turbulences.
         that the Boeing was going to encounter strong turbulence.

033   Il aurait touché la piste à une vitesse excessive.
         It hit the runway at excessive speed.

	034	L'avion a rebondi deux fois sur le tarmac, *The airplane rebounded on the tarmac twice*
	035	avant de s'échouer violemment dans une rizière, *before crashing violently into a rice field*
	036	trois cents mètres plus loin, *three hundred meters further on,*
	037	et de brûler complètement. *and burning up completely.*

Ex. 1   Text and translation of the Yogy news item

Source: tsr_tj_070307_1245_ayer_yogyakarta_ item

h   *Focus of analysis*

h₁   In this newswriting process, a novel dramaturgy emerged from conflicting pro-
duction patterns. Whereas Téléjournal normally abstains from using amateur
videos in news items, the Yogy item starts with blurred camcorder pictures –
as an opener for both the noon and the evening news issues. To reiterate: In
the morning, C.A. had declared the dramaturgy an "experiment" and decided
to take on the risk that "they don't like it".[1132] As it turned out, "they" did;
at the afternoon editorial conference, the item was found worth opening the
Téléjournal evening issue too. As a result, C.A. could concentrate on refine-
ments in the afternoon, for example on finetuning formulations:

h₂   He added that the passengers had been warned "in advance" about troubles
when landing. "It's logical that it's in advance, but this is TV style where you
have to be precise."[1133] (Ex. 2, revision 18) Shortly afterwards, he changed "excessive
speed" to "a speed that many witnesses had considered excessive" (revisions 24 et
32). By doing so, he was able to avoid a "subjective adjective" in his own voice
and, at the same time, "give weight to this information". Before the change, he
had "gone back to the sources" to make sure that the aviation minister and sev-
eral passengers had used the word in their comments.[1134] Finally, he changed
"considered" to "consider" (revisions 36 to 38) because "the narrative present tense"
is "less heavy".[1135]

```
Au moment de l'atterrissage, les passagers avaient été aver-
tis ¹⁸{à l'avance }¹⁸|₁₉que le Boeing allait connaître de fortes
turbulences...¹⁶{¹⁷[C'est ₁₇]¹⁷|₁₈}¹⁶.¹⁹{et de fait²⁰[ |₂₀]²⁰, c'est en
tanguant et en ²¹[étant |₂₁]²¹subissant de tr²²[pès |₂₂]²²ès brutales
secou³¹{s}³¹|₃₂ses qu'}¹⁹|₂₃il a²³[urait]²³|₂₄ touché la piste à une
vitesse ³²[excessive]³²|₃₃²⁴{³³[ ]³³|₃₄que be³⁴[ua]³⁴|₃₅³⁵{au}³⁵|₃₆coup de
témoins ³⁶[ont ]³⁶|₃₇jug³⁷[é]³⁷|₃₈³⁸{ent}³⁸|₃₉ excessive}²⁴
```

Ex. 2   S-notation from the Yogy workplace session, excerpt

Source: tsr_tj_070307_1930_ayer_ yogyakarta_snt_2

h₃   The same precision and conscientiousness can be found in C.A.'s interactions with the cutter when negotiating the solutions for the noon issue. Stills from the cutting room highlight the differences between his and the cutter's approach when viewing the source pictures. On an auditory level, the cutter's frequent paraverbal comments, such as "krrrrrrrrrr … wow … tshhhiuuuu wwow", contrast with the journalist's argumentative concerns, for example "I still have to say that there are many wounded" although most passengers survived.[1136] On a visual level, the cutter seems excited about the "magnificent scenes",[1137] whereas the journalist looks consternated and seems concerned about trying to find explanations and formulations he considers appropriate to explain the violence of the accident (Fig. 1). When C.A. criticized the amateur footage as "this is Lars von Trier style", a taboo-breaking Danish film director working with camcorders, the cutter replied "no, this is immediate, this is news".[1138]
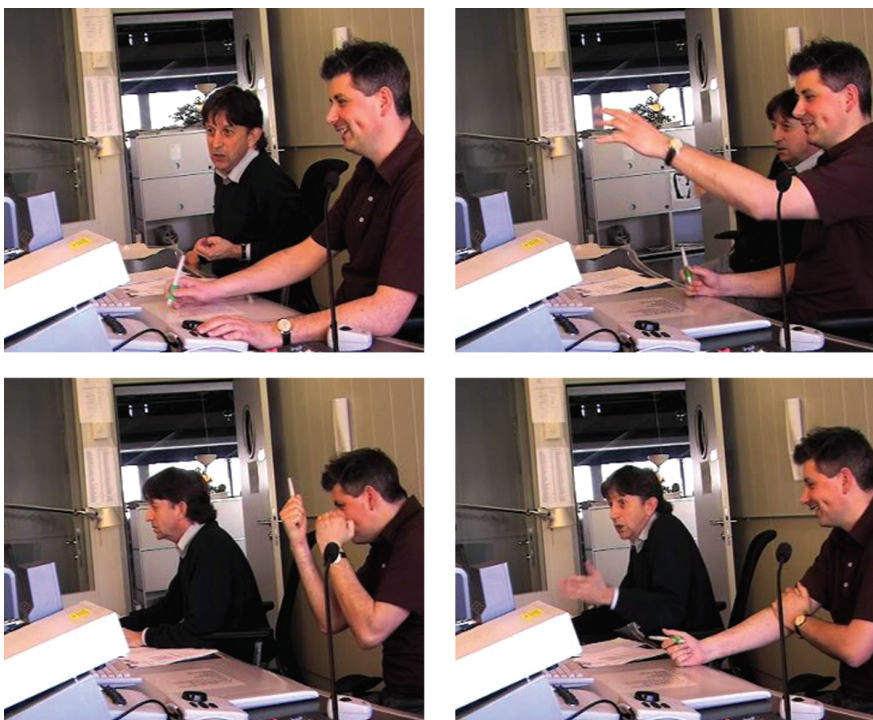
Fig. 1   Body language of C.A. (left) and the cutter (right) watching the video material in the YOGY workplace session
Source: tsr_tj_070307_1245_ayer_yogyakarta_discourse

h₄   The negotiations started at the very beginning of the cutting room session, when C.A. tried to convince the cutter that the amateur footage they were viewing had been taken by a surviving passenger, not a tourist or a local journalist.[1139] By consulting colleagues and comparing empirical evidence they finally agreed

on C.A.'s version.[1140] The cutter then motivated C.A. to start the item with the scene of "the guy running away" because "afterwards, people will get the message".[1141] Next, C.A. assumed that the passenger who had recorded the pictures was in deadly peril and that this fact could shock the audience,[1142] whereas the cutter thought this passenger could protect himself from an imminent explosion of the aircraft by hiding behind a bush. They agreed on the formulation that the passenger was "not yet safe" (Ex. 1, lines 14–15).[1143]

h₅ The negotiations went on as the dramaturgy emerged, proceeding logically from the close-up of an individual's fate (Ex. 1, lines 1–15; and Fig. 2, Section b) to the wide-angle shot of the rescue (16–21; c), a quote of a security officer reporting from a helper-hero perspective (22–25; d), the tragedy of the people who could not be rescued (26–29; e), and finally to the progression of events preceding the crash (30–37; f). Thus, the dramaturgy takes the audience straight from detail to context, from good to bad, and from results to causes. The dramaturgy was negotiated and developed incrementally through blending film and news patterns. C.A.'s initial decision for incremental and collaborative text production translated into a lean and linear writing process of these phases in which, first, C.A. wrote all the sections more or less top-down (Fig. 2, phase A), then revised the sections on casualties and preceding events (phase B), and finally added stage directions at the end (phase C).
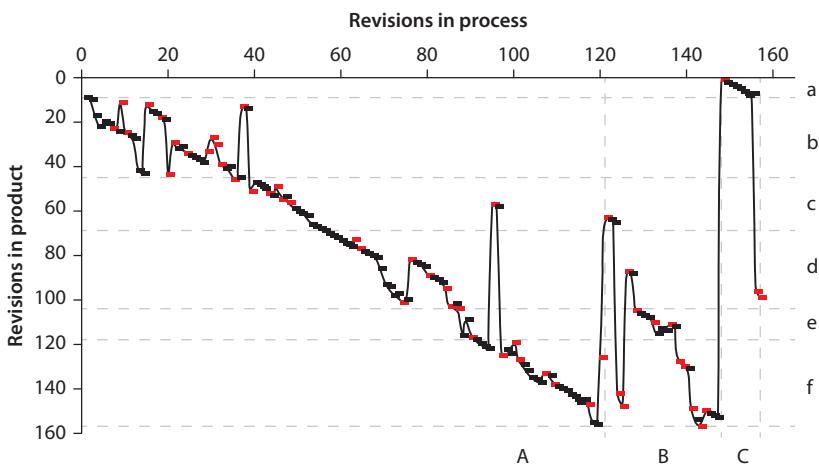
Fig. 2   Progression graph from the YOGY noon writing process
Source: tsr_tj_070307_1245_ayer_ yogyakarta_progress_1

h₆ Throughout the process, the two colleagues commented on the pictures. C.A. found the pictures "strong", he said that "they carry all the comments"[1144] and that he had "never seen such pictures";[1145] "normally, after a crash, [all] you can see [is] some smoke from far away".[1146] In the introduction, he has the anchor talking about "shocking" pictures (Ex. 1, line 9). The cutter, in contrast, called the pictures "super beautiful" and focused on their "surprising esthetic qualities".

He reacted to these qualities with utterances such as: " whosh … this is good too, my God, my God, my God, such violence, my God".[1147]

h₇   While the cutter commented enthusiastically on the pictures' esthetics, C.A. repeatedly refocused on the journalistic task he and the cutter had to achieve: Explaining the "incredible story" from relevant perspectives and in a way "people can understand".[1148] Within the short time allocated to the item, he wanted to make clear how the crash had come about and what had happened afterwards. This meant neither softening nor over-dramatizing the accident, but telling both the striking story of 112 passengers surviving the accident (Ex. 1, lines 16–20)[1149] and the sad story of the casualties (lines 26–29): "Wait a second […] I am going to say that twenty-one people died, […] I am going to say so right at the beginning."[1150]

h₈   Towards the end of the production process of the noon item, C.A. let the cutter decide on the final picture: "the choice is yours".[1151] By then, he had realized that it was through verbal contextualizing that he could make the news item differ from a video clip. Showing *and* explaining the dreadful and the redeeming – what C.A. and the cutter had done was more than just break a Téléjournal taboo by using spectacular amateur pictures. Through extensive negotiations they had found a way to combine video clips with quality journalism ethics and esthetics.

i   *Potential for knowledge transformation*

C.A. overcame the critical situation of cross-disciplinary collaboration with a cutter socialized in making films and video clips – who had become involved with the news program merely due to budget cuts at Télévision Suisse Romande. C.A. had been an adult educator for a long time and was used to working with very different kinds of people. He resisted fighting against or capitulating to his colleague's obvious enthusiasm for "surprising esthetic qualities" (see above, Section h). Instead, he concentrated on setting up an intellectual counterweight within the two-person team (activity field of Handling social environment). Throughout the process, he engaged in scrutinizing, differentiating, explaining, and moderating. The audience should view *and* "understand" (Section h) what had happened and why it was worth being presented this way (Establishing relevance for the audience).

To sum up, C.A.'s competence in collaboration helped him to develop a third way, leaving behind both the "Lars von Trier" approach and his employer's rigid policy of excluding amateur footage from Téléjournal. Using authentic, exceptional video material to explain the exceptional in an authentic way induced a novel dramaturgical pattern (Staging the story) that was accepted at the editorial conference. It offers the potential to stimulate public discourse and promote public understanding across media socializations, reaching both an audience that, in the Latin meaning of *audire*, listens to coherent explanations – and the growing audience socialized to video clip esthetics.

C|1.1   Interpersonal environment

Communicative language use is interpersonal in that it is directed to other people. As in the Yogy case, most beginnings of journalistic communication are discussions, although the participants are aiming beyond their immediate communication situation, and are oriented not only to their discussion partner but also to the media audience.

From a theoretical perspective, this interface of interpersonal environment and language use in journalistic media is interesting because practices of addressing contributions to multiple target audiences can be investigated. In addition, media interviews provide natural, easily accessible data for such investigations, since microphones, cameras, and recordings belong to the field of activity itself and are not artificial intrusions imposed by researchers. From the point of view of professional practice, the challenge is to produce media interviews that address all of the relevant target audiences at the same time. Media linguistics employs tools from discourse linguistics to analyze language use through which interviewers and interviewees establish a relationship with multiple target audiences – for example loaded questions (for a research overview see Perrin, 2011b, 91–93; for exemplary approaches e.g. Bucher, 1993; Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Heritage, 1985; Jacobs, 2011; Luginbühl, 2007; Norrick, 2010).

However, when focusing on newswriting, media linguistics investigates not only conversations that have found their way into media products, but also the negotiations, discussions, and informal newsroom conversations; that is, the interpersonal environment in the workplace. An example from the Yogy case is the practice of Negotiating item length. As C.A. mentioned in the verbal protocol, he can sometimes negotiate the length of items with his superiors during the text production processes. His goal then is to get more or less airtime allocated to the emerging item, according to his own interest in the topic (Ex. 3):

```
0088    si tout d'un coup il y avait quelque chose
0089    d'extrêmement intéressant
0090    je peux négocier un peu plus
0091    mais si par contre si je trouve que c'est absolument emmerdant
0092    eh bien je lui dis
0093    écoute à mon avis une minute ça suffit
```

Ex. 3   Verbal protocol from the Yogy case
Source: tsr_tj_070307_1930_ayer_yogyakarta_verbal

C|1.2   Intersituative environment

Even things that seem fleeting and spontaneous in journalistic media are inter-situational and done deliberately: with calculable effort and expenditure, for a pre-determined time frame or space, aimed at providing the simplest possible access for an unknown audience far away from the production situation. Texts for media items are therefore usually produced in written form even if they are later presented in spoken form.

A theoretical question of interest for linguists at this interface of inter-situational environment and language use in journalistic media is how writers produce their texts: do they write on their own or do they collaborate? This can be easily determined at journalistic workstations: writing processes here are predictably short and can be tracked by computer systems step-by-step. From the point of view of practice, the question arises as to how journalistic contributions can be produced under economical production conditions, with multiple authors, and in a media- and task-specific interplay of spoken and written modes. Media linguistics employs tools from writing research to analyze how routines and creativity are integrated in language use – as exemplified by the writing strategies of experienced media professionals (e.g. M. Fishman, 1980; Wolf & Thomason, 1986; overview in Perrin, 2011b, 99–101).

However, when focusing on newswriting, media linguistics investigates the production processes not only of news stories themselves, but of everything that can be and is edited in the newsroom, such as stage directions or inserts. An example from the Yogy case is the practice of Adding text for insert. To make sure that names such as *Yogyakarta* are spelt correctly when displayed on screen as inserts under the talking heads, C.A. copies them from the source text (Ex. 4).

```
1134   J:   ah oui là c'est pour faire un synthé
1135        pour ne pas me planter
1136        là je le colle
1137   R:   ah pour les noms
1138   J:   oui ((rires)) copié-collé tac
```

Ex. 4   Verbal protocol from the Yogy case
Source: tsr_tj_070307_1930_ayer_yogyakarta_verbal

C|1.3 Intertextual environment

Journalistic text production transmits societal discourse, thus basically draws on discussions and fixed offers of communication. This recourse to other texts in intertextual chains occurs in journalistic communication through several steps following domain-specific rules about dealing with sources.

At this interface of intertextual environment and language use in journalistic media, a theoretical question of interest for linguists is how public discourse functions; that is, how discourse communities communicate about certain topics over time and space and how they follow up on previous contributions to those topics. News items in journalistic media support such discourse and provide a record that can be analyzed at a later date. From the point of view of practice, the question arises as to how discourse is conveyed from sources to audience in a journalistically appropriate and economically acceptable way. Media linguistics employs tools from text linguistics to analyze language use through which media professionals create, simulate, and blur intertextuality – for example by clustering items or intensifying them with quotes (e.g. Ekström, 2001; Luginbühl, 2004; Sleurs & Jacobs, 2005; Van Hout, Pander Maat, & De Preter, 2011; overview in Perrin, 2011b, 107–109).

When focusing on newswriting as a process, media linguistics investigates intertextuality not only in its more or less manifest forms, but also in cases where it remains invisible in the products. Examples from the Yogy case are: the practice of Copying what others have broadcasted and the related decisions not to do so. After discovering that Radio Suisse Romande had already broadcasted a French translation of the correspondent's eyewitness report, C.A. thought for a moment about using it in his item (Ex. 5).

```
0136    je me suis demandé
0137    si j'allais pas l'utiliser tel quel un moment donné
0138    ((rires))
0139    ç'aurait été jouable
0140    mais hé hé il aurait fallu vérifier
0141    la qualité du son via internet
0142    est-ce que on a le droit de piquer comme ça heu un son
0143    à la télévision suisse romande ou pas
0144    question hein heu
0145    théoriquement c'est nos collègues
0146    c'est la même boîte mais-
```

Ex. 5 Verbal protocol from the Yogy case

Source: tsr_tj_070307_1930_ayer_yogyakarta_verbal

C|1.4 Intermodal environment

The symbolic system of language, whether spoken or written, is always interse-miotically connected in media items: language never occurs as language only. The various forms of journalistic media permit and demand their own links between language and other symbolic systems. This has repercussions for the use of language.

A theoretical question of interest for linguists at this interface of intermodal environment and language use in journalistic media is how language interacts with other symbolic systems. The technology of each medium allows its own interaction of symbolic systems, and the dramaturgy demands it: print with its script and still pictures; television with moving pictures; and radio with the accoustic background of reported events. From the practice point of view, the question arises as to how signs from several systems can be coordinated with each other. Media linguistics employs tools from semiotics to analyze how language is used to create multi-semiotic media items – for example to avoid a gap between spoken text and pictures, the text/image divide (e.g. Hess-Lüttich, 2002; Holly, 2005; Wojcieszak, 2009; overview in Perrin, 2011b, 115–117).

However, when focusing on newswriting, media linguistics investigates not only modal interplays in products, but also modal transitions in processes. An example from the YOGY case is the practice of WRITING FOR SPEAKING: C.A. changed single words in his emerging text to facilitate the speaking of the language chunks in the booth (Ex. 6 and Ex. 7).

```
1025    j'ai inversé des choses
1026    «tout le boeing» c'est plus difficile à dire
1027    que «tout l'appareil»
...     ...
1030    oui mais ce n'est pas moi qui vais le lire
1031    mais je dois penser quand même oui
```

Ex. 6   Verbal protocol from the YOGY case

Source: tsr_tj_070307_1930_ayer_yogyakarta_verbal

```
Moi⁴³{,}⁴³|₄₄ j'ai sauté d⁴⁹[e⁴⁰[ l'avion]⁴⁰|₄₁⁴¹{⁴²[la^'|₄₂]⁴²
l'appareil}⁴¹|⁴⁹|₄₃|₅₀⁵⁰{u_B⁵¹{o}⁵¹|₅₂eing|₅₁}⁵⁰ et quelques minutes
après ⁴⁶[l'ensemble d⁴⁴[e l'avion]⁴⁴|₄₅⁴⁵{u}⁴⁵|₄₆]⁴⁶|₄₇⁴⁷{⁴⁸[tpout|₄₈]⁴⁸t
out }⁴⁷|₄₉⁵²{lappareil était en feu}⁵²
```

Ex. 7   Revisions from the YOGY case

Source: tsr_tj_070307_1930_ayer_yogyakartatemoignage_snt

C|1.5   Language environments and activity fields of newswriting

In practice, newswriting takes place across the theoretically separate environments outlined above (C|1.1–1.4). News often refers to oral negotiations, bridges situations of production and reception, originates from source materials, and combines signs from different systems. The same applies to the processes of newswriting. Journalists negotiate their tasks with possible text agents and other people involved, set their communicational offers as items ready for broadcasting to large and distant audiences, depend on sources, and process words as well as sound and pictures.

In doing so, the journalists engage in the activity fields related to the environments of newswriting, as presented in detail in the next sections: They handle their social environment (C|1.5.1), task environment (C|1.5.2), and tools environment (C|1.5.3) throughout the workflow in the newsroom, starting their newswriting processes at the input interface of comprehending their task (C|1.5.4) and ending it at the output interface of implementing their product (C|1.5.5).

The activity in these five fields is oriented to (re-)producing specific contexts of newswriting. *(Re-)producing* means that journalists create, confirm, and alter the conditions in which their newswriting process will take place. They deal with people and tools, co-define their writing tasks together with colleagues and superiors, allocate resources to the writing itself and other tasks, and take care of implementing the final product in a way that fits the workflow their contributions are parts of.

Practices in these activity fields are not directly visible in the products as such, but shape the conditions under which an item is produced. As these conditions restrict or facilitate the emergence of specific features of writing processes and text products, they leave indirect traces in the output and outcome of newswriting. In the Yogy case, crucial environment-oriented practices were realized when C.A. engaged in Negotiating gist and Taking a lot of time to work on pictures of the emerging news item with a cutter socialized in making films and video clips (C|1|h$_3$).

The next table (Fig. 3) shows the interplay of the four medialinguistic environments (C|1.1–1.4) and the five environment-related activity fields, which are detailed below (C|1.5.1–1.5.5).

The top line represents the perspectives from applied linguistics (A|2.3). The four increasingly complex linguistic environments of language use in the media have been separated theoretically and are systematically linked:

- intermodality presupposes semiotic complexes from various origins
  and thus intertextuality;
- intertextuality presupposes communication across space and time
  and thus intersituativity;
- intersituativity presupposes situated communicational offers
  and thus intersubjectivity.

Applied linguistics perspective →	Environment				Function				Structure			
	Interpersonal	Intersituative	Intertextual	Intermodal	Referential	Cognitive	Interactive	Social	Sound	Word	Sentence	Text
Writing research perspective: Activity fields ↓												
Environment — Handling social environment	(re–) producing specific contexts of newswriting e.g. NEGOTIATING GIST											
Handling tools environment												
Handling task environment												
Comprehending the task												
Implementing the product												
…					…							

Fig. 3   The medialinguistic mindset of newswriting: synopsis of writing research and applied linguistics perspectives

In practice, however, newswriting takes place across the environments; all settings of news production combine intermodal, intertextual, intersituative, and interpersonal activities (C|1).

On the left are the perspectives from writing research (B|2.3). Activities in the five fields are oriented towards creating, confirming, and altering the conditions in which newswriting processes take place. These conditions simultaneously enable and constrain the activities. The activity fields are presented in detail below (C|1.5.1–C|1.5.5).

The environmental perspectives on language use discussed in the present chapter are complemented by functional and structural perspectives discussed in chapters C|2 and C|3 on the medialinguistic mindset of newswriting.

C|1.5.1   *The activity field of HANDLING SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT*

Activities in the field of HANDLING SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT are oriented towards individuals and collectives who influence – and are influenced by – the newswriting process or product, such as peers and competitors. Practitioners' key questions in this field include: How do I interact with people and the institutions they represent? And how can I get access to them or dissociate myself from them?

In the YOGY case, the journalist C.A. entered the activity field of HANDLING SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT for example with the practice of (not) INVOLVING COLLABORATOR: He hesitated about whether he should bother his colleague, who was already translating the correspondent's eyewitness report (C|1.0|f₃), by telling him that he had just found a French translation by RADIO SUISSE ROMANDE on their website. However, he then decided not to do so (Ex. 8):

```
0115    alors je me pose pas la question
0116    est-ce que je vais lui dire
0117    non il est déjà en train de-
0118    voilà ((rires))
0119    il est déjà en train de faire son boulot
0120    il travaille très vite
0121    je veux pas l'indisposer ((rires)) voilà
```

Ex. 8   Verbal protocol from the YOGY case
Source: tsr_tj_070307_1930_ayer_yogyakarta_verbal

In the IDÉE SUISSE corpus, HANDLING SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT encompasses practices that, first, can be related to specific processes, ranging from associating to dissociating.[9] Examples from the YOGY case include:

- SHARING, e.g. SHARING KNOWLEDGE WITH COLLABORATOR: Informing collaborators, such as superiors, peers, and anyone else working for the broadcasting company about what one knows;
- NEGOTIATING, e.g. NEGOTIATING ITEM LENGTH: Discussing with the person in charge, such as the producer, how long the item should be;
- INTERVIEWING, e.g. HANDLING INTERVIEWEE: Dealing with interview partners in such a way that one expects to reach one's goals;
- OUTPERFORMING COMPETITOR, e.g. BEING FASTER THAN NEWSPAPERS: Telling the news on TV before newspapers can be printed;
- DISSOCIATING ONESELF FROM COLLABORATOR, e.g. HANDLING DISTRACTION FROM CUTTER: Coping with distractions caused by the cutter's work or behavior while collaborating.

Second, practices of HANDLING SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT can be related to specific agents. These are stakeholders involved in the newswriting process only, or both in the processes and the resulting media item. Examples from the YOGY case include:

- COMPETITOR, e.g. USING SOURCE COMPETITORS LACK: Exploiting sources which competitors such as newspapers have no access to;
- MEDIA, e.g. AVOIDING CRITICIZING OTHER MEDIA: Not claiming or stating in the item that other media have made mistakes;
- PRODUCER, e.g. CONSIDERING PRODUCER AUDIENCE REPRESENTATIVE: Treating the producer as a member of the audience and as the first viewer of one's item, whose comments can be taken into account while collaborating;

---

9.   In relating practices to specific processes, I draw on the MIC epistemology (A|3.3). It distinguishes between the four epistemological perspectives of *structure* (e.g. contexts, resources, agents, tools, products), *dynamics* (e.g. processes), *identity* (e.g. positions of uniqueness), and *evaluation* (e.g. qualities of products and processes).

- Superior, e.g. Doing what superior wants to be done: Following the instructions given by superiors;
- Author, e.g. Asking author whether change is correct: Checking whether changes one has made in the text written by another author are correct. Example: As a producer, one spots an assumed mistake, revises it, and asks the journalist responsible for the item whether the revised text is correct;
- Collaborator, e.g. Involving collaborator: Involving collaborators, such as superiors, peers, and anyone else working for the broadcasting company;
- Peer, e.g. Involving peer if problem occurs: Working alone normally, but contacting other journalists if problems arise;
- Anchor, e.g. Letting anchor write intro: Leaving it up to the anchor to write the anchor introduction rather than doing it oneself;
- Cutter, e.g. Hurrying because cutter is waiting for text: Working faster if the cutter cannot continue without the text;
- Source, e.g. Handling source's legal stipulation: Dealing with the restrictions that protect certain source materials;
- Expert, e.g. Having expert contextualize story: Including experts who can contextualize a story, instead of doing it oneself;
- Interviewee, e.g. Mentioning interviewee's refusal: Stating in the item that a prospective interviewee refused to give an interview;
- Text agent, e.g. Preferring people concerned to officials: Including text agents who are directly affected by something rather than asking officials to comment on how these people have been affected;
- Audience, e.g. Processing audience feedback: Listening to or reading audience feedback, thinking about it, or taking it up in a reaction.

C|1.5.2 *The activity field of* Handling task environment

Activities in the field of Handling task environment are oriented towards tasks that influence – and are influenced by – the newswriting itself, such as doing administrative work or dealing with legal issues. Practitioners' key questions in this field include: How do I manage the different tasks I am supposed to carry out? And what resources do I have to allocate at what time to which task?

In the Yogy case, the journalist C.A. entered the activity field of Handling task environment for example with the practices of Finding right people to translate: He felt competent enough to understand the Italian eyewitness report he had found in the news network, but not proficient enough to translate it himself for a voiceover translation (C|1.0|f₃), so he wanted to have it translated by an Italian-speaking colleague (Ex. 9). As this practice combines a task and a social aspect, it is related to both activity fields, like many other practices in the corpus.

```
0070    je comprends relativement bien l'italien
0071    mais je suis pas italophone
0072    c'est-à-dire la traduction je la fais faire
0073    par un de mes collègues
```

Ex. 9 Verbal protocol from the YOGY case
Source: tsr_tj_070307_1930_ayer_yogyakarta_verbal

Another example of HANDLING TASK ENVIRONMENT is ADDING STAGE DIREC-
TIONS IN THE END: Towards the end of his cutting room session, C.A. inserts
into his text file the technical information that is needed for broadcasting and
archiving an item, such as filenames and descriptions of the pictures shown. In
this case, C.A. adds the time code for an insert he wants displayed throughout a
scene to cover another insert that came with the video material from his source,
an Indonesian TV station (Ex. 10).

```
1170    il faut mettre encore le time code
1171    et j'ai encore des hésitations
1172    parce que finalement on le mettrait
1173    sur tout le long du témoignage
1174    au début on a mis vingt secondes à la fin
1175    seize secondes-
1176    vingt secondes au début seize secondes à la fin
1177    et puis après avec la photo (xxx) je pensais
1178    que ça dérangeait l'image
1179    mais en fait pas du tout
1180    parce qu'il y a les incrustes de la télévision indonésienne
1181    qu'on couvrait grâce à ça finalement
```

Ex. 10 Verbal protocol from the YOGY case
Source: tsr_tj_070307_1930_ayer_yogyakarta_verbal

In the IDÉE SUISSE corpus, HANDLING TASK ENVIRONMENT encompasses prac-
tices that, first, can be related to specific processes. They range from preparing
to the follow up of the newswriting process. Examples from the YOGY case and
other cases in the corpus (marked with *) include:

–   DOING RESEARCH, e.g. ORGANIZING ACCESS TO SOURCE: Making arrangements to
    connect with the sources needed;
–   SHOOTING PICTURES, e.g. BEING FLEXIBLE WHILE SHOOTING PICTURES*: Being
    spontaneous and open to changing plans when one is taking the pictures;
–   TAKING UP OTHER'S STORY, e.g. COPYING WHAT OTHERS HAVE BROADCASTED:
    Copying from a video or audio sequence broadcasted by somebody else;
–   TAKING UP ONE'S STORY, e.g. WRITING ABOUT SAME TOPIC FOR LATER ISSUE:
    Writing more than one item on the same topic, in order to include them in differ-
    ent issues of the broadcast;

- Cutting, e.g. Choosing source pictures with cutter: Negotiating with the cutter which pictures to select and how to cut them;
- Updating text, e.g. Adjusting text to anchor's text changes*: Changing the text in order to match it with the introduction written by the anchor;
- Dealing with legal issues, e.g. Handling source's legal stipulation: Dealing with the restrictions that protect certain source materials;
- Administrating, e.g. Doing administrative work*: Doing work which is not an essential part of one's role as a journalist, such as organizing the camera equipment and people to operate it or a spot to park one's car before going to cover an event;
- translating, e.g. Finding right people to translate: Finding people one expects to be proficient enough to translate a text, such as a quote, from the source language to the language of the item;
- translating, e.g. Having questionable translation in source text retranslated: Finding someone to retranslate a text if the original translation sounds strange;
- Prioritizing item*, e.g. Reconsidering priority of item: Considering not broadcasting an item if something else turns out to be more relevant.

Second, practices of Handling Task environment can be related to specific products and contexts. Prototypes are the anchor's introduction and the overall workflow in the newsroom. Examples from the Yogy case include:

- Intro, e.g. Proofreading intro: Checking the anchor introduction for minor errors;
- Stage directions, e.g. Adding stage directions in the end: Putting in stage directions such as time codes and filenames only after having finished writing the text;
- Workflow, e.g. Adjusting workflow to collaborator's workflow: Organizing the process of producing an item not solely according to one's preferences and needs, but taking into account the preferences, needs and availability of collaborators as well.

C|1.5.3   *The activity field of Handling tools environment*

Activities in the field of Handling Tools environment are oriented towards tools that influence – and are influenced by – the newswriting task a journalist is performing, such as software, cell phones, archives, and cutting rooms. Practitioners' key questions in this field include: How do I use the tools available as efficiently as possible? When do I use which tools to best exploit their strength? What weaknesses and risks are related to the use of a tool, and how can I cope with them?

In the Yogy case, the journalist C.A. entered the activity field of Handling Tools environment for example with the practice of Coping with software: After C.A. had preselected pictures for about half an hour, his text editor crashed and the cursor froze (Ex. 11, lines 300–305). So C.A. first checked his e-mails and then thought about having to start again from scratch (306–310). In the verbal protocol he explained that, for him, such computer crashes were a reason not to cut videos on his workplace computer. Losing a video file after a complex cutting session meant, as he said, a considerable loss of time and sometimes the risk of missing deadlines (311–317). However, in this case, C.A. had saved the file in a format that it could be recovered after rebooting the software (318–320):

```
0300    voilà le bug
0301    c'est exactement le bug ((rires))
0302    là je suis bloqué
0303    le sablier ne bouge plus
0304    j'arrive plus rien à faire
0305    impossible
0306    j'arrive- c'est pour ça que je suis allé voir le mail
0307    entre parenthèses
0308    parce que entretemnps ça me bloquait pas mes mails
0309    mais là hein sur nps je n'arrive plus à travailler
0310    je devrai tout recommencer
0311    bon comme c'est- c''est pour ça
0312    qu'on hésite à faire des montages des fois soi-même
0313    pour des petits plateaux
0314    ce n'est pas grave
0315    mais quand il s'agit d'un sujet d'une minute trente
0316    c'est c'est quand même-
0317    et puis c'est risqué aussi suivant l'heure
0318    voilà là j'ai enregistré mon truc
0319    il y aura «Indonésie 1»
0320    donc il pourra le récupérer dans la machine
```

Ex. 11   Verbal protocol from the Yogy case
Source: tsr_tj_070307_1930_ayer_yogyakarta_verbal

In the Idée suisse corpus, Handling Tools environment encompasses practices that, first, can be related to specific processes. They range from exploiting tools' functionalities to coping with problems that tools cause. Examples from the Yogy case and other cases* include:

–   Digitizing materials, e.g. Looking at source pictures while digitizing to get overview*: Viewing the pictures in order to get an overview of their content and quality, while the computer is converting them to another format;

- Sharing by technical means, e.g. Sharing text with producer*: Sharing one's text by technical means so that the producer can access it;
- Handling technical problem, e.g. Saving file to prepare for software crash: Saving on the computer the notes one has made in preparation for the item.

Second, practices of Handling Tools environment can be related to specific tools and resources. They range from global to local. Again, computer problems are mirrored in the journalists' repertoires of practices. Examples from the Yogy and other cases* include:

- Internet, e.g. Using internet to check name and title: Checking names and titles by making use of internet search engines;
- archive, e.g. Searching archive*: Looking for something in the archive of the media company one works for;
- archive, e.g. Preferring raw material from archive*: Using original material from the archive rather than the processed pictures available there;
- Workplace, e.g. Getting access to workplace*: Finding ways to get a workplace such as cutting station where one can do what one is supposed to do;
- Workplace, e.g. Preparing workplace*: Preparing the workplace in order to feel comfortable and work efficiently;
- Software, e.g. Using software to estimate text length: Using a computer program which indicates how long it will take to speak a text;
- Software, e.g. Coping with software: Dealing with problems one has with software, including computer crashes;
- Software, e.g. Coping with unfamiliar software: Dealing with software problems one has because one is unfamiliar with this kind of software;
- Software, e.g. Rewriting text after software crash: Rewriting the text or text parts lost due to a software crash;
- Software, e.g. Saving file to prepare for software crash: Saving files during writing because one expects or wants to be prepared for software crashes;
- Hardware, e.g. Coping with hardware*: Handling problems with equipment such as computers, recorders, and cameras.

C|1.5.4   *The activity field of COMPREHENDING THE TASK*

Activities in the field of Comprehending the task are oriented towards the input interface of newswriting: negotiating, defining, and understanding the writing task a journalist has to perform, and allocating appropriate resources such as production time, product time, and space. Practitioners' key questions in this field include: What am I expected to do? Who tells me to do so? Which resources do I have available?

In the Yogy case, the journalist C.A. entered the activity field of Compre-
hending the task for example with the practices of Observing deadline
and Revising more if time is available. While working, he kept the dead-
line in mind, even though there was plenty of time due to the time lag of news
from Asia (Ex. 12). As he was not in a hurry, C.A. defined his task as refining and
extending an item he had written before (C|1.0|f₄), C.A. felt free to work on polish-
ing his formulations (Ex. 13).

```
0765   on prend notre temps
0766   c'est pas toujours comme ça
0767   c'est vrai que l'après-midi on a beaucoup plus de temps
0768   en principe si on a-
0769   surtout avec toute l'information qui vient d'asie
```

Ex. 12 Verbal protocol from the Yogy case
Source: tsr_tj_070307_1930_ayer_yogyakarta_verbal

```
0629   je reviens en arrière
0630   puis je repars là
0631   je travaille sur plusieurs fronts à la fois ((rires))
0632   non comme ça n'a pas beaucoup d'incidence
0633   disons que je le fais
0634   je peux me le permettre
0635   d'autant plus qu'au niveau du montage
0636   il y a déjà le pré-montage du sujet de midi qu'est fait
...    ...
0639   donc je peux me permettre de faire
0640   ce genre d'aller et retour
```

Ex. 13 Verbal protocol from the Yogy case
Source: tsr_tj_070307_1930_ayer_yogyakarta_verbal

In the Idée suisse corpus, Comprehending the task encompasses practices
that, first, can be related to identity concepts and specific activities. Prototypes
are Own writing task and Taking orders. Examples from the Yogy case
and other cases* include:

–   Own writing task, e.g. Defining the task: Deciding about who has to do what,
    when, where, and why;
–   Taking orders, e.g. Doing what superior wants to be done*: Following the
    instructions given by superiors.

Second, practices of Comprehending the task can be related to specific con-
texts: the resources allocated to a task. A prototypical context is Working time.
Examples from the Yogy and other cases* include:

- – Working time, e.g. Taking a lot of time to work on pictures: Investing a lot of time in selecting, cutting, and editing pictures;
- – Working time, e.g. Revising more if time is available: Making a lot of revisions when one has a lot of time to do so;
- – Working time, e.g. Observing deadline: Keeping deadlines in mind while writing and speeding up if necessary;
- – Working time, e.g. Avoiding dramaturgical risk when working under pressure*: Not pursuing storytelling strategies which might lead to nowhere if one is working under pressure;
- – Working time, e.g. Focusing better under pressure*: Thinking and deciding faster and in a more structured way if one works under pressure.

Third, practices of Comprehending the task can be related to specific products. They form the superordinate product units an issue has to fit into. A prototypical product is Issue. Examples from cases *other than the Yogy case include:

- – Issue, e.g. Avoiding long intro for night broadcast*: Not having overly long anchor introduction to an item if the item is broadcasted in the short night issue of the news program;
- – Issue, e.g. Ending broadcast with easy item*: Planning to end the broadcast with an item which is easy to understand, entertaining, and not too heavy.

Fourth, practices of Comprehending the task can be related to specific product properties. They refer to preset item qualities. A prototypical product property is Length, referring to the time slot scheduled in the issue and the program. Length is in this sense, just like the working time allocated to a process, a basic element of a writing task. However, in contrast to working time, length is not just a resource to be exploited or not, but a fixed property of the predetermined product. Examples from cases *other than the Yogy case include:

- – Length, e.g. Holding to time slot for item*: Taking into account how long the item should be when making decisions about the further writing process;
- – Length, e.g. Negotiating item length*: Discussing with the person in charge, such as the producer, how long the item should be;
- – Length, e.g. Shortening text to fit time slot*: Shortening the text or parts of the text because it is considered too long for the item.

C|1.5.5 *The activity field of IMPLEMENTING THE PRODUCT*

Activities in the field of IMPLEMENTING THE PRODUCT are oriented towards the output interface of newswriting: implementing the final product in a format and through procedures that fit the overall workflow of content generation and value creation in the newsroom. Practitioners' key questions in this field include: How do I check whether my work fits with what my collaborators do? And how do I make sure it does?

In the YOGY case, the journalist C.A. entered the activity field of IMPLEMENTING THE PRODUCT for example with the practice of USING FONT TO SUGGEST PROSODY. He used slashes and suspension points to facilitate an appropriate speaking of the offtext and the voiceover translation in the booth. Slashes meant a pause in the offtext so that the audience could hear the heavy breathing of a surviving passenger who was escaping from the burning airplane (Ex. 14). Similarly, suspension points meant a pause for the speaker of the voiceover translation: "I pulled four people out of the airplane … safe and sound" (Ex. 15 and Ex. 16).

```
0414    là il y a par exemple-
0415    moi je utilise ces slashes
0416    ça veut dire des pauses
0417    laisser parler l'image
0418    c'est ça que ça veut dire
...     ...
0420    là il s'agit surtout d'une respiration haletante qu'on voit
0421    il est en train ha ha ha le type qui court
```

Ex. 14   Verbal protocol from the YOGY case
Source: tsr_tj_070307_1930_ayer_yogyakarta_verbal

```
1075    R:   les trois points de suspension
1076         c'est à nouveau pour laisser parler les images
1077         ou c'était-
1078    J:   oui oui oui
1079    R:   d'accord
1080    J:   oui enfin les images et puis bon c'est-
1081         je crois que lui-même il-
1082    R:   il faisait une pause
```

Ex. 15   Verbal protocol from the YOGY case
Source: tsr_tj_070307_1930_ayer_yogyakarta_verbal

```
{j'ai }63|64tiré 60[.|60]60,61[.|61]61,62[.|62]62quatre personnes
hor64[t]64s de l'avion|63 65[.|65]65,66[.|66]66,67[.|67]67,68[.|68]68....
saine76[ ]76|77s77[te]77|7878{ et 79[.|79]79|80}78 sauves.
```

Ex. 16   Revisions from the YOGY case
Source: tsr_tj_070307_1245_ayer_yogyakarta_snt_1

In the Idée suisse corpus, Implementing the product encompasses practices that, first, can be related to specific processes. They range from preparing the implementation to monitoring the product and its impacts afterwards. Examples from the Yogy case and other cases* include:

– Formatting text, e.g. Formatting text to improve speakability*: Using text formatting devices, such as bold or underline, to indicate speaking cues;
– Speaking, e.g. Using font to suggest prosody: Changing the typography, such as underlining or using capitals, in a part of the text in order to show how to speak the text;
– Speaking, e.g. Writing for speaking: Writing the text in a way that one considers to sound good and to be easily spoken by the anchor or off-speaker;
– Prioritizing item, e.g. Reconsidering priority of item*: Considering not broadcasting an item if something else turns out to be more relevant;
– Proofreading, e.g. Reading text-so-far to evaluate it: Reading the text one has written so far, in order to evaluate it;
– Proofreading, e.g. Proofreading for spelling and punctuation: Checking the text for errors in spelling and punctuation;
– Submitting text, e.g. Reading submitted text*: Downloading and reading the text file which one has already sent to be broadcasted;
– Submitting text, e.g. Revising submitted text*: Downloading and revising the text file which one has already sent to be broadcasted;
– Processing feedback, e.g. Processing audience feedback*: Listening to or reading audience feedback, thinking about it, or taking it up in a reaction;
– Processing feedback, e.g. Reading broadcast evaluation*: Reading a quantitative or qualitative evaluation of a broadcast.

Second, practices of Implementing the product can be related to specific product parts: those oriented towards the implementation of the item. A prototypical product part is stage directions. Examples from the Yogy and other cases* include:

– Stage directions, e.g. Adding stage directions*: Inserting information that is needed for the technical production of the item, such as time codes, filenames or a description of the pictures shown;
– Stage directions, e.g. Adding stage directions in the end: Putting in stage directions such as time codes and filenames only after having finished writing the text;
– Stage directions, e.g. Checking whether stage direction is included*: Checking whether the text contains the stage directions needed for the production of the item.

C|2   Investigating language functions in newswriting

In this chapter, the Mars case from the Idée suisse project will serve as a practical example of the medialinguistic mindset being applied (C|2.0). I then present four increasingly complex functions of language use that interact with the environments described in C|1: referential (C|2.1), cognitive (C|2.2), interactive (C|2.3), and social (C|2.4). Finally, I zoom into the activity fields of newswriting that are related to these functions of language use (C|2.5).

Language usually refers to things outside itself: it labels things in the world. Every form of communication makes use of this labeling. However, as the term suggests, journalistic news is concerned with conveying new information. It even has to be able to refer quickly to things that have not been labeled previously (C|2.1).

The use of language requires and generates cognitive processes: people express thoughts as signs – and signs trigger thoughts. In journalistic communication, though, language production is disconnected from reception. The media professionals cannot directly track what certain linguistic devices trigger in their audience (C|2.2).

Cognitive change favors interactive change: new knowledge can alter behavior. Communication aims for such effects. People do things with language so that something happens; they communicate purposefully. In journalistic communication, producers' purposes can interfere with the intentions of their sources, their audience, and society at large (C|2.3).

Communication has a socially constitutive effect: people can establish communities with language and, conversely, the chosen language indicates the discourse community being addressed. Journalistic communication translates between the languages of communities such as professional politicians and lay citizens (C|2.4).

In practice, newswriting takes place across these functions. News refers to real-world events, triggers changes in knowledge and behavior, and fosters discourse between societal groups. The same applies for the processes of newswriting. Journalists explain what is new, connect it to their audience's previous knowledge, balance various stakeholders' goals, and mediate between linguistic communities. In doing so, they deal with sources, topics, own positions, stories, and audience (C|2.5).

C|2.0 The MARS case: Missing the key piece of explanation

On February 9, 2007, the SWISS NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION held a media conference to present a new laser developed by ALPES LASERS, a university spinoff company. The laser was to be employed by NASA on a robot vehicle in the search for traces of life on Mars. TÉLÉVISION SUISSE ROMANDE covered the topic in the evening issue of TÉLÉJOURNAL. In the news item, the journalist J.R. had the developer talking about the company and the new technology and presented extracts from a lab experiment. The function of the laser in the Mars mission, however, remained in the dark. The MARS case documents the need for emergence to overcome the sources' partial views.

a Journalist

J.R., born in 1972, did a university degree in international relations and "left academic life" in 1999 for a traineeship and job as an economics journalist.[1152] The newsroom of the Swiss French business and finance newspaper he was working for only had eight journalists. Working for this "small niche newspaper" was a "very enriching experience", for example when realizing individual ideas, since "there weren't twenty-five thousand bosses".[1153] After three years, J.R. left for SWISSINFO, the Swiss international webcast operated by SWISS RADIO AND TELEVISION.[1154] Only eighteen months later he had to leave due to austerity measures[1155] and applied for a job at TÉLÉVISION SUISSE ROMANDE. "I knew that they were looking for an economics journalist […] and it worked."[1156]

Compared to print, TV journalism is "almost another profession; you always need pictures and gradually you produce more basic items, with less ambition".[1157] When the economics department of TÉLÉJOURNAL was integrated into a new politics and economics department, J.R. started doing "a little bit of everything, science, technology, and also current affairs".[1158] At the time of data collection, J.R. had been working as a television journalist for three years. "I think I'm starting to develop the good techniques."[1159]

b Newsroom

"The ideal news broadcast? I will tell you a little secret: I don't have a TV set, so I don't know."[1160] From a producer perspective, in contrast, J.R. has clear ideas about the "goals and stakes" of TÉLÉJOURNAL: covering current issues in the French-speaking part of Switzerland and in the world.[1161] However, J.R. criticizes the single-sided "course of proximity" of his employer. "Telling the audience in the evening that it was very hot during the day" in their region is "a rather limited approach, but who cares but me".[1162] R.G. sees an interesting alternative in telling the people in the region what could happen in China for

example.[1163] Since "many local TV stations are being set up that do proximity" and since the audience pays for the national public service provider SRG, the key question is whether "we have to be better than LÉMAN BLEU", a local TV station, and "open the audience's minds to what happens elsewhere".[1164]

c   *Production patterns*

When J.R. started to work as a journalist in 1999, he took notes by hand, but "you lost too much time, you don't have time any more to write by hand".[1165] Nowadays, J.R. writes at his workplace computer – or even in the cutting room, due to time pressure: "When you leave for shootings at two in the afternoon and come back at five, you first go and see with whom you will edit the videos and if there is a cutting room, and you start writing your text there."[1166] Nevertheless, there are "deluxe settings" with enough time to go through the interview materials and draft first text versions at the workplace before finalizing them in the cutting room.[1167] So the production patterns depend on "stress and mood", J.R. says.[1168] Focusing on topics one feels committed to helps maintain job satisfaction.[1169]

d   *Collaboration patterns*

J.R. says that he negotiates key ideas of his items with the TÉLÉJOURNAL chief editor and, predominantly, with the head of the politics and economics department. Once the key ideas have been approved, J.R. addresses their practical implementation. "In case of doubt", he sometimes goes back to the head of the department "to get new ideas".[1170]

As J.R. has "no formal training in pictures at all", he relies on the cameraman, explaining to him the story he would like to tell.[1171] On site, not only the journalist, but also "the cameraman looks out for what can be done", and then they discuss their ideas before shooting; "it's a permanent exchange".[1172] Back at the workplace, J.R. collaborates with the cutter when selecting and combining the pictures for the item.[1173] When they edit the pictures, the cutter "has the final say".[1174] Completed items are generally reviewed by the producer of the TÉLÉJOURNAL issue before broadcasting, says J.R.[1175]

e   *Task*

On Monday, February 5, 2007, J.R. already knew what he was going to prepare for Friday: "My next challenge will be to put into images this famous laser beam that emits infrared radiation we cannot see."[1176] NASA planned to use the new technology in 2009 on a robot vehicle looking for traces of life on Mars. The new laser technology and device were both developed by ALPES LASERS, a spinoff company from the UNIVERSITY OF NEUCHÂTEL in the French-speaking part of

Switzerland. A Téléjournal item on this topic thus would have to combine at least three aspects: the excellence of a local technology company working for NASA, their new laser technology and device, and its role in detecting life on Mars. Alpes Lasers and the Swiss National Science Foundation had announced a joint media conference on this project for Friday, the day the news item was due to be broadcasted in Téléjournal.

f *Process*

f₁ On Thursday of that week, J.R. and a cameraman visited Alpes Lasers for interviews and shootings in the laboratories. The writing process itself started the next day at 11:17 a.m. In the first phase, J.R. worked alone. He drafted and revised introductions and transitions and fine-tuned formulations. He thought long and hard about how to construct an attractive beginning about a laser with an invisible beam. An experiment filmed two days before was meant to help: The laser beam, although invisible and coming from a very small device, made a match held in front of the device apparently light up on its own. This was how J.R. wanted to catch the attention of the audience. "So I'm talking first about this invisible laser, and then I don't know where this is going to take me, but I have to try somehow, so I give it a try."[1177]

f₂ Having written the beginning, J.R. lets his notes[1178] and spontaneous ideas carry him on, without conscious planning. "At least I have some initial lines that help me not to get lost completely."[1179] He justifies the intuitive procedure by stating that not only the meaning, but also the sound of the language was important. "Hmm it's ideas coming to my mind […] honestly this is more unconscious than reflected because there is also – you have to pay attention to the sonority too."[1180] At 3:06 p.m., he left his workplace for the cutting room. There, he first worked on the item and, in the end, drafted the introduction for the anchor.

g *Product*

At the end of the production process, the news item was 86 seconds long and was broadcasted at 7:48 p.m. It was J.R. himself who did the voiceover. The transcript shows the broadcasted version (Ex. 17).

```
001   M:  On reparlera bientôt de la vie sur mars
          We will soon talk about life on Mars again,
002       de savoir si elle existe ou si elle a existé
          about knowing whether it exists or if it existed.
003       une société suisse participe à l'aventure de la NASA
          A Swiss company is participating in the adventure of NASA –
```

```
004        qui lance pour 2009 un véhicule martien.
           which in 2009 will launch a Martian vehicle.
005        C[…] U[…], J[…] R[…]
           C[…] U[…], J[…] R[…]
```



```
006   O:   Apparemment cette allumette se consume toute seule
           On first glance this match lights itself on its own.
```



```
007        mais à y regarder d'un peu plus près
           But upon closer examination
008        c'est le faisceau d'un laser a cascade
           it is the beam of a cascade laser,
009        invisible à l'œil nu
           invisible to the eye,
```



```
010        qui provoque cette combustion.
           that provokes the combustion.
```



```
011        Prometteuse cette technologie
           This promising technology,
012        développée à l'université de Neuchâtel
           developed at the University of Neuchâtel
```



```
013        suscite l'intérêt de la NASA
           has drawn the interest of NASA,
014        à tel point qu'un véhicule d'exploration martien
           to the point that a Martian exploration vehicle
015        sera équipé d'un laser à cascade neuchâtelois
           will be equipped with a Neuchâtel cascade laser
```



```
016        pour trouver des traces de vie
           to find traces of life
017        dans l'atmosphère de la planète rouge.
           in the red planet's atmosphere.
```



```
018   A:   Le laser à cascade
           The cascade laser,
019        on peut le focaliser sur une longueur d'onde bien précise
           can be focused very precisely on a wavelength
020        qui est la longueur d'onde à laquelle justement on va chercher
           which is exactly the wavelength with which one is going to try
021        à détecter ces gaz qui seront la trace d'une vie passée sur mars.
           to detect gases that will be the trace of past life on Mars.
```



```
022   O:   La société Alpes Lasers fabrique cette petite boîte
           The Alpes Lasers company manufactures this little box
023        qui sera fixée au véhicule d'exploration
           that will be fixed onto the exploration vehicle
```



```
024        et qui projettera un faisceau laser dans l'atmosphère
           martienne
           and which will project a laser beam into the Martian
           atmosphere
```

```
025       à la recherche de molécules de méthane.
          in search of methane molecules.
026       L'objectif est de savoir
          The objective is to know
```



```
027       si ces molécules sont d'origines minérales ou animales.
          whether these molecules are of mineral or animal origins.
```



```
028       Situé à quelques centaines de mètres de l'université
          Situated some hundred meters from the university
029       Alpes Lasers s'occupe de la fabrication
          Alpes Lasers is occupied with the manufacture
030       de ces lasers à cascade.
          of these cascade lasers.
```



```
031       Et la perspective de travailler pour la NASA
          And the perspective of working for NASA
```



```
032       a suscité l'enthousiasme de la vingtaine de collaborateurs
          has sparked enthusiasm among the twenty employees.
033  A:   parce que c'est extrêmement excitant.
          Because it is extremely exciting.
```



```
034       On a l'occasion de toucher finalement à des objets
          We have the occasion to finally get in touch with subjects
035       qui nous touchent de manière très proche
          that touch us in a very personal way:
036       la vie
          life,
037       l'existence de la vie sur une autre planète
          the existence of life on another planet,
038       l'exploration spatiale
          space exploration;
039       c'est c'est l'ouest.
          it is it is the Wild West.
```



```
040  O:   À ce jour le laser d'une haute complexité technique
          At the moment the laser, of high technical complexity,
```



```
041       est en Californie.
          is in California.
```



```
042       Il attend le départ de la mission martienne
          It is awaiting the departure of the Mars mission
043       agendée en mars 2009
          scheduled for March 2009
044       si tout se passe comme prévu
          if everything goes as planned.
```

Ex. 17   Text and translation of the MARS news item
Source: tsr_tj_070209_1930_revoin_marslaser_ item

h   *Focus of analysis*

h₁   The news item is about a laser device that was developed by ALPES LASERS, a spi-noff technology company from a regional university. The device will be attached to a NASA robot vehicle bound for Mars, in order to identify organic and mineral methane molecules. The pictures show the laser device, its minuscule components, and the laboratories. In the first interview excerpt, the researcher says that the laser can be precisely focused on the wavelength of methane gas, which is considered to be a trace of life (Ex. 17, lines 18–21). In the second excerpt, the lab director says he finds it exciting that his company can contribute to clarifying a fundamental scientific question (33–39). However, the key link between all these details and perspectives remains unclear: How can traces of life on Mars be detected with a laser beam?

h₂   The missing information is: first, the light of the new laser device oscillates at exactly the frequency that only organic methane molecules reflect; second, a micro-device couples the laser emitter with a receptor for the reflected laser beam; and third, this reflection is interpreted as evidence for traces of present or past life on Mars.

h₃   Why does the item lack these crucial links? The analysis of the process data shows that J.R. mainly worked on individual formulations and pictures. He hardly ever went beyond this level of detail to achieve a general overview. Instead, he developed his item in a genre-driven way, as if it were a quote story. The story evolves around the quotes and pictures he had recorded the day before at ALPES LASERS. "I am about to look at the pictures we were shooting yesterday […], the aim is to succeed in isolating bits from the interview and to fit my text around the quotes".[1181] He split his screen to display the transcriptions of the quotes on top of the emerging text,[1182] so he could "see how to integrate them into the text below".[1183]

h₄   In order to explain his scientific object, J.R. copy-pasted quotes from the interview with the ALPES LASERS researcher and its director. In doing so, he outsourced responsibility for the correctness of the explanation: "That's the way not to get completely killed by the scientists telling me here's another journalist who doesn't understand anything."[1184] However, the interviewees had focused on the technical functionalities of the device they were proud to have developed. So the resulting quotes explain the excellent features of the ALPES LASERS product; its capacity to detect life on Mars during the NASA mission remains in the dark. In other words: Whereas J.R. revised his own formulations thoroughly, he limited his efforts at explanation to copy-pasting an excerpt from the interview that only provides partial information (Ex. 18, revision 85).

l'inté^{64}[er|$_{64}$]^{64}r^{65}[e|$_{65}$]^{65,66}[^^|$_{66}$]^{66}êt de la ^{67}[BN|$_{67}$]^{67,68}[bn|$_{68}$]^{68,69}[B
a|$_{69}$]^{69}Nasa^{70}[, qui veut munir un véhicule d'exploration mat|$_{70}$]^{70}...
A tel ^{71}[pou|$_{71}$]^{71}poi^{72}[t|$_{72}$]^{72}nt qu^{78}[e]^{78},$_{79}$^{79}{'un véh^{147}[ci]^{147}|$_{148}$^{14}
^{8}{ic}^{148}|$_{149}$ule d'exploration mar^{80}[it|$_{80}$]^{80}tien ser^{81}[|$_{81}$]^{81}a équipé
d'un laser ^{82}[aà|$_{82}$]^{82}à cascade pour trouver des tra^{83}[vec|$_{83}$]^{83}ces de
vie dans l'atmosph^{84}[pèr|$_{84}$]^{84}ère de la planète rouge.}^{79}|$_{85}$

^{85}{09.37.52: La raison c'est que le laser à cascade on peut le
focaliser sur une longeur d'onde bien précise qui est la longueur
d'onde justement à laquelle on va chercher à détecter ces gaz qui
seront la trace d'une vie passée sur Mars et justement le laser à
cascade a cette propriété unique qu'on peut le faire émettre à ces
longeurs d'onde là^{146}{.}^{146}|$_{147}$

^{97}[

^{94}[A q^{86}[e|$_{86}$]^{86}uel^{87}[eq|$_{87}$]^{87}ques pât^{88}[eé|$_{88}$]^{88}és de
^{89}[am|$_{89}$]^{89}mai^{90}[ns|$_{90}$]^{90}son de l^{91}[0|$_{91}$]^{91,92}[=?|$_{92}$]^{92}'Univers^{93}[ti|$_{93}$]^{93}it
é|$_{94}$]^{94}Quelques pât^{95}[e|$_{95}$]^{95}és de mais^{96}[non|$_{96}$]^{96}on plus]^{97}|$_{98}$}^{85}|$_{97}$ ^{98}[

Ex. 18   S-notation from the MARS writing process
Source: tsr_tj_070209_1930_revoin_marslaser_ snt_2

h_5 From 3:22 p.m., J.R. collaborated with the cutter. Together, they were looking for vivid pictures. In the opening scene of the item, J.R. wanted to show that the new laser beam, although invisible, has the power to light a match. So they examined the pictures of the matchstick experiment from the ALPES LASERS lab. Trying to understand the point of the experiment, the cutter speculated that the invisible, but powerful beam would burn and kill the life it was meant to detect. First, J.R. briefly refuted this, "No, they won't kill it"; but the cutter insisted: "But yes, the laser will burn it."[1185]

h_6 This could have motivated J.R. to explain the link between the new laser and life on Mars. Instead, he only told the cutter that "they are going to scan the Martian atmosphere for molecules". Cutter: "to see what happens inside?" J.R.: "what happens inside; they adjust the wavelength of the beam on the molecules, that's what the professor explains."[1186] Still the cutter was not satisfied: "And then it [the laser beam] comes back?" Here, J.R. got close to the point: "It comes back when it hits the thing […] the point is it can only meet one type of, hmm, is programmed to meet only one category of molecules."[1187]

h_7 Later, in the verbal protocol, J.R. said that he "still had this little problem of how to explain that a laser can detect a gas molecule originating from a living organism".[1188] During the editing process with the cutter, however, he was deeply involved in staging the story and did not realize that the cutter's question might also concern the audience. Since the cutter did not pursue the issue, the dialogue ended with the blurred version of a laser that is "programmed to meet only one category of molecules" – and J.R. failed to explain the link in the item itself.

i   *Potential for knowledge transformation*

i₁ The critical situation in the Mars case consists of a multitude of prefabricated parts and a twofold task: assemble a whole that is more than the sum of its parts and leave out less relevant information.[1189] NASA provided background information on their mission, the Alpes Lasers interviews and shootings focused on the new laser product only, and in between the two the link was missing: What is the function of the Swiss laser device in the NASA mission?

i₂ The precise answer could not be found in source formulations or pictures; J.R. should have developed it himself. He could have done it when planning the item, by elaborating the key explanation before writing the text, or when collaborating with the cutter, by taking her questions seriously as a warning signal and answering them carefully. In doing so, he could have met his own requirements of leaving to the cutter "the final say" (see above, Section d), of bringing together the local and "what happens elsewhere" (Section b) – and of getting things straight: "You have to succeed in conveying the message, in order to make it clear and understandable on all levels."[1190]

i₃ A late move in the Mars production process proves that adjusting the offtext to new insights would have been possible right up to the end. The pictures were selected and cut, the offtext spoken and recorded, and there was still time left before the deadline.[1191] When the cutter watched the completed item, she realized that "Alpes Lasers comes in much too late" for the audience to understand its role.[1192] J.R. revised the beginning of the item, told the producer that he needed some more time, and re-recorded the first part of the offtext.[1193] Changing the offtext to add the missing link the cutter had asked for earlier (end of Section h) would have been possible too.

i₄ To sum up: In order to please the sources (activity field of Finding the sources), J.R. remains stuck to them. For example, he engages in opening the item (Staging the story) with an experiment he was shown in the lab, a trick that looks amazing but explains only a part of his topic. He fails to free himself from his sources' particular views and develop his own overall view (Taking own position) in order to recognize and explain the key link between laser technology and life on Mars (Limiting the topic). The importance of critical comments by the cutter is not recognized (Handling social environment), despite the abundance of time (Defining the task). Thus, the final product lacks the emergent solution needed to set up a coherent story from incoherent parts. By neglecting the link between regional success and global relevance, it misses the chance to promote public understanding.

C|2.1   Referential function

Language usually refers to things outside itself; it relates to non-verbal phenomena and labels things in the world. Every form of communication makes use of this labeling, the primary function of language. However, as the term suggests, journalistic news is concerned with conveying new information. It has to be able to refer quickly to things that have not been labeled previously, such as life on Mars.

A theoretical question of interest for linguists at this interface of referential function and language use in journalistic media is what linguistic utterances mean in everyday language. Linguistic inquiry focuses on the meaning of words and complex linguistic units, on logical connections of meaning, on hierarchies of meaning, and on themes. When done on journalistic media, linguistic inquiry reveals that attempts to convey meaning to the public are ongoing, rapid, and routine. From the point of view of practice, the question arises as to how it is possible to report regularly about current events and often about unfamiliar things with well-known signs and symbols. Media linguistics employs tools from semantics to isolate and analyze language use by which media professionals quickly and routinely link what is familiar to what is new – for example "explanatory pieces" and metaphors (e.g. Deacon, Fenton, & Bryman, 1999; Burger, 2004; Stenvall, 2003; overview in Perrin, 2011b, 125–127).

However, when focusing on newswriting, media linguistics investigates not only references to and explanations of what is new, but also the processes leading to correct and clear references to entities in the reported world. An example from the Mars case is the practice of Using internet to check name and title. When J.R. wrote the text for the inserts, he googled the title of one of his text agents, "Professor Faist", and copy-pasted it from the official website of the Swiss National Science Foundation to avoid errors (Ex. 19):

```
0920    je cherche le titre exact du professeur faist en fait
0921    je vais sur internet en fait sur google
...     ...
0926    je pense qu'il s'en fout mais-
0927    notre copié collé le meilleur ami du journaliste
0928    (xxx)les titres bien sûr (xxx) le contenu de l'article
```

Ex. 19   Verbal protocol from the Mars case
Source: tsr_tj_070209_1930_revoin_marslaser_verbal

C|2.2   Cognitive function

The use of language requires and generates cognitive processes: by speaking or writing, people express thoughts in the form of language. Understanding this language then triggers new thoughts. In journalistic communication, though, language production is disconnected from language comprehension. The media professionals cannot directly track what the chosen linguistic devices trigger in their audience.

A theoretical question of interest for linguists at this interface of cognitive language function and language use in journalistic media is how language is processed in the mind, how prior knowledge contributes to understanding texts, and how this knowledge can be activated. Journalistic communication, with its practically unknown addressees, has to build on basic assumptions of prior knowledge. From the point of view of practice, the question arises as to how news journalism can report in an illuminating and attractive way. Media linguistics employs tools from psycholinguistics to analyze language use by which media professionals strive for such features of quality – such as establishing comprehensibility (e.g. Ifantidou, 2009; Schumacher, Scott, Klare, Cronin, & Lambert, 1989; overview in Perrin, 2011b, 133–135).

However, when focusing on newswriting, media linguistics investigates not only how journalists conceive their audience's emotions, expectations, and previous knowledge in order to write attractively and comprehensibly, but also how they exploit their own mental resources when writing. An example from the Mars case is the practice of Writing associatively. When looking at the screen recording for the cue-based retrospective verbal protocol, the researcher mentioned that many things had been deleted and rearranged. The journalist then commented that the ideas came to his mind unconsciously rather than through reflection (C|2|f$_2$) (Ex. 20).

```
0258   R:   il y a beaucoup de choses qui sont effacées
0259        et ensuite re-disposées
0260   J:   hum hum c'est des idées qui viennent
0261        et puis comment est-ce qu'elles sont bien amenées
0262        pas très bien amenées
0263        ça honnêtement c'est plus inconscient que réfléchi
```

Ex. 20   Verbal protocol from the Mars case
Source: tsr_tj_070209_1930_revoin_marslaser_verbal

C|2.3   Interactive function

Cognitive change favors interactive change: when knowledge changes, behavior can change. Communication aims for such effects. People do things with language purposefully: to make something happen. In journalistic communication, participants such as media professionals, sources, the target audience, and society at large pursue objectives that partly contradict each other.

A theoretical question of interest for linguists at this interface of pragmatic language function and language use in journalistic media is which intentions language users have and how they realize them in the media. From the point of view of practice, the question arises as to how to resolve conflicts such as informing and attracting audience at the same time – or criticizing agents the journalist depends on because they are potential sources of information. Media linguistics employs tools from pragmatics to analyze language use oriented towards actions solving such conflicts (e.g. Dor, 2003; Smith, Noda, Andrews, & Jucker, 2005; overview in Perrin, 2011b, 142–143).

When focusing on newswriting, media linguistics investigates practices related to conflicts and solutions revolving around writing processes and the resulting texts. An example from the Mars case is the practice of Withholding key information to maintain suspense. At the beginning of his workplace session (C|2.0|f), J.R. formulated the contrast between a seemingly self-lighting match and an invisible laser (C|2.0|g). He inserted three dots between the mystery and the resolution "to raise suspense" (tsr_tj_070209_1930_revoin_marslaser_verbal, lines 78–81). This seemingly trivial symbol of the item's dramaturgic principle – capturing attention, then informing – remained untouched, whereas the rest of the beginning was reformulated over and over again afterwards (Ex. 21, third line).

^{11}[L'oeil ne voit rien]^{11}|$_{12}$^{12}{^{19}{Ap^{20}[a|$_{20}$]^{20}paremment
}^{19}|$_{21}$^{21}[C]^{21}|$_{22}$^{22}{c}^{22}|$_{23}$et^{13} [et|$_{13}$]^{13}te al^{14}[l|$_{14}$]^{14,18}{l}^{18}|$_{19}$umette se
consume^{15}[nt|$_{15}$]^{15} to^{16}[t|$_{16}$]^{16}ut^{17}[|$_{17}$]^{17}e seule|$_{18}$}^{12}...mais ^{23}{à y
regarder d'un ^{24}[ep|$_{24}$]^{24}peu plus près^{25}[|$_{25}$]^{25},_}^{23}|$_{26}$c'est ^{26}[pour-
tant]^{26}|$_{27}$^{47}[un]^{47}|$_{48}$^{48}{le}^{48}|$_{49}$ faisceau ^{49}{d'un }^{49}|$_{50}$laser^{50}{ cas-
cade,}^{50}|$_{51}$ ^{9}[un|$_{9}$]^{9,10}[inf|$_{10}$]^{10,27}{invisible à l'^{28}[ei|$_{28}$]^{28}oeil
nu^{51}{,}^{51}|$_{52}$ qui provoque cette combu^{29}[t|$_{29}$]^{29}stion^{30}

Ex. 21   Revisions from the Mars case
Source: tsr_tj_070209_1930_revoin_marslaser_snt_2

C|2.4 Social function

Communication has a socially constitutive effect: people can establish common ideas and discourse communities with language and, conversely, the chosen language indicates which discourse community people belong to. Journalistic communication translates between the languages of communities, such as between the languages of experts as text actors and lay addressees. By doing so it overcomes social differences – and at the same time consolidates them.

A theoretical question of interest for linguists at this interface of social language function and language use in journalistic media is how communities differ in their languages, language variants, and styles, and how language use changes under the ubiquitous influence of the media. From the point of view of practice, the question arises as to how to reliably reach different addressees with linguistic means while at the same time defining a unique profile in the market and committing audience, sources, and advertising clients in the long-term. Media linguistics employs tools from sociolinguistics to analyze language use by which media professionals commit their target groups. This language use is called audience-design (e.g. Bell, 1984; Conboy, 2010; overview in Perrin, 2011b, 149–151).

However, when focusing on newswriting, media linguistics investigates not only which languages, variants, styles, shifts, and audience design apply and work for whom under which conditions, but also how they are negotiated in the newsrooms and beyond. An example from the MARS case is the practice of AVOIDING OVERLY LONG SEQUENCE WITHOUT QUOTES. After writing the initial paragraph of his item (C|2|f₂), J.R. copy-pasted the first interview excerpt, with the expert describing key features of their new laser (C|2|h₁). As the verbal protocol shows, J.R. considers this an undisputed audience design norm in his newsroom: "it is generally after twenty, fifteen seconds that one has to have a quote, if not, the introduction is too long" (Ex. 22).

```
0138    mais il y a aussi la question du timing
0139    du premier paragraphe avant le premier sonore
0140    parce que c'est en général entre vingt et quinze secondes
0141    où il faut avoir un sonore qui vient derrière
0142    sinon l'entrée est trop longue
```

Ex. 22 Verbal protocol from the MARS case
Source: tsr_tj_070209_1930_revoin_marslaser_verbal

C|2.5 Language functions and activity fields of newswriting

In practice, newswriting takes place across the theoretically separate functions of language use outlined above (C|2.1–2.4). News refers to real-world events, triggers changes in knowledge and behavior, and fosters discourse between societal groups. The same applies to the processes of newswriting. Journalists explain what is new, connect it to their audience's previous knowledge, balance stakeholders' goals, and translate between linguistic communities.

In doing so, the journalists engage in the activity fields related to the functions of newswriting, as presented in detail in the next sections. They find their sources (C|2.5.1), limit the topic (C|2.5.2), take their own positions (C|2.5.3), stage the story (C|2.5.4), and establish relevance for the audience (C|2.5.5).

The activity in these five fields is oriented towards (re-)producing contributions to public discourse. *(Re-)producing* means that journalists create, confirm, and alter the contributions brought into the newsflows by themselves or their sources. For example, they access and combine contradicting sources and their communicational offers; generate, pick up, broaden, or narrow topics; hide or show the journalists' stance in their items; blend information with narration and argumentation; and address target groups as customers and citizens.

Practices in the function-related activity fields are directly visible in the media products. They shape product properties such as: whose voices appear in an item, what they refer to, how subjective and unique an item sounds, which dramaturgical means are used in it, and what prior knowledge and interests are required to understand it. In the Mars case, a dominant function-oriented practice is Having text agent explain complex fact: J.R. limited his efforts at explanation to copy-pasting interview excerpts. In doing so, he outsourced responsibility for the correctness of the explanation to his text agents (C|2|h$_4$).

The next table (Fig. 4) shows the interplay of the four medialinguistic functions (C|2.1–2.4) and the five environment-related activity fields, which are detailed below (C|2.5.1–2.5.5).

The top line represents the perspectives from applied linguistics (A|2.3). The four increasingly complex functions of language use in the media have been separated theoretically and are systematically linked:

- functions oriented towards social change presuppose change in human interaction;
- functions oriented towards change in interaction presuppose cognitive change;
- functions oriented towards change in explicit knowledge presuppose referential language use.

Applied linguistics perspective →	Environment				Function				Structure			
	Interpersonal	Intersituative	Intertextual	Intermodal	Referential	Cognitive	Interactive	Social	Sound	Word	Sentence	Text
Writing research perspective: Activity fields ↓												
⋮ …	…											
Function — Finding the sources	(re–) producing contributions to public discourse by working in specific contexts of newswriting e.g. FINDING HIDDEN STORY											
Limiting the topic												
Taking own positions												
Staging the story												
Establishing relevance												
⋮ …												…

Fig. 4   The medialinguistic mindset of newswriting: synopsis of writing research and AL perspectives

On the left are the perspectives from writing research (B|2.3). Activities in the five fields are oriented towards (re-)producing news items, issues, and programs as contributions to public discourse. At the same time, such contributions to public discourse enable and constrain these activities. The activity fields are presented in detail below (C|2.5.1–C|2.5.5).

The environmental and functional perspectives on language use discussed in the previous and the present chapter are complemented by structural perspectives discussed in chapter C|3 on the medialinguistic mindset of newswriting.

C|2.5.1   *The activity field of FINDING THE SOURCES*

Activities in the field of FINDING THE SOURCES are oriented towards potential sources, such as experts, and towards source materials, such as pictures, information, and interview excerpts. Practitioners' key questions in this field include: Who are the relevant sources for my newswriting project? How can I access them? Which parts of their contributions should I reproduce in my item? How can I shape this item in a way that authentically mirrors the relevant positions and the state of discourse?

In the Mars case, the journalist J.R. entered the activity field of Finding the sources for example with the practice of Scanning source pictures to choose quotes first: He started his workplace sessions by reviewing the pictures and interviews he and his cameraman had recorded the day before in the Alpes Lasers labs (C|2.0|f₁). In doing so, he picks quotes he considers "interesting" as starting points. Next, he wants to "articulate" his text "around the quotes" (Ex. 23).

```
0003   je suis en train de regarder les images
0004   qu'on a tournées hier
0005   et puis si tu veux
0006   le but est d'arriver à isoler les morceaux d'interview
0007   pour pouvoir articuler mon texte autour des sonores
0008   que je vais garder dans la diffusion du sujet
0009   donc je regarde un peu les images
0010   que je pensais être intéressantes
0011   qu'on a filmées
0012   de voir à peu près qu'est-ce qu'on a
0013   c'est le gros du dégrossissage
```

Ex. 23 Verbal protocol from the Mars case
Source: tsr_tj_070209_1930_revoin_marslaser_verbal

In the Idée suisse corpus, Finding the sources encompasses practices that, first, can be related to specific processes. They are oriented towards dealing with potential sources and their communicational offers. A prototypical activity is Choosing source materials. Examples from the Mars case include:

- Choosing source materials, e.g. Scanning source pictures to choose quotes first: Going through source pictures in order to find appropriate quotes before one starts writing the text;
- Choosing source materials, e.g. Picking quote: Selecting quotes from source material.

Second, practices of Finding the sources can be related to specific agents. They range from sources in general to text agents with specific dramaturgical functions. Examples from the Mars and other cases* include:

- Source, e.g. Organizing access to source: Making arrangements to get in touch with the sources needed;
- Source, e.g. Choosing source pictures with cutter: Negotiating with the cutter which pictures to select and how to cut them;
- Source, e.g. Preferring the most recent source materials*: Using the source materials that show the newest pictures and refer to the most recent events;
- Interviewee, e.g. Mentioning interviewee's refusal*: Stating in the item that a prospective interviewee refused to give an interview;

–   People concerned, e.g. Preferring people concerned to officials*: Including text agents who are directly affected by something rather than asking officials to comment on how these people have been affected;

–   Expert, e.g. Involving peers because they are experts: Involving other journalists because one thinks they are experts on the topic;

–   Expert, e.g. Involving collaborators because they are experts: Occasionally involving collaborators, such as superiors, peers, and anyone else working for the broadcasting company, because one thinks that he or she is an expert;

–   Text agent, e.g. Having text agent explain complex fact: Having complex facts explained by people appearing in the item, instead of doing it in the offtext or in infographics.

Third, practices of Finding the sources can be related to specific products, processes, and their properties. These are oriented towards or influenced by potential sources or source materials. Examples from the Yogy case and other cases* include:

–   Quote, e.g. Listening to potential quote: Playing potential quotes to listen to them;

–   Quote, e.g. Summarizing potential quote: Listening to a potential quote and summarizing the message, by using key words or transcriptions of key passages;

–   Source-based, e.g. Basing item on pictures rather than text*: Finding that pictures need to be pertinent, clear, adequate, and that this is more important than the text;

–   Source-based, e.g. Including information because intriguing source pictures exist*: Including certain information because it fits beautiful, exciting, extraordinary, or original pictures one has at hand;

–   Authentic, e.g. Avoiding cut that makes source pictures look manipulated*: Not editing the source pictures in a way that could make the audience think that pictures were manipulated.

C|2.5.2 *The activity field of Limiting the topic*

Activities in the field of Limiting the topic are oriented towards finding, defining, and contextualizing a topic to report on, for example by reshaping something that is already discussed in public or by setting new issues on the agenda. Practitioners' key questions in this field include: What matters at the moment? Is it relevant for society at large? Will it concern my audience and raise their interest? Is it recent enough to be presented and sold as news? What do I focus on, and what needs to be contextualized?

In the Mars case, the journalist J.R. entered the activity field of Limiting the topic for example with the practice of Balancing conciseness and correctness: He used the technical term *cascade laser* from the beginning of the item (C|2.0|g, line 8) to allow for the "initiated" among the audience to

immediately understand (Ex. 24, lines 196–197). However, he decided not to explain it. As he said, explaining it to lay people would be too complicated (189), whereas avoiding it would make him look stupid in the eyes of "the scientists"; he did not want to "get totally killed" by them (192–195).

```
0187    c'est un rayon laser
0188    un laser à cascade quantique
0189    ce qui est déjà compliqué pour les gens un laser à cascade
...     ...
0192    mais comme ça je ne me fais pas totalement tuer
0193    par les scientifiques qui me disent
0194    voilà encore un journaliste qui ne ne comprend rien
0195    je donne-
0196    je laisse le mot „cascade" parce que les initiés
0197    pourront voir tout de suite à quoi ça correspond
```

Ex. 24   Verbal protocol from the Mars case
Source: tsr_tj_070209_1930_revoin_marslaser_verbal

In the Idée suisse corpus, Limiting the topic encompasses practices that, first, can be related to specific processes. They range from defining a topic before writing to developing the chosen topic in the writing process and the emerging text product. Examples from the corpus include:

–   Distinguishing stories, e.g. Distinguishing foreground and background stories*: Identifying two stories in an item, one with the new information and the other with context information;
–   Focusing on topic, e.g. Avoiding including too many aspects in item*: Not addressing too many subtopics or perspectives in one item;
–   Contextualizing, e.g. Having text agent contextualize story: Having people appearing in the item contextualize the story, instead of doing it oneself;
–   Contextualizing, e.g. Explaining details and consequences: Providing details and elaborating on consequences in the item.

Second, practices of Limiting the topic can be related to identity concepts. Prototypes are Topic and Goal and gist. Examples from the Mars and other cases* include:

–   Goal and gist, e.g. Defining gist: Planning or negotiating what should be or is the core meaning of a story;
–   Topic, e.g. Splitting up complex topic into more than one item*: Adding a related item or items if the topic is too complex for a single item.

Third, practices of Limiting the topic can be related to specific product properties. They characterize a topic in its relations to the world reported on and range from referential correctness to social relevance and acceptance. Examples from the Mars and other cases* include:

–   Correct referentially, e.g. Balancing conciseness and correctness: Writing a text one considers short and simple enough for the broadcast, but still correct and not oversimplified;

–   Recent, e.g. Including recent story in issue: Including at least one item in the next issue that covers an event of that day;

–   Recent, e.g. Checking whether latest news is included*: Going through fresh material from news agencies or other sources to make sure one's item contains the latest news;

–   Conflict laden, e.g. Topicalizing conflict*: Foregrounding conflicts in an item instead of just stating facts;

–   Socially relevant, e.g. Evaluating relevance*: Evaluating how relevant a piece of information or the whole item is;

–   Socially relevant, e.g. Finding hidden story*: Reconstructing the hidden motives beyond a seemingly obvious story;

–   Socially relevant, e.g. Dropping information if no adequate source pictures exist*: Deleting an informative part of the text because there are no pictures that support the information in it;

–   Socially relevant, e.g. Mentioning name only when relevant*: Providing the names of text agents only if they play an important role in the item;

–   Popular, e.g. Choosing popular topic*: Covering a topic in the broadcast because one thinks everyone is talking about it.

C|2.5.3 *The activity field of Taking own position*

Activities in the field of Taking own position are oriented towards finding one's stance, taking one's position or hiding it, and developing a unique approach as an author, be it on an individual or corporate level. Practitioners' key questions in this field include: What makes my story extraordinary and different from others on the same topic? Where and how do I bring my own voice into the item? How can my individual or corporate signature be perceived in the product?

In the Mars case, the journalist J.R. entered the activity field of Taking own position for example with the practice of (not) Applying own prior knowledge: He said he knew details of the laser technology applied, but "could not share it [his knowledge] with the audience, unfortunately" (Ex. 25, lines 170–171), because it was "difficult to explain" (line 164). So he did without exploiting his prior knowledge in technology. In contrast, he engaged in explaining the matchstick experiment – which demonstrates a side topic, the power of a small laser device, instead of explaining the laser device that was the main topic, contributing with state-of-the-art technology to NASA's search for life on Mars (C|2.0|h$_2$). Linking the device to the main topic could have been J.R.'s own position in the process in order to develop a unique approach, not prefabricated by any of his sources.

```
0164    c'est difficile d'expliquer
0165    comment est-que tu fais un micro conducteur
0166    un spy conducteur à mille trois cents couches
0167    avec un connecteur un chip de quatre cents microns
0168    par lequel passe le rayon laser
0169    alors je le sais
0170    mais je ne peux pas le faire partager au téléspectateur
0171    malheureusement
```

Ex. 25   Process review from the MARS case
Source: tsr_tj_070209_1930_revoin_marslaser_review

In the IDÉE SUISSE corpus, TAKING OWN POSITION encompasses practices that, first, can be related to specific processes. They range from waiving one's influence on a process and product to influencing, individualizing, and personalizing these processes and products. Examples from the MARS case and other cases* include:

– HOLDING BACK OWN POSITION, e.g. LETTING ANCHOR WRITE INTRO: Leaving it up to the anchor to write the anchor introduction rather than doing it oneself;
– HOLDING BACK OWN POSITION, e.g. AVOIDING ADJECTIVE BECAUSE OF POTENTIAL JUDGMENT*: Not using adjectives because one considers them implicitly judgmental;
– HOLDING BACK OWN POSITION, e.g. AVOIDING ALTERING QUOTE*: Not altering the quotes in a way one considers manipulative;
– HOLDING BACK OWN POSITION, e.g. AVOIDING CRITICIZING OTHER MEDIA*: Not claiming or stating in the item that other media have made mistakes;
– HOLDING BACK OWN POSITION, e.g. AVOIDING IRONY IN TEXT BECAUSE OF POTENTIAL MISUNDERSTANDING*: Not using irony in an item, because people might not recognize it and take it literally;
– DISSOCIATING ONESELF FROM OTHER MEDIA, e.g. ADJUSTING TEXT TO UNIQUE STRENGTHS OF TELEVISION*: Designing or editing a text in order to exploit the distinctive properties of television compared to other media such as newspapers;
– DISSOCIATING ONESELF FROM COLLABORATOR, e.g. WRITING INTRO ONESELF: Writing the whole anchor introduction oneself;
– DISSOCIATING ONESELF FROM COLLABORATOR, e.g. CUTTING SOURCE PICTURES ONESELF*: Cutting the pictures oneself instead of letting a cutter do it;
– DISSOCIATING ONESELF FROM COLLABORATOR, e.g. PLANNING ACTIVITIES INDEPENDENTLY*: Deciding on work activities according to own criteria instead of following common habits or others' expectations;
– DISSOCIATING ONESELF BY USING OWN MENTAL RESOURCES, e.g. APPLYING OWN PRIOR KNOWLEDGE: Contributing, when writing, one's previous knowledge about the topic;
– DISSOCIATING ONESELF BY USING OWN MENTAL RESOURCES, e.g. USING OWN MEMORY AS FILTER*: Trusting one's memory as a filter of relevance: what one remembers is important to tell, whereas what one has forgotten would be unimportant in the story anyway;

–   DISSOCIATING ONESELF THROUGH COMMENT, e.g. AVOIDING STATING PERSONAL OPINION*: Not expressing one's own point of view in an item;
–   DISSOCIATING ONESELF THROUGH LANGUAGE AND STYLE, e.g. WRITING THE WAY ONE TALKS*: Writing words and sentences one would normally use in one's own idiom;
–   DISSOCIATING ONESELF THROUGH SOURCES, e.g. PREFERRING OWN SOURCE PICTURES*: Preferring pictures taken oneself to pictures taken by others, for example from public relations sources;
–   DISSOCIATING ONESELF THROUGH TOPIC, e.g. PURSUING PERSONAL INTEREST IN TOPIC SELECTION*: Choosing to produce items that reflect own interests.

Second, practices of TAKING OWN POSITION can be related to specific product properties. They characterize the uniqueness of an approach. A prototypical product property is EXCEPTIONAL. Examples from the corpus include:

–   EXCEPTIONAL, e.g. PREFERRING ORIGINALITY TO QUALITY*: Considering the originality of source material to be more important than its quality;
–   EXCEPTIONAL, e.g. TOPICALIZING WHAT IS EXCEPTIONAL*: Emphasizing what is special in a story, not what is everyday and normal.

C|2.5.4   *The activity field of STAGING THE STORY*

Activities in the field of STAGING THE STORY are oriented towards genres and dramaturgy, for example when well-established patterns of storytelling are reproduced or broken up and changed. Practitioners' key questions in this field include: What dramaturgical options are preset by the company, the program, the issue, the item – and where am I free to develop my own? What genre and style do I choose then? How do I balance and integrate words and pictures, facts and figures, quotes and contextualization? How can I generate suspense and excitement?

In the MARS case, the journalist J.R. entered the activity field of STAGING THE STORY for example with the practice of CONSTRUCTING TRANSITION BETWEEN PICTURES. In his workplace session, he developed a draft version of the item in which he tried to link an explanation of the laser technology with a quote about the ALPES LASERS production plant (C|2|g, lines 28–30). In the verbal protocol, he talks about finding "the ideal transition sentence" (Ex. 26, line 404). The S-notation shows a part of the small-scale revision process in search of this transition (Ex. 27, revisions 168–179) and the large-scale insertion of the prepared quote (180).

```
0398   ah oui là justement
0399   il faut montrer le passage de l'université à alpes lasers
0400   alors qu'on change d'endroit
0401   on est dans les labos
0402   et puis les labos se ressemblent tous plus ou moins
0403   donc il y a peut-être de ça aussi que je cherche
0404   la phrase idéale de transition
```

Ex. 26   Verbal protocol from the MARS case
Source: tsr_tj_070209_1930_revoin_marslaser_verbal

```
168{ A qu169[iel|169]169elques centaines de mètres170[
ed|170]170,171[de|171]171 de l'Université, 175{la société }175|176Alpes
Laser176{s}176|177 s'172[ci|172]172occupe}168|173177{ du montage des
lasers179[ et du178[con|178]178 contrôle qualité|179]179

180{09.42.04: Le cristal de base est développé à l'université de
Neuchâtel, les étapes qui permettent de fabriquer le résonnateur
laser sont faites en partie à l'UNine, en partie à l'ETH et en
partie à Darmstadt....le montage des lasers et le contrôle qualité
se fait ici dans les locaux d'Alpes Lasers, et dans le cas précis
de ces lasers martiens on a une phase d'encapsulation qui s'est
faite au Canada et le contrôle qualité final se fait ici.}180
```

Ex. 27   Revisions from the Mars case
Source: tsr_tj_070209_1930_revoin_marslaser_snt_2

In the Idée suisse corpus, Staging the story encompasses practices that, first, can be related to specific processes. They range from reproducing to changing a story or single parts and aspects of it. Examples from the corpus include:

– Staging, e.g. Evaluating different ways of staging story*: Identifying and assessing different ways of using and combining dramaturgical means to tell the story;
– Perspectivizing, e.g. Telling story from particular point of view*: Maintaining a particular perspective while staging the story.

Second, practices of Staging the story can be related to identity concepts: to the outcome of newswriting. Such an identity concept is Story. Examples from the corpus include:

– Story, e.g. Constructing coherent and fluid story*: Telling the story in a way that each part leads to the next and ties in with the rest of the text;
– Story, e.g. Contextualizing story*: Explaining the background and the consequences of the story and how it is connected with other stories.

Third, practices of Staging the story can be related to specific product properties. These are dramaturgical consequences from selecting, linearizing, and connecting the parts of an item. Examples from the Mars case and other cases* include:

– Consistent, e.g. Matching intro and item: Making sure that anchor introduction and item harmonize;
– Dense, e.g. Using text to enrich pictures: Using the offtext to complement pictures that one considers uninformative if used alone;
– Matched length, e.g. Omitting overly long quote: Not taking into account quotes in the source material which one considers to be too long;
– Balanced, e.g. Balancing text parts*: Considering the properties of text parts, such as length or function, and relating them to those of the other parts and to the text as a whole;
– Dialogic, e.g. Staging quotes as action and reaction*: Juxtaposing two quotes or an offtext and a quote so that the second element seems to be a reaction to the first;
– Rhythmic, e.g. Avoiding overly long sequence without quotes: Not producing long stretches of text and pictures without any quotes;

- Paced, e.g. Avoiding rushed dramaturgy*: Not changing topics or locations in the text too quickly;
- Linked smoothly, e.g. Constructing transition between pictures: Interposing text or additional pictures to make a sequence of given pictures look natural and coherent.

C|2.5.5 *The activity field of Establishing relevance for the audience*

Activities in the field of Establishing relevance for the audience are oriented towards making an item as relevant and accessible as possible for the target audience, for example by tying it to their interests and previous knowledge. Practitioners' key questions in this field include: Who is my target audience? What matters to them, and what do they expect? Are there contradictory expectations? How do I want my item to be understood? How can I make sure that the audience is attracted, stays tuned, gets the gist, realizes the details, and understands the story?

In the Mars case, the journalist J.R. entered the activity field of Establishing relevance for the audience for example with the practice of Attracting attention with intro: At the end of the cutting room session (C|2.0|f₁), J.R. drafted the introduction for the anchor. In doing so, he tried to find attractive formulations that "sell" the item (Ex. 28, line 1056), to "sell the soup" (1069). In doing so, he avoids using the term *cascade laser*. "This is already far too scientific. They [his superiors] worry about people zapping away." (1112–1113)

```
1054   et donc je suis en train de lui faire son intro
1055   il faut trouver une formule un peu
1056   plus vendeuse ou accrocheuse ou-
1065   donc j'essaye de rendre les choses un peu-
1066   la chose un peu plus vivante
1067   un peu plus claire
1068   que lui aussi il puisse avoir (xxx) pistes
1069   pour avoir- pour enfin vendre la soupe quoi
1070   pas pour vendre la soupe mais pour le sujet
1108   c'est que si je mettais le laser à cascade
1109   ça ils auraient pas aimé
1110   donc je me suis dit autant le prendre moi et puis voilà
1111   parce que le laser à cascade en lancement
1112   c'est déjà beaucoup trop scientifique
1113   et ils ont peur que les gens zappent tout de suite
```

Ex. 28   Verbal protocol from the Mars case
Source: tsr_tj_070209_1930_revoin_marslaser_verbal

In the Idée suisse corpus, Establishing relevance for the audience encompasses practices that, first, can be related to specific processes. They focus on aims and means of communicational success and range from cognitive to emotional orientations. Examples from the Mars case and other cases* include:

- Fostering understanding, e.g. Linking fact to presupposed audience experience: Selecting and processing facts that one thinks people will be able to interpret by using their prior knowledge;
- Attracting attention, e.g. Attracting attention with intro: Formulating or revising the anchor introduction in a way that it attracts the attention of the audience;
- Attracting attention, e.g. Attracting attention with initial pictures*: Using pictures in the beginning that one considers interesting enough to attract the audience's attention;
- Explaining, e.g. Explaining key concepts in text: Explaining ideas and terms which are crucial for the item, for instance by elaborating on details, reasons, or consequences;
- Exemplifying, e.g. Using everyday example to visualize dimensions: Using examples the audience is expected to be familiar with in order to explain the size, weight, or volume of something, instead of using only numbers;
- Infotaining, e.g. Balancing information and entertainment*: Providing information in an item or a broadcast and at the same time entertaining people.

Second, practices of Establishing relevance for the audience can be related to specific agents. These are the societal groups targeted in newswriting. A prototypical agent is Audience. Examples from the Mars case include:

- Audience, e.g. Considering family audience representatives: Treating relatives as members of the audience when thinking about how the audience might react to one's item;
- Audience, e.g. Considering cutter audience representative: Treating the cutter as a member of the audience and as the first viewer of one's item, whose comments can be taken into account while collaborating.

Third, practices of Establishing relevance for the audience can be related to specific product properties: those characterizing the assumed fit with the expectations, desires, and knowledge of the audience. Examples from the Mars case and other cases* include:

- Comprehensible, e.g. Using redundancy to improve comprehensibility: Repeating facts or words in order to make a text more comprehensible to the audience;
- Exciting, e.g. Attracting attention with gripping text: Trying to attract the audience's attention with a text one considers highly interesting, for example because it is full of suspense;
- Familiar, e.g. Using familiar word to improve comprehensibility*: Using everyday, normal, frequent words in order to make the text more comprehensible for the audience;
- Simple, e.g. Explaining something complex briefly: Explaining complex topics briefly in the item because of time constraints;
- Vivid, e.g. Using everyday example to visualize dimensions: Using examples the audience is expected to be familiar with in order to explain the size, weight, or volume of something, instead of using only numbers.

Investigating language structures in newswriting

In this chapter, the GAST case from the IDÉE SUISSE project will serve as a practical example of the medialinguistic mindset being applied (C|3.0). I then present four increasingly complex structures of language use that interact with the functions and environments presented in the first two parts: phonological (C|3.1), lexical (C|3.2), syntactic (C|3.3), and textual (C|3.4) structures. Finally, I zoom into the activity fields of newswriting that are related to these structures of language use (C|3.5).

Language connects the smallest possible units that distinguish meaning: sounds, letters, and characters that people produce and convey and are able to perceive as systematically different. Journalistic communication has to limit itself to technically transmitted signs – at present to visible and audible signs (C|3.1).

Language meaningfully combines distinctive units into meaning units: linguistic symbols that stand for specific details in the world. Journalists choose – and sometimes create – words that match their needs: short words for titles, catchy words for new concepts, remarkable words for campaigns, or just normal words everybody understands (C|3.2).

Language is represented linearly, one symbol follows the other. Symbols for actors and actions combine into networks and hierarchies of propositional units that are linearly represented as sentences. Journalistic communication verbalizes propositions in a dense manner in portions appropriate to the product templates and target group models (C|3.3).

Linguistic complexes form meaningful units: texts that deal with a certain topic and embody certain intentions. Text models or genres develop for recurring topics, intentions, and communication situations. Journalistic communication makes use of such models and constantly breaks out of them as media evolve and compete (C|3.4).

In practice, newswriting takes place across these theoretically separate structures. News consist of functional linguistic units on various levels of complexity, such as sounds, words, sentences, and texts. The same applies for newswriting with its subprocesses along various timescales. Before, while, and after formulating text, journalists practice goal setting, planning, and revising. In between, they read sources and what they have written so far (C|3.5).

C|3.0 The Gast case: Struggling with vague key concepts

Switzerland was late in banning smoking in public spaces such as restaurants and bars. In the neighboring countries, the smoking ban was introduced earlier. Expecting similar developments for Switzerland, the umbrella organization of the Swiss restaurateurs Gastrosuisse presented their suggestions for national legislation. In Zurich, they gave a media conference in German on the morning of March 1, 2007. Télévision Suisse Romande covered the topic in the evening issue of Téléjournal. In the news item, the journalist C.S. combined excerpts from expert interviews done by colleagues with her own recordings of reactions in Geneva. The Gast case documents a search for clarity of key concepts throughout the newswriting process.

a *Journalist*

C.S., born in 1976, specialized in modern languages and literature in high school and aquired a university degree in pharmaceutics. After completing her degree, at the age of 23, she "felt like doing something else", so she started working for a Swiss regional radio station and took journalism training.[1194] Five years later, she again "wanted to see something else". She says she was "enormously interested" in television, and when she saw a job advertisement from Télévision Suisse Romande, she immediately applied.[1195] After the assessment, she started working as an economics and politics journalist at Téléjournal.[1196] At the time of data collection, she could thus look back on seven years' professional experience: five years in radio and two in television.

She says that at school she had always been interested in writing and had developed a "rather concise style". When she started working for media, she realized that "this is what they're looking for".[1197] Whereas C.S. sees radio and TV as similar in terms of expected writing styles,[1198] she finds that the two media differ in terms of journalistic autonomy. At the radio station she "did everything, did the interviews, the editing, and the speaking". TV, in contrast, is "a much heavier", highly organized medium, where "you either report or present"[1199] and risk scaring interviewees with the camera.[1200]

b *Newsroom*

According to C.S., the Téléjournal has to "transmit information to the audience, if possible in a neutral and objective way" and "without manipulation". Téléjournal items have to be precise, concise, clear, and simple – "but not simplistic".[1201] Talking about the target audience, C.S. thinks that "they" (the management) would like to reach as large an audience as possible, from young to old. However, she assumes that most viewers of Téléjournal are "older than fifty" and that young people like "everything that moves fast".[1202] By producing increasingly shorter items, Téléjournal tries to meet the younger audience's

expectations, says C.S. On the other hand, she would sometimes like to have more time to tell a story. "I think we really are in a phase of real change, big change, and I don't know where it's taking us and how we will adapt to it."[1203]

c   *Production patterns*

C.S.'s news production begins with her decision to engage in a particular task. "I make a suggestion or people at the editorial conference ask me 'could you do this topic, yes or no?'"[1204] By far the most important constraint is the length of the item: "They tell you you have 130 [seconds] and not to exceed it".[1205] Once topic and length are set, the next steps are: contacting interviewees to check key messages,[1206] sometimes outlining the key points on a piece of paper, and then going out to get the story. Occasionally, a word or part of a sentence occurs to her, and then she writes them down on a piece of paper, she says. "When there is plenty of time, I also write the first bits of text by hand."[1207] During the interviews, C.S. makes sure that the statements "fit the direction of the item", although "you can't make people say what you want to hear".[1208]

d   *Collaboration patterns*

C.S. sometimes contacts colleagues to find interviewees.[1209] For her, doing interviews and taking pictures also means collaborating with camera teams who have to follow her advice: "I say, I'd like this, I'd like that, in other words, I guide a bit, I provide the thread". When the recordings are done, she pre-selects pictures and quotes, outlines the text structure and meets the cutter.[1210] There she "gives directions" again, and they select the pictures and interview sections together. C.S. writes the text, then it is recorded and transmitted to be broadcasted.[1211] As for the introduction, C.S. first makes a suggestion to the anchor, who rephrases it in his own way, and finally C.S. "talks to him or her to prevent mistakes in the introduction".[1212] From her superiors, she would like to get more advice and feedback than she actually does. "It's rather rare that they do reviews."[1213] She assumes that no comment at editorial conferences means "well, it was OK".[1214]

e   *Task*

At the 2:30 p.m. conference of the Téléjournal newsroom team on March 1, 2007, C.S. received the assignment to prepare an item on a potential smoking ban in Swiss restaurants and bars for the evening edition. That morning, the umbrella organization of the Swiss restaurateurs Gastrosuisse had held a media conference to present their ideas for federal smoking legislation, motivated by earlier developments in neighboring countries.[1215] At the conference, a colleague of C.S. had interviewed a Gastrosuisse representative. In addition, the producer of the Téléjournal evening news wanted C.S. to integrate a quote from an expert in social and preventive medicine and member of the Swiss parliament, Felix Gutzwiller, who stresses the risks of both active and passive

smoking. Gutzwiller had been interviewed the same day by a journalist from Schweizer Fernsehen, the German-language sister company of Télévision Suisse Romande.[1216] The subsidiaries of the Swiss public service broadcaster SRG follow the policy of doing parts of their interviews on national topics in more than one language, in order to provide their sister companies with source materials.[1217] Thus, C.S. was told to base her item on those two interviews, which she had not done herself and, moreover, disliked.[1218]

f   *Process*

f₁   Having browsed the internet and read the newswires to prepare for interviews in the field, C.S. did "not feel very well informed".[1219] She wanted to record interviews in a restaurant at lunchtime and get some good footage, but a camera team was not available until later. When they arrived at 1:30 p.m.,[1220] many of the guests had already left and the result of the shooting was rather meager. They came back with recordings from interviews with three guests and the restaurateur.

f₂   At 2:30 p.m., C.S. and the camera team returned to their offices,[1221] and C.S. started viewing the pictures and drafting "a bit of, a sort of introduction".[1222] She listened to interview bits and wrote some words to "get myself into starting mode".[1223] Jotting down ideas of "things to say", she found it hard to organize her ideas,[1224] "which is even more difficult if you don't know exactly what parts of the interviews to use".[1225] Eventually, she formulated an initial sentence she considered a "starting point for the item", and felt "very relieved".[1226] Now the rest would follow "one way or another".[1227] When she encountered a writer's block, she went through source materials over and over again, hoping that "things would click".[1228]

f₃   Unsatisfied with the interview by her colleague, she then contacted the Gastrosuisse representative by phone and talked to him for half an hour to find out what his association was aiming for.[1229] She discovered that they wanted: to be involved in the legislation process;[1230] the legislation to be consistent on a national level instead of regionally determined;[1231] restaurant guests, and not restaurateurs, to be held responsible for violating the smoking ban.[1232] In addition, C.S. knew from the colleague who had done the interview that Gastrosuisse wanted every restaurateur to be allowed to designate smoking areas themselves. Pragmatically, this meant that the legislation could be reduced to separating smoking from non-smoking areas in restaurants. "And then this would hardly change anything in practice."[1233]

f₄   Fighting with formulations around the key concept of *legislation*, C.S. did "not really know how to put it".[1234] Moreover, she kept struggling with the right order for her key points.[1235] Whereas the beginning of her text remained unchanged throughout the production process,[1236] the rest of the draft was a collection of placeholders[1237] and fragments[1238] when she left her desk for the cutting room at 5:27 p.m.

f₅   During the session with the cutter, C.S. continued juggling with fragments and uncertainties.[1239] Over several attempts, they tried various combinations of two or three restaurant guests' statements.[1240] They found it difficult to isolate meaningful excerpts from the restaurateur's and the GASTROSUISSE interviews.[1241]

f₆   Waiting for the Gutzwiller interview file to arrive and speculating on what he had said[1242] complicated the process until shortly before the deadline. The file was supposed to be transmitted to C.S. by 6:00 p.m.[1243] At 6:46 it had still not arrived, so C.S. "started to feel a bit under pressure".[1244] In a series of phone calls she eventually discovered that the file had been sent to the wrong TV station.[1245] When it finally arrived,[1246] C.S. and the cutter realized that Gutzwiller "doesn't speak very well".[1247] As with the restaurateur interview,[1248] it proved to be difficult to isolate a useful bit from Gutzwiller's lengthy statements.[1249] They wondered about integrating a Gutzwiller statement at all.[1250]

f₇   After several phone calls with the producer,[1251] the time limit for the item was extended from 100 to 105 seconds.[1252] Although the producer suggested doing without the Gutzwiller interview,[1253] C.S. and the cutter finally decided to keep a statement from this expert in the item: "The item is more complete when we have him in."[1254] They made a "compromise"[1255] by combining very short statements from the restaurateur,[1256] the GASTROSUISSE representative, Gutzwiller,[1257] and two rather than three guests.[1258]

g   *Product*

At the end of the production process, the news item was 108 seconds long and was broadcasted at 7:33 p.m., as the second item of the issue. C.S. did the voiceover. The transcript shows the broadcasted version (Ex. 29).

	001	M:	GastroSuisse, l'association faîtière des restaurateurs
			GastroSuisse, the restaurateurs' umbrella organization
	002		veut une législation pragmatique sur la cigarette.
			wants pragmatic legislation about cigarettes.
	003		Elle est d'accord que les établissements publics
			It agrees that public spaces
	004		soient en principe non-fumeur.
			are in principle non-smoking areas.
	005		Mais elle veut aussi des exceptions:
			But they also want exceptions:
	006		Des coins fumeurs et même des établissements réservés aux fumeurs.
			Smoking corners and even establishments reserved for smokers.
	007		Explications O[…] T[…] et C[…] S[…].
			Explanations by O[…] T[…] and C[…] S[…].
	008	O:	Dans ce restaurant la cohabitation entre fumeurs et non-fumeurs
			In this restaurant the co-existence of smokers and non-smokers

009   se passe plutôt bien.
       works rather well.

010   Le patron a trouvé une solution très simple
       The owner has found a very simple solution

011   qui pour l'heure satisfait tout le monde.
       that for the moment satisfies everyone.

012 A1: On a une salle fumeur.
       We have a smokers' room.
013   C'est juste là.
       It's right there.
014   Et une autre qui est juste derrière moi, voilà sous la droite.
       And another one that is just behind me, there to the right.
015   Et puis ici même c'est non-fumeur.
       And then, right here, it's non-smoking.
016   Donc disons que les trois quarts du restaurant c'est non-fumeur,
       So, let's say three-quarters of the restaurant is non-smoking,
017   un quart c'est fumeur.
       one quarter is for smokers.

018 O: Mais l'influence des législations anti-tabac
       But the influence of anti-tobacco legislation

019   en Italie et en France se fait sentir.
       in Italy and France is making itself felt.
020   GastroSuisse estime qu'une loi va s'imposer dans notre pays,
       GastroSuisse thinks that a law will be imposed in our country

021   pour éviter des mesures insatisfaisantes
       to avoid the unsatisfying measures

022   l'association demande une loi fédérale spéciale.
       the association demands a special federal law.
023   Elle prévoit que la majorité des restaurants
       It foresees that a majority of the restaurants
024   devienne non-fumeurs
       will become non-smoking
025   avec toutefois plusieurs exceptions.
       although with several exceptions.

026 A2: On part du principe là aussi
       One assumes, in principle, here too,
027   que trente pourcent de nos clients sont fumeurs.
       that thirty percent of our clients are smokers.

028   On n'a pas des clients à deux vitesses.
       We do not have two classes of customers.

029   C'est l'entrepreneur
       It is the owner

030   qui devrait pouvoir décider si oui ou non,
       who should be able to decide whether

031		et dans quelle forme
		and in what form
032		les fumeurs trouvent encore leur place.
		the smokers still have their place.
033	O:	À Berne, Mr. Anti-tabac salue la démarche
		In Berne, Mr. Anti-Tobacco welcomes the change
034		mais n'est pas encore satisfait.
		but is not yet satisfied.
035	A3:	La proposition ne règle pas encore d'une manière satisfaisante
		The proposition still does not regulate in a satisfactory way,
036		la protection des employeurs et des employés dans la gastronomie.
		the protection of employers and employees in gastronomy.
037		Donc, là il faut encore trouver une solution.
		So a solution should still be found.
038	O:	Alors législation stricte ou pas:
		So, strict legislation or not:
039		Les consommateurs ont des avis partagés.
		Consumers have divided opinions.
040	A4:	Moi, je suis non-fumeur,
		Me, I am a non-smoker
041		mais je trouve un peu ce qui se passe en France aujourd'hui,
		but I think that what is happening in France nowadays,
042		je trouve que c'est un peu excessif
		I think that it is a bit excessive
043		et je préférerais
		and I would prefer
044		que les choses se passent d'une manière plus informelle
		things to happen in a more informal way
045		et que chacun puisse se retenir
		and that everybody can retreat
046		sans qu'on ait forcément une réglementation trop ferme.
		without necessarily having overly strict regulations.
047	A5:	Je suis enchantée qu'on interdise la fumée dans les restaurants.
		I am happy if smoke is forbidden in restaurants.
048		Je trouve ça très important
		I find this very important
049		parce que je trouve qu'il n'y a plus une question de liberté
		because I think it is no longer a question of liberty
050		mais une question de santé.
		but a question of health.
051	O:	Griller une dernière cigarette au restaurant.
		Lighting up one last cigarette in a restaurant.
052		Un geste peut-être bientôt puni par la loi.
		A gesture that might soon be punished by law.

Ex. 29   Text and translation of the GAST news item
Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_ gastrosuisse_item

h   *Focus of analysis*

h₁   In this item, the concepts of *pragmatic legislation* and *strict legislation* become confused. The anchor announces that GASTROSUISSE is striving for "pragmatic legislation" (Ex. 29, line 2): non-smoking restaurants with separate smoking areas. The item starts with an example of such a pragmatic solution, illustrated by a restaurateur: "three-quarters of the restaurant is non-smoking, one-quarter is for smokers" (lines 16–17). Then, a GASTROSUISSE representative explains that his organization is suggesting legislation that allows restaurateurs to decide "whether and in what form smokers still have their place" (30–32).

h₂   Staged as a contrasting position, "Mr. Anti-Tobacco" Felix Gutzwiller is introduced as saying he is "not yet satisfied" (34), but in the item he only points out that "the protection of employers and employees" (36) is still lacking. This actually does not contradict the GASTROSUISSE suggestion, but focuses on a different level of future legislation. Nevertheless, the journalist recapitulates as if two alternatives had been presented: "So, strict legislation or not?" (38). The item then shows two restaurant guests, one opting for ad-hoc separate areas, the other for a formal ban (40–50). In the last sentence of the item, the journalist concludes by saying that smoking in restaurants could "soon be punished by law" (52). This conclusion ignores that no support at all is given for "strict legislation" (38) anywhere in the item. Neither Gutzwiller nor the restaurateur contradicted the GASTROSUISSE idea of a pragmatic solution where "smokers still have their place" (32).

h₃   Somehow the author seemed to have lost sight of her key concepts. A process analysis reveals that, throughout the process, C.S. never clarified precisely what the item was going to be about. The key concepts of *legislation*, *pragmatic legislation*, *strict legislation*, *separation*, and *ban* remained vague.[1259] In her recapitulation, after the experts' and before the guests' statements, C.S. switches from "legislation" to "strict legislation" without having explained the difference between the concepts (Ex. 29, line 38; Ex. 30, revisions 100, 124, 125).

```
Alors  98{124[faut-il un99[ |99]99e loi stricte]124|125125{Lé126[GILéS|126
]126gislation stricte}125|127 }98|100100[législation ]100|101ou pas ?19[
]19|20}18|1920[ De leur côté,]20|21 les consommateurs ont des avis
partagés.....
```

Ex. 30   S-notation from the GAST working room session
Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_ gastrosuisse_snt_3

h₄   The same loss of control can be observed for the handling of the contributions of the two experts, whose quotes C.S. had excerpted from video recordings made by her colleagues. Because C.S. did not like the interviews but felt obliged by the producer to integrate them, she tried to find the shortest possible excerpts in order to have more time available for the guests' quotes she had recorded herself. By doing so, she decontextualized segments of source statements without re-contextualizing them in the offtext.

h₅   Thus, when it came to drawing a conclusion, much more was alluded to than clarified. The audience of this item was not given the opportunity to understand that Gastrosuisse advocates (a) being involved in (b) drafting national smoking regulation with (c) guests' responsibilities defined (d) and the option for restaurateurs to designate smoking areas. In addition, it remains unsaid that Gutzwiller takes a stand against restaurateurs being allowed to designate such areas. As a consequence, C.S.'s suggestion that there was a conflict between pragmatic and strict legislation lacks argumentative grounds.

h₆   Shortly before airtime, the anchor came to the cutting room in order to ask C.S. about the conclusion. C.S. answered that she "was not very sure yet".[1260] She "suddenly"[1261] had an idea, but realized that there was very little space left in the item.[1262] The cutter told her that her conclusion could not be more than nine seconds long.[1263] In this situation, C.S. came up with a vague and simplistic conclusion: "Lighting up one last cigarette in a restaurant. A gesture that might soon be punished by law." (Ex. 29, lines 51–52). However, such simplistic shortcuts are precisely what she previously said she normally avoids (see above, Section b).

i   *Potential for knowledge transformation*

i₁   How could a journalist who, in general, wants to be clear and simple, end up in being vague and simplistic? C.S. could not find her way out of the critical situation of dealing with external sources. Whereas her standard newswriting process begins with contacting interviewees to identify key messages,[1264] the Gast case started with existing interviews made by colleagues. So she was restricted to statements that were answers to other people's questions, instead of being able to guide an interview "in the direction of the item".[1265] By not focusing on the main points of one of the interviews available and deciding to wait for the other, she missed the chance to adapt her production pattern to the given situation.

i₂   Adapting to the given situation could have meant: immediately contacting all available parties involved to get a fuller picture,[1266] then outlining the problem to be reported, and finally linearizing the item along the key points to be made. In this case, an integrative understanding would include at least three points: first, legislation is expected in any event, second, Gastrosuisse is pleading proactively for a pragmatic variant of the legislation, and third, other players such as Gutzwiller can be expected to argue for a strict variant without exceptions.

i₃   Based on such a draft, a storyline could have been drawn that allows for situative alternatives by filling the slots with offtext and pictures or – depending on their availability – with quotes: (1) Restaurant X offers separate areas for smokers and non-smokers as a pragmatic solution; (2) this is the model Gastrosuisse recommended that morning for possible legislation; (3) however, other parties,

including the expert quoted in the item, argue for stricter variants without exceptions, for example to protect employees and employers from passive smoking; (4) some of the guests in restaurant X would prefer the present pragmatic solutions, whereas others favor strict legislation without exceptions; (5) thus, depending on the developments in the next few years, smoking in restaurants will be restricted to specific areas or banned completely.

i₄ With such a storyline, C.S. could have researched sources, browsed through source materials and preselected quotes and pictures effectively, and then could have "given directions" to the cutter from a clear point of view.[1267] In the cutting room, the two of them could have concentrated on picking and combining the best pictures and quotes – and formulating all relevant points left open by the quotes in the offtext. The result would not have differed much from the actual item except for some crucial details: the contextualizing links between the statements. Moreover, such a newswriting process would have caused less irritation and juggling:[1268] less "stress" throughout the process,[1269] more like when she started writing, when C.S. experienced relief formulating her first sentence.[1270]

i₅ On a more general level, a systematically written GAST story could have done more than describe an issue in an attractive way. It could have also fostered public understanding of democratic change in a more comprehensible way: the proactive lobbying by GASTROSUISSE, the roles of the expert quoted as a doctor and a politician, the next step in the process of democratic legislation, and the range of alternative solutions to be expected. The topic has the potential to bridge expectations that are often seen as contradictory: raising audience share and public understanding, entertaining and informing, catering to media markets and the public mandate at the same time.

i₆ C.S. could have realized this potential with appropriate tools: techniques to overcome the critical situation of dealing with external sources. Such techniques, in general, help writers to become aware of their own repertoires of writing practices as well as their strengths and limitations when it comes to solving specific tasks. In the given situation, appropriate techniques would have focused on defining and relating key concepts of a complex problem that has to be presented in a "clear and simple, but not simplistic" (see above, Section b) way, especially when access to sources and source materials is limited. Such techniques have been identified in other case studies similar to the GAST case, where journalists overcame critical situations with good practices – *good* according to their own, their organizations', and/or theoretically-grounded principles.

i₇ The writing techniques can be formulated as concise guidelines (E|2.3) including short explanations, ready to be used in practice and to be transferred in training and coaching modules (E|3.5) of transdisciplinary research projects (D|3.1). The three techniques specifically related to the GAST case are: the MUGGING TEST, the

DRAFTING TECHNIQUE, and the FINGER TECHNIQUE. With the MUGGING TEST, C.S. could have found the key message and a conclusion for her item before getting lost in incomplete and delayed interviews and lengthy statements (Box 1). The DRAFTING TECHNIQUE would have supported her process of defining and linking the key concepts needed to set up an item on a complex topic (Box 2). With the FINGER TECHNIQUE, these key concepts could have been transformed to a linear dramaturgy (Box 3).

The Mugging Test

Imagine telling your story to a colleague as she is running to catch a bus that is about to leave.

In a couple of sentences, just by talking for a few seconds, outline the interesting new thing that you have to say and why it is important for your audience right now. Choose someone to mug who doesn't really want to listen to you, hardly has any time for you, and is thinking about something completely different. If your mugging victim stops, listens, and responds to your topic – then you are ready to start writing.

Don't think that your topic is much too complicated to deal with in passing … Sure – any subject can fill up pages and pages, and hours and hours. But you have to make it palatable and sell it to your audience as they rush by, flip pages, or zap through stations and before they stop paying attention. They'll pause, become involved with your text for a few seconds, and only continue to listen if it promises something of significance.

Why should you check the main theme of your text on a live subject? Even the thought of having to verbally grab someone with your topic puts you under pressure. You mentally test the impression you make, notice that you have not yet found the right angle, change perspective, start a different way, finally risk it … and get to the point more effectively by talking than you would ever have if you had just brooded over it alone. The stress of an oral situation opens the floodgates for language flow, similar to a burst of adrenaline just before a deadline. You'll become strong in self-defense, and in retrospect you'll clearly see the best way into the text.

Box 1   Example of a writing technique to set a key message for an item

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The Drafting Technique

Extricate yourself from complicated explanations. If you want to explain something difficult or new, sketch out a draft before you start writing.

For example, before you start to write a text about apprenticeship programs, think about whether it would make sense to explain the complicated relationship between vocational training and rising youth unemployment and how you could describe it simply. Sketch the main players of this power game graphically or in point form, indicating the most important relationships between them. Work on your draft until it consists of as little as possible, with just the most important points. Only these belong in your text, nothing else.

If you skip this extricating process, you will later have to clarify, order, and sharpen your thoughts while writing. You will lose time while struggling to compose complex sections about secondary players and arguments – work that will pull you (and later also your readers) out of the story.

> Why is drafting before writing worthwhile? Writing consists of linearizing on all levels: aims and topics, paragraphs and sentences, words and letters are all brought into line. While this is happening, a significant part of working memory is occupied with purely linguistic work. Draft the complex sections in advance, first channeling your efforts into logical clarification, and later, during the writing process, use your energy for the language work.

Box 2   Example of a writing technique to define and relate the key concepts of an item

> **The FINGER TECHNIQUE**
>
> Count off the main points of your text on the fingers of one hand. Don't write a single word before you can do this.
>
> A handful of main points, logically connected and dramaturgically arranged, will carry a text. They should be worked out and linked before writing – but in your head, not on paper. Stick to three to five main points – this is the number you can probably remember and so will your audience.
>
> Maybe you have already planned your whole text, point by point and in writing, multi-colored and full length. If so, you will be carrying too much baggage on your trip through the text. Or maybe you haven't thought of anything yet and start completely unencumbered. If this is the case, your text will easily carry you wherever it pleases.
>
> How can a lean concept in your mind make you flexible yet firm enough at the same time? The life of a text cannot be definitely planned in advance: While writing you will get new ideas from fragments of sentences on the paper or on your screen. If you have an overall plan, you will recognize the promising ideas more easily and drop the others more confidently. And if you have the plan firmly in mind and do not have to keep looking elsewhere to check it, you will be able to link your ideas to what you have already written without interrupting the writing flow.

Box 3   Example of a writing technique to linearize the key concepts of an item

i₈   These writing techniques illustrate knowledge transformation on the level of individual writers. The GAST case, however, raises questions on more general levels too: Firstly, why did C.S. and the colleague who interviewed the GASTROSUISSE representative not collaborate from the beginning? They worked for the same TV station. From Geneva, she could have stayed in contact with him while he was at the media conference in Zurich (activity field of HANDLING SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT). Or she could have given him the right questions in the morning before his interview (DEFINING THE TASK). Secondly, why did it take so long for C.S. to realize (HANDLING TASK ENVIRONMENT) that the video file she urgently needed (FINDING THE SOURCES) had been sent to the wrong place by a colleague working for the sister company of her employer? Organizational analysis would be required to find answers to such questions. However, linguistic analysis can identify workplace conditions that constrain or enable the situated activity of newswriting. Under better working conditions, the journalist might have been able to use the example of the smoking ban to illustrate mechanisms of democratic change – and thereby promote public understanding.

C|3.1   Phonological structure

Language connects units of various degrees of complexity. On a micro level, the smallest units are sounds, letters, and characters. They serve to distinguish meaning, because people can produce and perceive them as systematically different. Journalistic communication, as remote mass communication, is restricted to signs that most of the target audience can understand easily. Moreover, it has to limit itself to technically transmittable signs – at present to visible and audible signs.

A theoretical question for linguists at this interface of sound structure and language use in journalistic media is how auditory features of language contribute to comprehension. Individual sound segments and their articulation are of interest, as is prosody, the supra-segmental sound of language. In the spoken language of journalistic media, articulation and prosody are intended to be as widely accepted as possible. From the point of view of practice, the question arises as to how to structure the auditory component of media items, including the sound of spoken language. Media linguistics employs tools from phonetics and phonology to analyze language use through which media professionals speak effectively – for example prosodic phrasing (e.g. Bergner & Lenhart, 2005; overview in Perrin, 2011b, 159–161).

When focusing on newswriting, media linguistics can combine approaches to written and spoken language and investigate the writing processes supporting effective speaking. An example from the Gast case is the practice of Writing for speaking. In the verbal protocol, C.S. explained that in order to change the stress and prosody (Ex. 31) she had replaced "some" by "yet several" (Ex. 32).

```
0835    j'ai un peu tendance à utiliser des „donc" des „toutefois"
0836    ce qu'on n'utilise pas forcément
0837    mais moi ça me- je ne sais pas-
0838    ça me donne aussi-
0839    ça accentue
0840    ça donne aussi presque une respiration
```

Ex. 31   Verbal protocol from the Gast case
Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_verbal

```
la    majorité    des    restaurants    deviennent    non    -fumeurs    avec
164[quelques]164|165 165{toutefois plusieurs}165 exceptions, comme la
création de fumoirs
```

Ex. 32   Revisions from the Gast case
Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_snt_2

C|3.2   Lexical structure

Language combines distinctive units into meaningful units: linguistic symbols that stand for specific details in the world. These details, their perception by the language user, and communication requirements change over time. New words are therefore created, some of which become accepted and widely used in the language community. In journalistic communication, words are chosen and created to match professional needs: short words for titles, catchy words for new concepts, or just normal ones that everybody knows.

A theoretical question of interest for linguists at this interface of word structure and language use in journalistic media is how new words form, spread, change, and disappear. Journalistic media are interesting in this context for three reasons: they constantly create new words to meet their needs, they spread language to many other users, and their media products allow a methodologically simple access to the language output. From the point of view of practice, the question arises as to which types of words suit media tasks. Media linguistics employs tools from morphology to analyze the linguistic means that journalists use to convey stance, talk about new things concisely, and avoid the obligation of being creative at all times. Such means can be idioms, on the one hand, or coinages, on the other (e.g. Garretson, 2007; Mottier, 2009; overview in Perrin, 2011b, 167–169).

However, when focusing on newswriting, media linguistics investigates the use of words not only in the news stories themselves, but also in complementary texts such stage directions or inserts. An example from the GASTRO case is the practice of CHECKING CATCHWORD. After jotting down initial thoughts for an introduction, C.S. realized that she disliked the item's catchphrase, which had been set by her producer and focused on *passive smoking*. Due to lack of time, she decided "not to intervene yet" (Ex. 33). The problem of the catchphrase and key terms in general remained unsolved throughout the process (C|3.0|h$_3$).

```
0676    là je me dis déjà que le mot-clé ne me plaît pas
0677    donc „feu sur le tabagisme passif"
0678    mais je ne fais encore rien
0679    parce que je n'ai pas le temps à ce moment-là
```

Ex. 33   Verbal protocol from the GAST case

Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_verbal

C|3.3 Syntactic structure

In terms of meaning, signs form cross-connections, networks, and hierarchies. Written and spoken language, however, is represented linearly, one sign following the other. Signs for actors and actions combine into propositional units that are linearly represented as sentences. Journalistic communication verbalizes the propositions in a dense manner and in portions appropriate to the product templates and target group models.

A theoretical question of interest for linguists at this interface of sentence level and language use in journalistic media is what sentences are – how they are linked internally and with each other. The use of sentence structures changes over time, but even at any particular point in time the possible patterns are used differently with various intentions and for various tasks. In journalistic language use this can easily be traced over decades and even centuries. From the point of view of practice, the question arises as to how sentences and chains of sentences can be formed so that addressees can quickly understand the key message. Media linguistics employs tools from syntax to analyze language use through which media professionals create sentence structures specific to the task at hand – for example, through condensing and portioning information (e.g. Biber, 2003; Cotter, 2003; Jucker, 1992; Peck MacDonald, 2005; overview in Perrin, 2011b, 175–177).

When focusing on newswriting as a process, media linguistics investigates syntax not only in its more or less manifest forms, but also as a process of finding appropriate syntactic structures. An example from the Gastro case is the practice of Using simple syntax. In the protocol session after writing, C.S. saw herself perform seven revisions in a sentence she was going to delete later on (gastrosuisse_snt_2, revisions 40–47). She commented that she was "searching a little bit" and that she did "not know too much how to turn/put it" (Ex. 34, lines 363–364) in order to "make it short and comprehensible" (366).

```
0363    et puis je cherche un peu
0364    je ne sais pas trop comment le tourner
0365    pour que ça ne soit pas trop long
0366    que ça soit court et compréhensible
0367    donc je cherche
```

Ex. 34   Verbal protocol from the Gast case
Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_verbal

C|3.4 Textual structure

Linguistic complexes form meaningful units: texts that deal with a certain topic and embody certain intended actions. Text models develop for recurring topics and intentions in recurring communication situations. Journalistic communication makes use of such models while sometimes ignoring them when media evolve.

A theoretical question of interest for linguists at this interface of text level and language use in journalistic media is what makes a text a text and which models or genres develop during fast, technology-driven media production. From the point of view of practice, the question arises as to how to make text production simpler by using text models while still appearing unique to the audience. Media linguistics employs tools from text linguistics to analyze language use through which media professionals exploit and break away from familiar models to strategically vary genres (e.g. Bell, 2003; Le, 2009; Smart, 1993; Van Dijk, 1985; Van Dijk, 1988; overview in Perrin, 2011b, 183–185).

When focusing on newswriting as a process, media linguistics investigates texts and genres not only in their manifest forms, but also as a process of developing appropriate structures for the final text and for its intermediate versions while writing. An example from the GASTRO case is the practice of MAINTAINING OVERVIEW OF COMPLEX TEXT. C.S. used double slashes in her developing text to separate two levels. While the draft version of the item developed, she inserted notes after double slashes between the paragraphs (Ex. 35), making a record of ideas and formulations to be integrated or deleted later (Ex. 36).

```
propose une loi qui tient compte de certaines exceptions 53{ //
LéGISLATION STRICTES UNE LOI VA S'IMPOSER pour éviter d'être le
dindon de la farce}53
```

Ex. 35   Revisions from the GAST case
Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_snt_2

```
0470    c'est pour moi un signe
0471    parce que je mets justement tellement de mots là
0472    de phrases
0473    qui ne veulent pas dire grand chose à la suite
0474    que c'est pour bien faire une séparation
```

Ex. 36   Verbal protocol from the GAST case
Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_verbal

C|3.5   Language structures and activity fields of newswriting

In practice, newswriting takes place across the theoretically separate structures of language use outlined above (C|3.1–3.4). News consist of functional linguistic units on various levels of complexity, such as sounds, words, sentences, and texts. The same applies to the processes of newswriting with their subprocesses on various timescales: Journalists type characters, choose words, formulate sentences and write or revise texts.

In doing so, the journalists engage in the activity fields related to the structure of newswriting, as presented in detail in the next sections. Closely integrated with writing is reading: Before, during, and after writing, journalists read sources (C|3.5.1) as well as the text they have written so far (C|3.5.2). In the actual writing activities, the journalists set goals (C|3.5.3), plan their processes and products (C|3.5.4), control their writing flow (C|3.5.5), and monitor and revise emerging products (C|3.5.6).

The activity in these six fields is oriented towards (re-)producing language strings for news items. *(Re-)producing* means that journalists create, copy-paste, and alter the strings brought into the newsflows by themselves or their sources. For example, they delete and retype characters, use and invent words, paraphrase utterances, reorder sentences and paragraphs, and shorten or extend texts.

Practices in the structure-related activity fields are directly visible in the media products. They shape product properties such as orthography, punctuation, prosody, lexical choice, word order, syntactic structures, paragraph rhythm, and text length. In the GAST case, dominant structure-oriented practices are LISTENING TO POTENTIAL QUOTE FOR INSPIRATION and PLANNING STRUCTURE ON THE BASIS OF SELECTED QUOTES. C.S. developed both her writing process and her item on the basis of source materials that kept on changing throughout the process (C|3.0|f$_2$). In doing so, she remained vague with respect to her goal and key concepts (C|3.0|h$_3$).

The next table (Fig. 5) shows the interplay of the four medialinguistic structures (C|3.1–3.4) and the six environment-related activity fields, which are detailed below (C|3.5.1–3.5.6).

The top line represents the perspectives from applied linguistics (A|2.3). The four increasingly complex structures of language use in the media have been separated theoretically and are systematically linked:

- textual structures such as media items presuppose phrasal structures such as sentences;
- phrasal structures presuppose lexical structures such as words;
- lexical structures presuppose phonological structures such as sounds.

Applied linguistics perspective →	Environment				Function				Structure			
	Interpersonal	Intersituative	Intertextual	Intermodal	Referential	Cognitive	Interactive	Social	Sound	Word	Sentence	Text
Writing research perspective: Activity fields ↓												
⋮ …					…							
Structure — Reading sources									(re–) producing language strings for news items as contributions to public discourse by working in specific contexts of newswriting e.g. ENSURING COHERENCE WHILE WRITING			
Reading own text												
Goal setting												
Planning												
Controlling												
Monitoring												

Fig. 5   The medialinguistic mindset of newswriting: synopsis of writing research and applied linguistics perspectives

On the left are the perspectives from writing research (B|2.3). Activities in the six fields are oriented towards (re-)producing language strings for news items. At the same time, the texts written so far enable and constrain the activities. The activity fields are presented in detail below (C|3.5.1–C|3.5.6).

C|3.5.1   *The activity field of READING SOURCE TEXT*

Activities in the field of READING SOURCE TEXT are oriented towards reading source materials such as written publications or transcribed interviews. *Reading* is meant in a wide sense, including the intentional reception of para- and non-verbal source materials such as pictures or infographs. Practitioners' key questions in this field include: At which stage of the process do I read what kind of source materials? How do I do this as efficiently and effectively as possible?

In the GAST case, the journalist C.S. entered the activity field of READING SOURCE TEXT for example with the practice of LISTENING TO POTENTIAL QUOTE FOR INSPIRATION: She repeatedly replayed interview recordings to find passages she likes (Ex. 37), but also to overcome a writers' block with a new inspiration – "I hope it is going to make click" (Ex. 38, line 464). Later in the verbal protocol, she comes back to listening interview recordings as sources of inspiration regarding "how to put it" (Ex. 39, line 709).

```
0191    ensuite là je dérushe
0192    je sélectionne en fait un bout d'interview
0193    qui m'avait assez bien plu
0194    je le réécoute juste pour me faire une idée
```

Ex. 37   Verbal protocol from the GAST case
Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_verbal

```
0457    mais là je vois
0458    là je reviens sur les images d'hôtellerie suisse
0459    parce que je sais que là je bloque
0460    donc je me dis que je vais réécouter l'interview
0461    et bon c'est vrai que des fois
0462    en réécoutant deux une troisième fois
0463    il y a tout à coup un ah c'est ça que je veux mettre
0464    donc j'espère que ça va me faire le clic
0465    et en général une fois qu'on a ça
0466    c'est plus facile de faire le passage avant
```

Ex. 38   Verbal protocol from the GAST case
Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_verbal

```
0706    mais- je réécoute
0707    c'est vrai qu'en réécoutant les interviews
0708    on se dit aussi ah oui voilà ça c'est là qui est-
0709    c'est comme ça qu'il faut le dire etcetera
0710    donc ça inspire aussi
```

Ex. 39   Verbal protocol from the GAST case
Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_verbal

In the IDÉE SUISSE corpus, READING SOURCE TEXT encompasses practices that, first, can be related to specific processes. They focus on oral and visual modes of processing semiotic materials and range from reception only to more interactive activities and consequences. Examples from the GAST case include:

– LISTENING TO SOURCE MATERIALS, e.g. LISTENING TO POTENTIAL QUOTE IN ORDER TO UNDERSTAND IT: Listening to the quotes carefully in order to understand every word and their meaning, for example if there are acoustic problems;
– LISTENING TO SOURCE MATERIALS, e.g. LISTENING TO POTENTIAL QUOTE FOR INSPIRATION: Listening to potential quotes to get ideas about what one could write in the item;
– LOOKING AT SOURCE MATERIALS, e.g. LOOKING AT WHAT OTHERS HAVE BROADCASTED ABOUT TOPIC: Looking at what has been broadcasted, by the same company or competitors, about the topic one is working on;
– READING SOURCE MATERIALS, e.g. READING SOURCE TEXT: Reading texts one considers potential sources for one's item;

- – Making notes, e.g. Using note as cue: Using notes as cues to trigger memories while writing one's text;
- – Making notes, e.g. Noting time code to quickly relocate pictures: Writing down when an interesting sequence in the video material occurs, in order to find it quickly later;
- – Reading source materials for inspiration, e.g. Listening to potential quote for inspiration: Listening to potential quotes to get ideas about what one could write in the item;
- – Understanding source materials, e.g. Identifying gist of quote in order to convey it*: Making an effort to really understand what the gist of a quote is in order to make it comprehensible for the audience as well.

Second, practices of Reading source text can be related to specific contexts: materials that have to be processed during research. A prototypical context is Source materials. Examples from the Gast and other cases* include:

- – Source materials, e.g. Looking for particular sequence in source materials: Going back to the source material to find a stretch of text or pictures one has in mind;
- – Source materials, e.g. Scanning source pictures to choose quotes first: Going through source pictures in order to find appropriate quotes before one starts writing the text;
- – Source materials, e.g. Reproducing source text in item*: Basing one's text on a source text, which is either copied or paraphrased.

C|3.5.2 The activity field of Reading own text

Activities in the field of Reading own text are oriented towards reading the text one has produced so far in the writing process or, more generally, looking at and listening to the item produced so far. Practitioners' key questions in this field include: At which moments in the process do I read the text I am about to produce? Which text parts have to be read especially carefully? How can I overcome the author perspective and read my text with the eyes of the audience? How can I get back into the writing flow after reading?

In the Gast case, the journalist C.S. entered the activity field of Reading own text for example with the practice of Proofreading intro: The anchor passed by the cutting room and told C.S. she had written an introduction to the item C.S. was about to produce. She asked C.S. to "glance" at it (Ex. 40, line 496). C.S did so, found the intro "not bad" (498) and decided "not to touch anything" (499). Based on a negative evaluation, however, she could have altered it. Writing and reading the intro was, in this case, a collaborative project by the journalist and the anchor.

```
0490   là je vais-
0491   ah là je pense qu'entre-temps esther est venue me voir
...    ...
0493   pour la présentation
0494   et elle me dit qu'elle a écrit une intro justement
0495   donc un lancement du sujet
0496   et si je peux regarder jeter un coup d'œil
0497   donc je regarde
0498   ça m'a l'air pas mal
0499   donc voilà je ne touche rien
0500   je laisse
```

Ex. 40   Verbal protocol from the GAST case

Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_verbal

Whereas PROOFREADING INTRO focuses on the content of the text written so far, other practices in the field of READING OWN TEXT concentrate on its spoken form. An example is SPEAKING TEXT-SO-FAR TO CHECK WHETHER TEXT AND PICTURES FIT. As C.S. adjusted her text to an uncertain and changing set of source materials throughout the cutting room session (C|3.0|f$_5$), she repeatedly checked interim versions of certain passages for sound, length, and speakability. Depending on the version and the speed of speaking, the same passage (C|3.0|g, lines 18–25) could be right (Ex. 41) or too long (Ex. 42). Next, C.S. adjusted the text – or the speaking pace (Ex. 43).

```
0290        « mais l'influence des pays limitrophes se fait sentir
0291        gastrosuisse estime qu'une loi va s'imposer
...    ...
0297        avec toutefois plusieurs exceptions »
0298   C:   quarante et une
0299   J:   yes
0300   C:   d'accord
```

Ex. 41   Cutter talk from the GAST case

Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_discourse

```
0521   J:   « mais l'influence des législations anti-tabac
0522        en italie et en france se fait sentir
...         ...
0529        avec toutefois plusieurs exceptions »
0530   C:   c'est un poil trop long mais-
0531   X1:  c'est trop long
0532   J:   oui
```

Ex. 42   Cutter talk from the GAST case

Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_discourse

```
1507        « … avec toutefois plusieurs exceptions »
1508        oui je la fais plus vite
1509        je la fais plus vite
1510   C:   oui
1511   J:   alors [elle relit le même passage de son texte plus vite]
```

Ex. 43   Cutter talk from the GAST case

Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_discourse

In the IDÉE SUISSE corpus, READING OWN TEXT encompasses practices that can be related to specific processes. They focus on oral and visual modes of processing semiotic materials and range from reception alone to related targets and consequences. Examples from the GAST case and other cases* include:

– PROOFREADING, e.g. PROOFREADING INTRO: Checking the anchor introduction, be it written by oneself, the anchor, or collaborators, for minor errors;
– PROOFREADING, e.g. PROOFREADING SILENTLY*: Checking the text for minor errors by reading it through;
– PROOFREADING, e.g. PROOFREADING WITH INTENSE CONCENTRATION*: Checking the text for minor errors without necessarily reading it aloud but focusing on it very intensely;
– PROOFREADING, e.g. PROOFREADING BY SILENT SPEAKING*: Checking the text for minor errors by reading it silently but imagining speaking it;
– PROOFREADING BY SPEAKING, e.g. SPEAKING TEXT-SO-FAR TO CHECK WHETHER TEXT AND PICTURES FIT: Speaking the text one has written so far to check whether its length matches the length of pictures;
– PROOFREADING FOR INSPIRATION AND STIMULATION, e.g. READING TEXT-SO-FAR FROM BEGINNING TO END FOR INSPIRATION*: Reading the text one has written so far from beginning to end, in order to get ideas about what to write next in the item and how.

C|3.5.3   *The activity field of GOAL SETTING*

Activities in the field of GOAL SETTING are oriented towards setting and adjusting goals for a newswriting project. An example of a process-oriented goal is being fast, an example of a product-oriented goal is being clear. Practitioners' key questions in this field include: What do I want to achieve in my text production process? What is the gist of my item? What sense, what difference does the item make to me, my company, my audience, and society at large?

In the GAST case, the journalist C.S. entered the activity field of GOAL SETTING for example with the practices of ENDING ITEM WITH CONCLUSION: C.S. had remained vague in defining her item's key terms and how they relate throughout the writing process (C|3.0|h_3). She had not defined goal and gist explicitly; implicitly, she had adapted goal, gist, and key terms repeatedly according to quotes from source materials that had been delayed. At the end of the cutting

room session, the conclusion still had to be drawn (C|3.0|h$_5$), so she started thinking about options (Ex. 44). She tried out four different versions, focusing on completely different aspects of what the item was or could have been about. The version finally realized is the second (Ex. 47, insertions 149–154). During this process of late goal setting, she lacked both time (Ex. 45) and pictures (Ex. 46).

```
1039    ensuite j'ai pas encore ma conclusion
1040    donc je commence aussi à me poser des questions ((rires))
```

Ex. 44   Verbal protocol from the GAST case
Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_verbal

```
1056    on commence vraiment à stresser ((rires))
1057    parce que là j'ai une- ah oui
1058    là il y avait une idée de conclusion une autre idée
```

Ex. 45   Verbal protocol from the GAST case
Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_verbal

```
1110    oui mais en fait oui j'ai peu
1111    j'ai très peu de temps
1112    peu d'images pour faire une conclusion
```

Ex. 46   Verbal protocol from the GAST case
Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_verbal

```
89{148[Affaire 90[é|90]90à suivre d137[na]137|138138{an}138|139s les mois
qui viennent ]148|149}89|91
149{Griller 150[8|150]150une 153{dernière }153|154cigarette 154{au
restaurant161{,}161|162 un geste peut-être bientôt puni par la
loi.}154|155
155[d151[ams |151]151ans les lieu152[ |152]152x publics un geste peut-
être bientôt bannis des restaurants bannis par la loi|153]155|156}149
93{132[Pour les antitabac on slaue la déamrche de Gastro suise mais
c'est un premier pas.]132|133}93
```

Ex. 47   Revisions from the GAST case
Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_snt_3

In the IDÉE SUISSE corpus, GOAL SETTING encompasses practices that, first, can be related to specific processes. They focus on dealing with visions and goals of writing processes and resulting text products. A prototypical activity is FOCUSING ON GOAL AND GIST. Examples from the GAST case include:

–   FOCUSING ON GOAL AND GIST, e.g. ENDING ITEM WITH CONCLUSION: For example closing the item by summing up, providing an outlook or comment, or making a point.

Second, practices of Goal setting can be related to specific contexts: the mental resources for developing visions, anticipating targets, and setting goals. A prototypical mental context is Inspiration. Examples from other cases* include:

– Inspiration, e.g. Writing to think*: Writing in order to generate and organize the ideas in one's mind.

Third, practices of Goal setting can be related to identity concepts: the aims of writing processes and the key meanings of resulting products. A prototypical identity concept is Goal and Gist. Examples from the Gast and other cases* include:

– Goal and gist, e.g. Defining gist: Planning or negotiating what should be or is the core meaning of a story;
– Goal and gist, e.g. Negotiating gist*: Discussing with collaborators in order to determine what the essence of an item should be.

C|3.5.4   *The activity field of Planning*

Activities in the field of Planning are oriented towards planning an upcoming newswriting project or adjusting plans for an ongoing one. Process planning can be oriented towards, for example, starting a work session by looking for quotes; product-oriented planning can be oriented towards starting an item with a quote. Practitioners' key questions in this field include: What steps do I need to take to achieve my goals? How do I structure my writing process? And how do I structure my text product?

In the Gast case, the journalist C.S. entered the activity field of Planning for example with the practices of Planning structure on the basis of selected quotes and Keeping item's structure flexible for later changes.

While waiting for an expert interview to be transmitted (C|3.0|f₆), C.S. wrote text parts she wanted to replace later on with excerpts from this interview "if we succeed in finding a clear and precise bit" (Ex. 48, line 913). She counted on getting the interview in time. The apparent flexibility in planning alternatives shows a marked contrast to C.S.'s planning practice of setting up the entire item around pre-selected quotes (Ex. 49).

```
0904    je sais que dans ma tête ça peut être enlevé
0905    mais je le laisse là
0906    en attendant de voir comment vont évoluer les choses
...     ...
0909    il y a encore un bout d'interview qui doit m'arriver
0910    de félix gutzwiller
...     ...
0913    si on arrive à trouver un petit passage clair et précis
0914    je vais le mettre
0915    donc du coup je vais raccourcir mon texte
```

Ex. 48   Verbal protocol from the Gast case

Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_verbal

```
0928    oui je dirais le sujet est assez lié aux interviews
0929    aux bouts d'interviews donc je sais qu'en premier
0930    je vais mettre tel interlocuteur qui va dire à peu près ça
0931    et je sais qu'en deuxième j'ai tel autre
0932    qui va dire à peu près ça
0933    et puis tel autre qui va dire ça
0934    donc c'est très lié
0935    donc ce que j'écris avant l'interview
0936    bah c'est oui-
0937    moi pour moi c'est très effectivement-
0938    c'est très comme ça ehm- classifié en zones
```

Ex. 49   Verbal protocol from the Gast case
Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_verbal

In the Idée suisse corpus, Planning encompasses practices that, first, can be related to specific processes. They focus on structuring intended and excluding non-intended steps and range from mental anticipation to actual drafting. Examples from the Gast case and other cases* include:

– Planning, e.g. Planning structure on the basis of selected quotes: Defining the structure of one's item based on the quotes one wants to use;
– Planning, e.g. Planning meaningful sequence of text parts: Planning the organization of the text so that it will follow a logical sequence;
– Adjusting work to others' work, e.g. Adjusting goal to collaborator's input while working on item: Changing plans and procedures during the process according to collaborators' recent decisions;
– Omitting the dysfunctional, e.g. Omitting previously published information*: Not taking into account stories or information that has already been published;
– Making notes, e.g. Noting down key information to be included*: Jotting down the points that one wants to include in one's text.

Second, practices of Planning can be related to specific process properties. They characterize the internal structure of the process, its dynamics, and its contextual relations. Examples from the Gast case include:

– Sequential, e.g. Writing draft then revising: Writing the complete draft of a particular section before starting to revise;
– Sequential, e.g. Developing story gradually: Writing the text in a way that one part naturally leads to another rather than planning this beforehand;
– Flexible, e.g. Keeping item's structure flexible for later changes: Writing the item in a way that an additional piece of information can be easily added or deleted.

Third, practices of Staging the story can be related to specific products. These are text parts with defined positions in the item. Examples from the corpus include:

- START, e.g. BEGINNING ITEM WITH RECENT ASPECTS OF TOPICS*: Telling the story in a way that its most recent aspects come first, instead of, for instance, telling it chronologically;
- END, e.g. ENDING ITEM WHERE DOUBLE-BOX INTERVIEW BEGINS*: Finishing the item with a fact or an aspect which is taken up later in the double-box interview;
- END, e.g. DECIDING ON END OF ITEM FIRST*: Deciding which picture or statement to end the item with, even if the rest of the item structure is not yet clear.

C|3.5.5 *The activity field of CONTROLLING*

Activities in the field of CONTROLLING are oriented towards handling the writing flow, for example getting into the flow, staying in flow throughout the process, keeping overall goals and plans in mind while formulating, and coming to an end in time. Practitioners' key questions in this field include: How can I stimulate and control my writing flow? How do I find my words? Should I jump back and revise what I have written or should I remain in the writing flow, go on writing my story, and revise my entire text from top to bottom in another session?

In the GAST case, the journalist C.S. entered the activity field of CONTROL-LING for example with the practice of (not) FINDING POINT TO START WITH: Throughout the first third of the verbal protocol, C.S. returned to her attempts to find a starting point for both the writing process and the item. In talking about what she had been starting to formulate, she changed between "intro" (Ex. 50, line 166) and "beginning of the item" (Ex. 51, lines 188–189). Later, she referred to it as "some words, actually, to get into the mood to start" (Ex. 52). She "racks her brain" (Ex. 53, line 260) about how to construct her item and jots down ideas "like on a white sheet of paper" (line 265). Then she found a beginning of her text and "huge relief" (Ex. 54, line 287): "at least I have the beginning" (Ex. 55, line 405). Now she knew that "it would come in one way or another" (Ex. 56, line 414).

```
0162    en venant là je me dis qu'il faut que je commence
...      ...
0166    alors là gentiment je vais me mettre à trouver une intro
0167    taper mon texte
```

Ex. 50   Verbal protocol from the GAST case
Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_verbal

```
0183    alors là j'ai commencé à écrire trois lignes
...      ...
0187    et en fait ce que j'ai écrit
0188    c'est en fait un bout de presque plus une introduction
0189    qu'un début de sujet
```

Ex. 51   Verbal protocol from the GAST case
Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_verbal

```
0200        là j'ai écrit quelques mots mais-
0201        vraiment pour essayer de me mettre en condition pour
0202   R:   oui oui
0203   J:   commencer voilà
```

Ex. 52   Verbal protocol from the GAST case
Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_verbal

```
0260   je creuse dans ma tête
0261   comment je pourrais construire mon sujet
...    ...
0265   c'est comme si j'avais une feuille blanche
0266   et je jette des idées des choses à dire
0267   à ne pas oublier
```

Ex. 53   Verbal protocol from the GAST case
Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_verbal

```
0285   là en fait j'avais trouvé mon- le début de mon sujet
0286   là j'avais ça donc
0287   c'est déjà un grand soulagement ((rires))
0288   parce qu'on a déjà-
0289   on a vraiment le début
0290   on a la première interview
```

Ex. 54   Verbal protocol from the GAST case
Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_verbal

```
0402   R:   on peut estimer que tu es toujours au début
0403   J:   oui oui première partie
0404        mais disons que le-
0405        au moins j'ai le début
```

Ex. 55   Verbal protocol from the GAST case
Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_verbal

```
0411   c'est clair que si j'avais pas eu le début
0412   j'aurais commencé à stresser un peu plus
0413   là je sais que j'ai le début
0414   je sais que ça va venir d'une manière ou d'une autre
```

Ex. 56   Verbal protocol from the GAST case
Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_verbal

In the IDÉE SUISSE corpus, CONTROLLING encompasses practices that can be related to process properties. They characterize the smoothness of the formulation process and its relations to the ongoing planning. Examples from the GAST case and other cases* include:

–   FLOWING, e.g. ROUTING WRITING FLOW: Directing the writing flow to where one wants the text to go;
–   MOVING, e.g. FINDING POINT TO START WITH: Looking for and identifying a starting point for the text product or the writing process;

–   Moving, e.g. Avoiding pondering over problem for too long: Working on something else or taking a break if one cannot solve a problem that arises while producing the item;
–   Routinized, e.g. Writing in autopilot mode*: Writing without having to think consciously about what one is writing or what one is going to write next;
–   Incremental, e.g. Ensuring coherence while writing*: Making sure during the writing process that the parts of the story connect.

C|3.5.6 *The activity field of Monitoring*

Activities in the field of Monitoring are oriented towards constantly considering the quality of an unfolding writing process and the emerging text. If necessary, improvements such as process adjustments and product revisions are made. Practitioners' key questions in this field include: What needs checking? How can I improve my text? What do I alter and according to which criteria? How do I implement others' evaluations?

In the Gast case, the journalist C.S. entered the activity field of Monitoring for example with the practice of Writing formulation to evaluate it: She tried to formulate a "short sentence […] like a puzzle" (Ex. 57, lines 429–432). In doing so, she "constructs, exchanges, puts" – and then sees it is "already long" (433–437). So she "really has to shorten it" (438). This interplay of formulating, monitoring, and changing is traced in the S-notation of the intermediate product (Ex. 58) and reflected in the verbal protocol (Ex. 57). Afterwards, the puzzle continued until the final version was reached (C|3.0|g, lines 18–22).

```
0428   là je me mets des mots
0429   j'essaye de mettre-
0430   de construire une phrase courte un peu comme-
0431   je ne sais pas comment dire
0432   comme un jeu un puzzle
0433   je construis
0434   j'échange
0435   je mets
0436   et puis je vois que c'est long
0437   c'est long déjà là
0438   il faudra vraiment que je raccourcisse
```

Ex. 57   Verbal protocol from the Gast case
Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_verbal

Mais Gastro suisse qui *sent* $^{24}[le|_{24}]^{24,41}\{^{42}\{^{43}[le|_{43}]^{43}$souffler le vent européen $^{44}[$des législations européennes $|_{44}]^{44}$en matière d$^{45}[e]^{45}|_{46}{}^{46}\{$'interdiction de la fumée dans les lieux publics$\}^{46,47}\{,$ veut imposer certaines de ses idées et notamment$\}^{47}|_{48}$ tabagisme$|_{45}$ $|_{47}\}^{42}$que $|_{42}\}^{41}$l'influence des voisins $^{40}\{$européens $\}^{40}|_{41}$ propose une loi qui tient compte de certaines exceptions

Ex. 58   Revisions from the Gast case
Source: tsr_tj_070301_1930_steulet_gastrosuisse_snt_2

In the Idée suisse corpus, Monitoring encompasses practices that can be related to specific processes. They focus on observing and, if necessary, adapting the writing process and the emerging text product and range from individual to cooperative forms. Examples from the Gast case and other cases* include:

–   Checking, e.g. Checking catchword: Checking the correctness or attractiveness of catchwords in the headline or in parts of one's text;
–   Checking, e.g. Checking formulation against that of peers because they are experts: Checking whether one's formulation is consistent with those of expert journalists, because one expects them to be well informed;
–   Evaluating, e.g. Writing formulation to evaluate it: Jotting down formulations without much reflection, and then evaluating and revising them, instead of trying to produce a perfect sentence from the start;
–   Evaluating, e.g. Evaluating appropriateness of formulation: Assessing whether the formulation is suitable to the referents;
–   Revising, e.g. Revising intuitively: Making changes in the text during revision, without being aware of the reasons;
–   Adjusting, e.g. Adjusting text to what pictures show: Making sure that the text says something that fits the pictures;
–   Adjusting, e.g. Adjusting text to picture length: Writing or revising a text so that speaking it takes as long as pictures take to play;
–   Eliminating, e.g. Eliminating repetition of word: Deleting words that one considers unnecessarily used more than once in close proximity;
–   Eliminating, e.g. Eliminating overly long quote: Deleting quotes in the text-so-far which are too long to fit in the item;
–   Eliminating, e.g. Eliminating exaggerated formulation: Deleting and replacing formulations one considers too extreme in the context of the story, such as superlatives;
–   Improving, e.g. Making minor correction: Making small changes to the text, such as adding commas, changing a word, correcting misspellings;
–   Shortening, e.g. Shortening long-winded text*: Making a text more concise and dense in order for it to be much more to the point;
–   Shortening, e.g. Shortening item due to time restrictions*: Shortening both pictures and the text because the item is currently longer than it should be;
–   Shortening, e.g. Writing lots then reducing*: Writing a long text without considering length limitations and then shortening it;
–   Evaluating with others' perceived expectations, e.g. Considering producer audience representative*: Treating the producer as a member of the audience and as the first viewer of one's item, whose comments can be taken into account while collaborating;
–   Taking advice, e.g. Accepting cutter's advice*: Taking the advice of the cutter seriously and following it.

C|4 Summary and conclusion

In Chapter C|1, I presented increasingly complex linguistic environments of news text production. In C|2 and C|3, I identified problems of increasingly complex language functions and structures interacting with the different environments. Each of those chapters started with a case story, then developed a framework of analysis, and finally elaborated on the corresponding medialinguistic mindset.

In the first section of each chapter, I provided complementary case studies with in-depth analyses of situated practice. The YOGY case (C|1.0) exemplified the environments level of newswriting, such as negotiations with the cutter. In the MARS case (C|2.0), the analysis focused on the functions level: (not) overcoming the sources' particular view with an integrative explanation. The GAST case (C|3.0) illustrated problems on the structural level: passive planning and vague key concepts.

In the middle section of each chapter, I established complementary frames of reference to locate problems of language use from the perspectives of applied linguistics and writing research. The first is an environments frame of reference to analyze intermodal language use in the workflows of newswriting (C|1.1–C|1.4). The second is a functions frame to analyze socio-cognitive language use for contributions to public discourse (C|2.1–C|2.4), and the third is a structures frame to analyze the text production in newswriting projects (C|3.1–C|3.4).

In the last section of each chapter, I zoomed into the related activity fields: newswriting as handling newsroom, workflow, and newsflow environments (C|1.5); newswriting as contribution to public discourse (C|2.5); and newswriting as realizing projects of item production (C|3.5). In each of those sections, I first provided a definition of the activity field, then analyzed one example per field in detail, and finally marked out the field with prototypical practices from the chapter's case story and from the rest of the IDÉE SUISSE corpus.

A catalogue of all annotated practices is provided in the internet (www. newswriting.net). They form the basis for an empirically-grounded view of the medialinguistic mindset from researchers' (C|4.1) and practitioners' perspectives (C|4.2). The summary closes with a discussion of the value added (C|4.3).

C|4.1 The writing research and applied linguistics perspectives

Applied linguistics perspective →		Environment				Function				Structure			
Writing research perspective: Activity fields ↓		Interpersonal	Intersituative	Intertextual	Intermodal	Referential	Cognitive	Interactive	Social	Sound	Word	Sentence	Text
Environment	Handling social environment	(re–) producing specific contexts of newswriting e.g. NEGOTIATING GIST											
	Handling tools environment												
	Handling task environment												
	Comprehending the task												
	Implementing the product												
Function	Finding the sources	(re–) producing contributions to public discourse by working in specific contexts of newswriting e.g. FINDING HIDDEN STORY											
	Limiting the topic												
	Taking own positions												
	Staging the story												
	Establishing relevance												
Structure	Reading sources	(re–) producing language strings for news items as contributions to public discourse by working in specific contexts of newswriting e.g. ENSURING COHERENCE WHILE WRITING											
	Reading own text												
	Goal setting												
	Planning												
	Controlling												
	Monitoring												

Fig. 6   The medialinguistic mindset of newswriting: synopsis of writing research and applied linguistics perspectives

From a theoretical perspective, the medialinguistic mindset consists of journalists' robust awareness of the threefold newswriting activity (Fig. 6): producing complex contexts of newswriting (C|1.5) by producing complex language strings (C|3.5) in order to produce contributions that perform complex functions in public discourse (C|2.5). This systematic view fosters the discovery and analysis of interrelations between contexts and activities of newswriting, such as professional socialization and storytelling (C|1.0), role models and explaining (C|2.0), and language barriers and planning (C|3.0).

C|4.2   The practice perspective: The helix of situated newswriting

Reading source text

Reading own text

Goal setting

Comprehending
the task

Text part

Formulation

Graphomotorics

Implementing
the product

Monitoring

Planning

Finding the sources | Limiting the topic | Taking own positions | Staging the story | Establishing relevance for the audience

Controlling

Handling tools environment | Handling tasks environment | Handling social environment
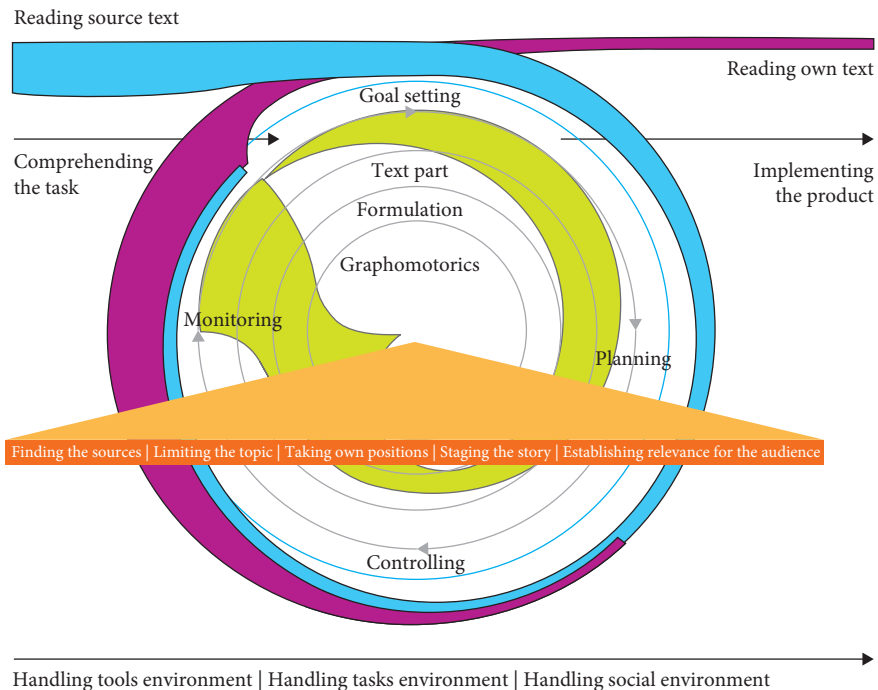
Fig. 7   The medialinguistic mindset of newswriting: focus
on recursive situated project activities

From a practical perspective, the medialinguistic mindset consists of journalists' robust awareness of their cyclic core activity (Fig. 7): realizing newswriting projects. GOAL SETTING focuses on entire items, PLANNING on the sequence of their parts, CONTROLLING on formulations, and MONITORING on all linguistic levels, looping back to goal setting for new versions or items. During production cycles, READING shifts from sources to the emerging text. The phases recur and overlap, depending on writers' decisions, workflows in the newsroom, and newsflows in public discourse. This focused and dynamic view fosters the analysis and improvement of what matters and works under which conditions. For example: implementing an item with unconventional dramaturgy in the noon newscast and waiting for reactions before expanding the item for the evening newscast (C|1.0); exploiting the cutter's feedback when co-monitoring an explanatory piece based on quotes only (C|2.0); and defining the gist and shaping the key concepts in the offtext accordingly if the expected source materials might be late (C|3.0).

C|4.3 Value added

Elaborating on the medialinguistic mindset in research relates "language itself" to "the motivated practice of human agents as they use language" and "the nature of the structured social contexts" (Sealey & Carter, 2004, 18). Put differently, it bridges observable micro activity with social macro theory (C|4.1). In the newsroom, the medialinguistic mindset fosters solutions to practical problems with linguistic means (C|4.2). The value added to both research and practice is explained below with the example of emergent solutions in newswriting projects. A solution is called *emergent* when it overcomes conflicts of previous partial solutions by integrating them on a higher level in a new way (D|5).

The theoretical perspective on the medialinguistic mindset (C|4.1) opens up a space of systematically conceivable options, reaching far beyond the range of the experienced or identified practices in newswriting and research into it. Cases such as Yogy exemplify that solutions can emerge from the complex interplay of apparently very different factors, such as austerity measures (C|1.0|a) and contrasting professional socializations (C|1.0|h$_8$).

In contrast, the practical perspective on the medialinguistic mindset (C|4.2) focuses on the reality of daily newswriting. It helps to explain in detail what happens, matters, and works under which conditions. Such good practices can be well-established and routinized – or, in contrast, positively deviant. In the Yogy case (C|1.0), as in the Leba case (A|2.0), the journalists break stereotypes or norms of newswriting with emergent solutions that prove successful.

Combining theoretical and practical perspectives interrelates potential and actual practice. Routines can be identified, scrutinized, and if necessary adapted or abandoned; repertoires of strategies and practices can be broadened and deepened. There is considerable scope for exploitation, there is a need for and room for emergent solutions. Oriented towards real-world language use, applied linguistics is in an excellent position to develop and shape practitioners' medialinguistic mindsets of newswriting. However, such knowledge transformation requires theoretical grounding in complementary research frameworks (Part D).

D   Consequence

Shaping the mindset in knowledge transformation projects

In the previous parts of the book, I reconstructed newswriting as a socially relevant field of language use and elaborated on a corresponding medialinguistic mindset of newswriting. But the question remains how such a mindset can be developed and shaped.

In this part, I argue that shaping the mindset is a precondition, a target, *and* a consequence of knowledge transformation among the fields involved. I explain how transformation can be realized in a series of research frameworks with increasing power to link linguistic activity to macro structures and dynamics. The FAMI case from the IDÉE SUISSE project serves as an introductory example to each chapter. The chapters are:

D|1   **Reflecting journalists' perspectives on newswriting**: realizing a master plan flexibly in the FAMI case (D|1.0); doing ethnography (D|1.1); the example of the SDA project (D|1.2); recommendations for project design on the ethnographic level (D|1.3).

D|2   **Learning from experienced writers**: exploiting professional experience in the FAMI case (D|2.0); integrating Grounded Theory (D|2.1); the example of the OFCOM project (D|2.2); recommendations on the GT level (D|2.3).

D|3   **Sharing knowledge with experts in the newsrooms**: identifying and modeling good practice in the FAMI case (D|3.0); integrating Transdisciplinary Action Research (D|3.1); the example of the TAGES-ANZEIGER project (D|3.2); recommendations on the TD level (D|3.3).

D|4   **Raising awareness across stakeholders' realities**: linking micro activity and macro structure in the FAMI case (D|4.0); integrating Realist Social Theory (D|4.1); the example of an IDÉE SUISSE follow-up analysis (D|4.2); recommendations on the RST level (D|4.3).

D|5   **Understanding emergence in complex dynamic settings**: balancing focus and flexibility in the FAMI case (D|5.0); integrating Dynamic Systems Theory (D|5.1); the example of the MODELING WRITING PHASES project (D|5.2); recommendations on the DST level (D|5.3).

D|6   **Summary and conclusion**

In Chapter D|1, I focus on the nucleus of the linguistics of newswriting: generating multi-perspective knowledge about journalists' situated activity. I do this by referring to the first research project on newswriting in which computer logging and ethnography were combined. In the four subsequent chapters I refer to a series of follow-up projects to explain how project architectures gradually expanded to include additional dimensions of knowledge transformation. Chapter D|6 summarizes Part D and concludes that knowledge can be transformed systematically. A precondition, however, is sound management of large and complex databases.

Reflecting journalists' perspectives on newswriting

In this chapter, I focus on generating and transforming multi-perspective knowledge about writing in the newsroom. This is what applied linguistics can achieve when performed in the research framework of ethnography (D|1.1). Excerpts from the FAMI case and the entire IDÉE SUISSE corpus serve as introductory examples (D|1.0); an excerpt from an article based on the SDA project (1995–1998) illustrates the framework's strengths and limitations for knowledge transformation (D|1.2). The chapter ends with recommendations for the first level of project design (D|1.3). An extended overview of the chapter's main topics is provided in the following paragraphs.

Ethnography systematically relates outsider to insider perspectives on practices and sense-making in social groups and settings, such as journalists and newsrooms. In this interplay of researchers' and practitioners' views, the medialinguistic mindset of newswriting emerges as the theoretically- and practically-based explanation of what works for whom under which conditions. Ethnography thus represents the basic level of an increasingly complex research framework where knowledge generation and knowledge implementation are linked systematically (D|1.1).

In the IDÉE SUISSE project, the research framework of ethnography shapes the multimethod design (B|3.0) in general, and focused ethnography (D|1.0 |b$_3$) marks the computer logging approach in progression analysis (B|3.3) in particular. Moreover, all the resulting case stories mirror ethnographic thinking or represent ethnographies on their own (D|1.1|e$_2$). This especially applies to the sections that refer to the journalists' views on their newsrooms and working patterns. Transforming knowledge means linking to these narrative representations of the medialinguistic mindset (D|1.0).

In the SDA project, both knowledge generation and knowledge transformation were designed exclusively within the research framework of ethnography. An excerpt from a publication of findings illustrates how research on a writer's activity and medialinguistic mindset helped identify causes for the persistent coherence problems in his texts (D|1.2). The transferability of findings from such individual case studies depends on the plausibility of the argumentation. Thus, knowledge transformation in the framework of ethnography requires prototypical cases – and prototypical problems to be solved (D|1.3).

D|1.0 The FAMI case: Flexibly realizing a master plan

Explosive violence in Iraq in the wake of the 2003 war resulted in a peak of asylum seekers in 2006. In February 2007, the situation was discussed at media conferences by the Swiss FEDERAL OFFICE FOR MIGRATION and, in Geneva, by the INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATION. On February 22, TÉLÉVISION SUISSE ROMANDE covered the topic in the evening issue of TÉLÉJOURNAL. In the news item, the journalist O.K. explained the link between the Iraq war and the increase of asylum requests in Switzerland, using the example of a family from Baghdad waiting for the asylum application procedure in a refugee center. The FAMI case documents the emergence and realization of a flexible master plan for both the process and the product of newswriting.

In the FAMI case and the other IDÉE SUISSE case stories, Sections b, c and d tell about the journalists' views of their newsrooms, production habits, and collaboration patterns. O.K. for example highlights *relevance* and *understandability* as the key values in his newsroom. However, even within a single newsroom such as TÉLÉJOURNAL, TAGESSCHAU, or 10 VOR 10, considerable differences can be found between the individual understandings of what has to be done and how this happens. Other journalists in the IDÉE SUISSE sample focus on values such as *popularity* and *originality* or their own professional experience. Thus, transforming knowledge successfully, for example between experienced and less experienced writers, means accounting for these individual properties of medialinguistic mindsets. All interventions, such as presenting good practice models and motivating writers to expand their repertoires of practices, have to be linked to the writers' previous knowledge and attitudes.

The range of understandings and differences is shown in the next table (Fig. 1). It draws on all fifteen IDÉE SUISSE case stories and condenses the findings contextualized in Sections b, c, and d of the stories. Subsequently, the complete text body of these sections is presented for the FAMI case. The comparison of the decontextualized table entries and the complete text body makes it clear why ethnographic knowledge transformation draws on stories – ethno-graphies – when sense-making practices are to be understood in depth.

		Case														
		TAGESSCHAU					10 VOR 10					TÉLÉJOURNAL				
		OLMA	ELEC	WHEA	RONC	RUMS	CABL	YOUT	TEMP	WORL	SWIS	MARS	LEBA	FAMI	GAST	YOGY
Newsroom	Key values[1]	BR	TB	BR	RVI~~E~~	RI~~E~~	CS	CO	CO	SO	PO	T	RA	RU	IP	IR
	Own focus[1]	BE	U	U	U	I	U	SU	R	U~~B~~	U	~~N~~	EC	B	~~BS~~	~~N~~
Patterns	Writing place[2]	C	C	DSC	D	DC	SC	C	DC	C	C	DC	D	DC	C	DC
	Story basis[3]	P	T	PQ	T	QP	Q	QP	QP	P	QP			PI		
	Planning[4]		NA	NPJI	NPCA	NPCJ	PJ	JPI	IPN	JPICN	IPN	EH	A	HJ	EC	PA
	Researching[4]	L		J		JL	LP	LJ	PJJ	LJ	P	H	L			J
	Shooting[4]	M					M	M				M		~~M~~	M	
	Editing[4]	C	C	C	C	C		J	CJ	C	C	C	C	H		C
	Reviewing[4]		P	P	P	P	PA	P	P	P	P	P				

Fig. 1   Journalists' views on their newsrooms, production patterns, and collaboration patterns. The abbreviations stand for:

1. Key values in the newsroom and his or her own key values, as reported by the journalist: Accuracy, Briefness, Contextualization, Experience (in the region and/or in the topic), Inter-subjectivity (in practitioners' terms often *objectivity*), Nearness, Originality, Popularity, Relevance, Staging, Timeliness (recency), Understandability, Veracity. Abbreviations that are struck through, for example €, indicate that the journalist stated explicitly that these were not key values in the respective newsroom.
2. Places where the journalists say they write their stories: Cutting room, Desk, Site visits and trajectories to and from sites.
3. Elements the journalists say they usually start with when developing their stories: Pictures, Text, Quotes, Introduction (written at first, before picking pictures etc.).
4. Colleagues or groups the journalists say they collaborate with in the specific activity fields: Anchor, Cutter, chief Editor, Inputer, Journalist (peer in the newsroom), Head of department, Producer, cameraMan or -woman, Local contacts, Newsroom editorial conference.

b   *O.K.'s view on the Téléjournal newsroom*

b₁   O.K. says that the TÉLÉJOURNAL reports about what happens on a particular day in the French-speaking part of Switzerland, the country as a whole, and the world.[1271] It is often "the only link people have to the world".[1272] Explaining the world's most relevant recent developments in 28 minutes is part of TÉLÉVISION SUISSE ROMANDE's public mandate.[1273] Public service media have to ensure citizens' access to information on political, economic, and international affairs[1274] – and the audience "wants to stay in the know".[1275]

b₂   In providing information, O.K. thinks that Téléjournal has to put the news into perspective, to offer analysis and foster understanding, and to go beyond "merely indicating the number of deaths".[1276] He argues for emphasizing[1277] and "decoding"[1278] instead of only reporting events in the world. Even though Téléjournal is aimed at a large audience, it should not avoid "challenging" their audience with heavy information processing and "arduous topics".[1279] Positive and negative matters both need to be covered.[1280]

b₃   Besides organizing newswriting processes, journalists need to improvise in the event of urgency, "producing items on the go".[1281] O.K. says he loves emergencies. "We are a bit like emergency doctors."[1282] He sees himself as a "sprinter", not as a long distance runner;[1283] he prefers short deadlines and media formats to long ones.[1284]

c   *O.K.'s view on production patterns*

c₁   O.K. finds it crucial to understand that televison items are basically developed along visually powerful settings and the pictures available. A desk editor who lacks specific pictures can end up omitting the related information.[1285] When working as a news reporter, however, O.K. says he tries to develop the gist and dramaturgy of a story before shooting pictures. Feeling like a "director" as well as a journalist, he "scripts" his issues, "constructs" them with pictures, and identifies and visualizes key situations.[1286]

c₂   O.K. says he usually writes the introduction first, "a little bit like the title and the lead" as he learned when he worked for a newspaper. First, starting with the intro helps him structure his thoughts and provide an outline for the item.[1287] The same applies for the opening sentence of the item itself; O.K also writes it at the beginning. "This is somehow my methodology."[1288] Second, the practice of STARTING WITH THE INTRO prevents him from being bothered by the anchors' reminders, he says; journalists' intros serve as drafts for the anchors, who adapt them to their needs.[1289] Third, the practice fits into the process logic: the intro can be written while the pictures are being digitized. "You have to be super organized to be effective."[1290]

c₃   With the intro in mind, he picks pictures and quotes from newsfeeds, archives, and his own recordings. As he says, this gives him the autonomy to realize his vision and integrate the pictures he needs.[1291] Once he reviews the video and audio material, he organizes the item itself, starting with "a strong picture, a strong sequence".[1292] If needed, "we try to make it stronger, using [appropriate] formulations".[1293]

c₄   Writing, then, should be oriented towards complementing very concisely and as simply as possible what is told by the pictures. "Telling a sometimes complex story objectively in a minute and a half takes […] popularizing and summarizing."[1294] The news text in television is much shorter than in the newspapers. The words add a brief analysis to the pictures, for example by the use of metaphors.[1295]

c₅   O.K. goes to the cutting room with a rough draft and cut, in order to finalize the news item and set it to sound. Together with the cutter, O.K. revises the text written at his workplace, he says. Final adjustments are made on the spot and by hand, when O.K. prepares to speak the offtext in the booth.[1296]

d   *O.K.'s view on collaboration patterns*

d₁   According to O.K., the TÉLÉJOURNAL journalists agree with the head of department[1297] on the "approach", the "angle" of their items – and readjust both jointly as things evolve.[1298] So they keep in touch during investigations and shootings in the field and hold "two or three daily department meetings" besides the main TÉLÉJOURNAL editorial conferences.[1299] Exchanging ideas with other journalists during formal and informal meetings fosters reflection[1300] – and helps solve practical problems such as getting a voiceover translation spoken by a colleague.[1301] In the field, O.K. likes to count on "a good cameraman", a "real professional", one "you get along well with".[1302]

d₂   In addition to internal collaboration and support, being successful in the field requires good contacts with locals operating as "arrangers": For O.K., they are "people who can help you to avoid pitfalls, meet personalities, […] design the story, visit a country, and become aware of situations".[1303] One of the countries where O.K. has set up such a network during his frequent visits as a reporter is Iran.[1304]

D|1.1   Doing ethnography

Understanding newswriting includes understanding the perspectives of journalists as practitioners and professionals: What they do, how they do it, and how they make sense of what they are doing. Ethnography[10] investigates, explains, and translates such insider perspectives and practices: "the sometimes chaotic,

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10.   The starting point for my summary of ethnography is the work of the linguistic anthropologist Michael Agar. His threefold approach fits the needs of a practice-oriented linguistics of newswriting. Agar has written comprehensive classical introductions to ethnography (e.g. Agar, 1996). He links ethnography to complementary research frameworks such as Grounded Theory or Dynamic Systems Theory (e.g. Agar, 2004). He also systematically applies ethnographic research in organizational consulting (e.g. Agar, 2010).

contradictory, polymorph character of human behavior in concrete settings" (Blommaert, 2007, 682). Ethnography aims to understand social worlds and make them coherent and meaningful to various addressees. *Social worlds* range from societies to organizations and workplaces such as the "worlds of journalism" (Boyer & Hannerz, 2006). *Insiders* can be natives in an unexplored region, but also professionals in the rather unexplored field of cultural production such as news-writing. *Addressees* range from researchers to the people under investigation and a wider public.[11]

In ethnography, the researchers engage sustainedly in the site under inves-tigation, in the case of newswriting primarily in the newsroom. They collect and analyze data from many sources, in the newsroom for example from bio-graphical interviews, workplace dialogues, and computer loggings. In doing so, ethnographers try to identify "rich points" (Agar, 2004, 21): typical moments when something does not seem to make sense. As ethnography assumes that participants experience their practices as meaningful, the ethnographers have to revise their own conceptualizations until they understand how the rich point activity makes sense.

Ethnography, thus, is a research framework where researchers aim to under-stand real worlds from participants' perspectives through sustained engage-ment in a site.

From a structures perspective,[12] ethnography reflects on and interrelates researchers' prior knowledge, outsider perspectives, and knowledge gained from field data, which represents insider perspectives (Section a). From a dynamics perspective, data are gathered by sustained engagement in the field – a resource-intensive approach limited to individual cases and small samples of cases (b). From an identity or uniqueness perspective, ethnography differs from other research frameworks in its focus on understanding the perspectives of the par-ticipants (c). From an evaluation perspective, generalization is the core problem of ethnography (d). From an outcomes perspective, ethnographical research results in verbal descriptions of context-specific knowledge, for example in stories about practices in a certain social group or field of activity, rather than in statistically substantiated statements (e).

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11.   Some outstanding examples from the history of ethnography illustrate the wide range of approaches: Malinowski, 1922, on the inhabitants of Trobriand Islands in West Papua New Guinea; Mead, 1928, on female adolescence, sexuality and partner search in Samoa; Tuchman, 1973, on journalistic news production; or Burawoy et al., 1991, on urban life. Mead's book is an early example of an ethnography written for a wide audience.

12.   In distinguishing between the four epistemological perspectives of *structure*, *dynamics*, *iden-tity*, and *evaluation*, I am consistent with the MIC epistemology (A|3.3).

a   *Structures: Reflecting on prior knowledge and field data*

From a structures perspective, ethnography presupposes the researchers' aware-ness of different kinds of knowledge involved. There is no such thing as perfectly impartial observation.[13] First, the researcher brings his or her own prior knowl-edge into the field (a$_1$); second, the presence of a researcher changes the condi-tions in the field and the perceptions of the participants there (a$_2$); and third, what ethnography looks for is new knowledge, emerging from the interaction of researchers' and participants' knowledge (a$_3$).

a$_1$ Ethnography cannot be free from researchers' prior knowledge, implicit assump-tions, and explicit theories. Such knowledge can – depending on awareness and reflection – both narrow and open the researcher's mind for the unexpected in the field. Prior knowledge about writing processes for example could hin-der researchers from realizing and identifying what is going on in the news-room and what certain practices mean to the journalists. On the other hand, theoretical categories enable the researcher to compare insights across cases and domains, to translate implicit to explicit knowledge, and to transform this knowledge between domains such as news journalism, applied linguistics, and society at large.[14]

a$_2$ Ethnographers change the conditions for both field activities and research as soon as they enter the site. If an ethnographer for example immerses herself in the field by working as an editor in the newsroom, she is in a good position

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13.   Hymes, 1996, 13, argues that "age, sex, race or talents of the ethnographer may make some knowledge accessible that would be difficult of access to another", but: "Since partiality can-not be avoided, the only solution is to face up to it, to compensate for it as much as possible, to allow for it in interpretation. […] In principle, the answer lies in the view taken by Russell Ackoff, that scientific objectivity resides, not in the individual scientist, but in the community of scientists."

14.   In discussions about the interplay of emic and etic knowledge in ethnography these posi-tions are widely accepted (e.g. Hymes, 1996, 8; Wacquant, 2002, 1470; W. J. Wilson & Chaddha, 2009, 551–552). Etic paradigms list components that research can or should focus on. They are "to be made relevant to individual societies and eventually result in an emic description that priori-tizes what is relevant to the local participants." (Keating, 2001, 290). Two examples: Jakobson's six components of speech events and the related functions of language, namely emotive in relation to addresser, conative to addressee, poetic to message, phatic to contact, referential to context, metalingual to code (Jakobson, 1960); and Hymes' SPEAKING paradigm: settings [physical and psychological situation], participants, ends (goals and outcomes, mainly the conventionally expected or ascribed ones), act sequences (message form and message content), keys (tone in which a speech act is done, intonation, crying, …), instrumentalities (forms such as languages, varieties, codes, registers; and channels such as oral, written, gestured, technically mediated, …), norms, genres (and attitudes towards them) (Hymes, 1972, 59–65).

to understand the participants' perspectives – but her decisions and even her presence in this participant role will leave their traces at the site and alter what goes on and can be researched. Thus, results of ethnography are always based on experiences in settings that are co-constructed through research.[15] Nevertheless, many of the social phenomena on the site, for example the workflow in a newsroom, can be seen as existing independently from the researchers' interventions and understandings and even as existing to all participants' understanding.[16]

a₃   Trying to report from the site without reflecting on one's own concepts would fall short in terms of outcomes. An ethnography that simply traces participants' views would not add anything to anybody's knowledge. In such an ethnography, journalists would read simply what they already knew, and other readers would have problems understanding the ethnography.[17] The aim of ethnography is not to copy and reify insiders' existing knowledge, but to understand what is going on in the field. This includes explaining what it means and how it matters in wider societal contexts. It is for such insights that insiders' situated knowledge and accurate theoretical knowledge about societal structures and processes

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15. Doing research in the field means, first, deciding for or against other specific moments of presence in the field and, second, altering the field by being part of it. "Some things can only be said at certain moments, under certain conditions. Likewise, and as a correlate of this, some things can only be researched at certain moments and under certain conditions." (Blommaert, 2005, 65). Again, this constructivist understanding evolved gradually in the history of ethnography: "[…] given the reflexive turn in social research, there has been a corresponding concern with how ethnographers themselves shape the cases that they study [...]." (Ó Riain, 2009, 292).

16. In balancing basic constructivist and realist assumptions within ethnography and social research in general, I argue for a layered view, as suggested by Hammersley, 2007, 691–692: "For constructionists, rather than social phenomena being treated as objects that exist in the world awaiting explanation, they are now seen as part of a world that is constituted through sense-making practices, of one kind or another. […] ethnography has long been torn between realism and constructionism. […] One answer to this is that it is the individual who makes sense of and gives meaning to those phenomena. While this may be true, it is not the individual who gives *existence* to those phenomena.[…] So, we do not 'produce' our surroundings, for the most part, by making sense of them." The issue is discussed in more detail in the book section about Realist Social Theory (D|4.1).

17. Lillis, 2008, 361, in her ethnography of academic writing, explains that "there is a danger of reifying writer perspectives as expressed in one moment in time and oversimplifying claims framed in relation to such data […]. […] the talk around texts tends to be treated as straightforwardly transparent, a simple reflection of a writer's perspective." The line between reflecting and reifying participants' perspectives can be thin. W. J. Wilson & Chaddha, 2009, 554, for example critically discuss reviews of three elaborated ethnographies whose authors are accused of "accepting the perspectives of informants uncritically and as self-evident explanations of their behavior".

have to be blended in the research process.[18] Such an approach calls for the detailed analyses of well-selected and contextualized cases.

b   *Dynamics: Engaging in small samples*

From a dynamics perspective, doing ethnography means going for depth instead of breadth: First, taking the time to allow for deep insights (b$_1$); second, combining methods and vantage points (b$_2$); third, depending on the setting, exploiting state-of-the-art technology (b$_3$).

b$_1$ It takes time to engage sustainedly on the site, to tune into the role of a participant, to become involved in everyday site activities, to find out what matters to the people there and how they make sense of it. Consequently, ethnographic findings are based on deep insights into a few cases. This stands in contrast with research based on surveys, by which a statistically representative sample of people is contacted, but where the insights are restricted to the participants' understandings of the questions, their self-perception during the survey, and their self-report in the questionnaire.

b$_2$ Given the opportunity to look beyond the surface, ethnographers gather data from as many perspectives as possible. They apply multiple methods and try to collect everything that could prove significant: Ethnographers can analyze documents they have access to as insiders, audio and video recordings made in participant settings, and everyday conversations on site. In addition, they can suspend themselves temporarily from their roles as participants, slip back into their roles as researchers, and interview people on the site about their biographies, workplaces or professional socializations.[19]

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18.   Blommaert, 2007, 682, puts it this way: "[…] good ethnography is *iconic* of the object it has set out to examine, it describes the sometimes chaotic, contradictory, polymorph character of human behaviour in concrete settings, and it does so in a way that seeks to do justice to two things: (a) the perspectives of participants – the old Boasian and Malinowskian privilege of the 'insiders' view'; and (b) the ways in which micro-events need to be understood as both unique and structured, as combinations of variation and stability – the tension between phenomenology and structuralism in ethnography." However, blending and mapping emic with etic perspectives has not always been a matter of course within ethnography. Ó Riain, 2009, 292, with reference to Burawoy et al., 1991, speaks about a "theoretical extension": "[…] as ethnographers became increasingly dissatisfied with treating the social worlds they studied as semiautonomous and self-constitutive, they sought to understand those worlds in terms of the larger structures and processes that produced and shaped them. The bridge to these structures were the macro-sociological theories that ethnographers brought with them to the field and which they sought to prove, disprove and reconstruct […]."

19.   Today's ethnographers praise multi method approaches unanimously (e.g. Lillis, 2008, 367). The rationales mentioned reach from Prior's "fuller portrait" to what Geertz coined as "thick description". Whereas Prior, 2004, 197, focuses on nuances when he suggests that "[t]he richest

b₃   A researcher can also obtain additional information by showing participants recordings of what they did, for example when they wrote their stories on the computer, and by asking for explanations. In such interviews or retrospective verbal protocols (B|3.3; E|1.2), participants indicate what they focus on and how they conceptualize their activity. Such technology-based data collection and analysis particularly fits the needs of focused ethnography at the workplace, where specific activities in highly computerized settings, such as organizational management or newswriting, are investigated for a short time.[20]

c   *Identity: Understanding participants' perspectives*

From an identity or uniqueness perspective, what is typical about ethnography is its insider view, the emic view: ethnographies live on the researchers' embodied experience of participants' sense-making practices on the site under investigation. Researchers immerse themselves in the field[21] as thinking and

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histories will emerge from multiple methods, with intertextual analysis, participant accounts, and observation of activity working together to produce a fuller portrait of the process", Geertz, 1973, 6, argues that ethnographies only make sense if methods and perspectives are combined to find out what is going on in the field. He refers to Ryle, 1971, both for the notion of "thick description" and the introductory example: two boys briefly closing one eye for fundamentally different reasons. "In one, this is an involuntary twitch; in the other, a conspiratorial signal to a friend." However, "from an l-am-a-camera, "phenomenalistic" observation of them alone, one could not tell which was twitch and which was wink, or indeed whether both or either was twitch or wink."

20.   Hymes, 1996, 6, distinguishes "topic-oriented" and "comprehensive" ethnography. Ó Riain, 2009, 301, differentiates "studies of cultural production […] where the ethnographer gets inside the process of production of cultural forms such as the news, […] the software programme, the video game" from "the classic Chicago school ethnographies" where the goal is "a 'complete description' of the social world being studied". Knoblauch, 2005, contrasts "focused" (30) with "conventional" (15) ethnography. Focused ethnographies are appropriate for "highly differentiated divisions of labour and a highly fragmented culture" (30). They analyze "small elements of one own's society" (11): "structures and patterns of interaction, such as the coordination of work activities, the course of family arguments or meetings" (28). So "[…] instead of studying the management of a company one would focus on the meetings of managers" (20). As focused ethnographies tend to be "short-ranged and not continual" (15), the researcher "needs to have knowledge of the field" (20) and to use technical means for intensive data collection and analysis (16–17). However, Agar, 2010, 288, when discussing two of his projects of research and consulting which still meet Knoblauch's definition of focused ethnography, talks about research with "ethnographic threads" instead of "ethnography".

21.   In many definitions of ethnography, researchers' immersion in the field under investigation is seen as the key to ethnography: "This is in essence the definition of ethnography – research that is based upon sharing the time and space of those who one is studying." (Ó Riain, 2009, 291). The metaphor of "going native" as a researcher is widely attributed do Bronislaw

feeling humans, in order to share time and space with the members of the social group they are investigating and to experience this group's ways of making sense of life.[22] By joining and identifying the community's sense-making practices, researchers focus on what is relevant to the participants. This also helps the researchers to avoid getting lost in the potentially infinite complexity of context they bring with them from an outsider perspective, the etic view.[23]

d *Evaluation: Exposing the problems of generalization*

From an evaluation perspective, ethnography has to handle problems of generalization. First, doing ethnography means shifting from unique segments of reality to the construction of cases which make the new knowledge horizontally transferable to certain situations under certain conditions (d_1). Second, ethnography tries to generalize vertically, from the micro level of situated activity such as language use to the macro level of social structures (d_2). In doing so, ethnography applies abductive logic (d_3). However, ethnography is often criticized for being vague when generalizing. This can be compensated by adding complementary research frameworks (d_4).

d_1 Although ethnography investigates individual cases instead of representative samples, it seeks for case-based generalization. The findings of a study have to explain more than the isolated, unique events that happen to have been analyzed. In ethnography, the situated activity under investigation is seen as being a case of something more general, for example a writing process as a case of

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Malinowski, who, after his New Guinea experience from 1914 to 1918, stipulated in his programmatic ethnography that "the final goal, of which an Ethnographer should never lose sight [is] to grasp the native's point of view, his relations to life, to realize his vision of his world." (Malinowski, 1922, 25). A more recent metaphor is "thick participation", indicating "a form of socialisation" and "an acquisition of professional/organisational literacy that would provide a threshold for interpretive understanding" (Sarangi, 2006, 204).

22.   Pike, 1954, developed the concept of interrelated emic and etic analysis of human behavior. Hymes, 1962, and Hymes, 1964, took up the concept for the ethnography of speaking and communication.

23.   Gumperz, 1982, has elaborated the concept of contextualization as opposed to context. Context means everything that can somehow be related to a communicative setting, event or practice; it is potentially infinite. Contextualization, in contrast, denotes the communicative processes, moves, and means that participants apply to construct the context they consider relevant for their ongoing communication. As ethnography addresses "the complexity of social events *comprehensively*" (Blommaert, 2007, 682), contextualization prevents ethnographers from "attempting the impossible task of trying to catalog everything in the setting" (Goodwin, 2000, 1508–1509). Instead, "we can use the visible orientation of the participants as a spotlight to show us just those features of context that we have to come to terms with if we are to adequately describe the organization of their action." (1509).

newswriting. Like most kind of research, ethnographic research aims at discovering and validating, at developing and elaborating the general beyond the unique, the theoretical beyond the empirical.[24]

In this casing process, researchers identify and construct what a case is and which segment of reality the case applies to. Casing requires mapping and blending emic and etic perspectives: On the one hand, the participants themselves order their social life into meaningful types and tokens of activities, settings, events, and contexts – such as editing, newsrooms, editorial conferences, and market pressure. On the other hand, delimiting and systematizing endless space and chronology – for example to exclude less relevant contexts from analysis to save time and money – depends on the researcher's resources and theoretical decisions which, again, have to be reflected in the study.[25] Such problems are revealed within ethnography discourses and handled with care and self-awareness. Ethnography is widely considered the most sophisticated framework for research on sense-making practices.

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24.   After comparing Grounded Theory and the extended case method (Burawoy, 1998) as two complementary approaches for ethnography to handle theory, Ó Riain, 2009, 298, concludes: "It seems that the boundaries between grounded theory and the extended case method, or between theoretical extension [from micro to meso level of mid-range theories] and theoretical reconstruction [of grand theories], are more blurred than has apparently been the case. […] In either case the ability of ethnography to systematically generalize from cases to theories – the definition of science (Burawoy, 1998) – is not in question."

25.   Many of the recent contributions to discussions about case and casing refer to the work of Ragin who, from a moderately constructivist position, fundamentally reconsidered the conceptualization of cases as "the foundations of social inquiry" (Ragin, 1992). Ó Riain, 2009, 291, for example underlines the "constructed, contingent character of cases". Thus, casing, "the act of constructing the case as an analytic unit" (Tavory & Timmermans, 2009, 248), interacts with research design and findings and needs reflecting. As a result of reflection, many contemporary projects in ethnography explicitly or implicitly keep to positions such as: On the one hand, "events indeed keep following events in an endless chronology" and thus the "construction and boundaries of the case are always dependent on theory". On the other hand "social life remains ordered and narrated through institutional and inter-subjective mechanisms" (Tavory & Timmermans, 2009, 251). Therefore, casing means blending and mapping emic and etic perspectives – the strength of ethnography. Ethnographers are for example in a good position to think about extending cases across time and space, along the participants' social networks, sites of collaborative activities, or biographies. As Ó Riain, 2009, 304, puts it: "The de- and re-construction of the case that so many have seen as the death knell of ethnography instead places ethnography at the centre of a resurgent contextualist paradigm of social inquiry, a paradigm that is increasingly self-consciously exploring its own theoretical and methodological foundations." However, whereas ethnography is well prepared for casing as such, it can and has to draw on tools such as theoretical sampling from Grounded Theory (D|2.1|b) when it comes to combining cases for generalizations.

d₂   Besides this horizontal generalization, vertical generalization links micro and macro levels. Ethnography considers engaging in local activity to be a window to understanding not only the micro, but also the macro structures of society: Macro structures "have their feet on the ground" (Comaroff, 1992, 33):[26] they shape and are shaped, on the micro level, by people's understandings and practices. It is through local, situated activity that macro structures are experienced, reproduced or varied, and thereby reinforced or altered. Consequently, that is where they have to be investigated. Whereas global economization on a general, decontextualized level cannot be captured empirically, journalists' practices of coping with time pressure can.

   In this interplay of situated activity and macro structure, language plays a crucial role. Practices of language use shape and are shaped by societal, cultural, and political contexts and therefore provide insights into these macro structures. Hence, ethnography of communication focuses on language use – until now primarily on oral language use – to investigate social worlds: How does language actually work in a particular social setting? Which are the recurrent communicative events, practices, utterances, and their functions? How do people refer to contexts, express emotion, show orientation, reproduce or bend norms, exercise power and, in general, make sense through situated language use? Such language-related questions point towards the ultimate goal of ethnography: to access society through its participants' practices and understandings.[27]

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26.   The metaphor saying that "even macrohistorical processes" such as "the extension of global capitalism" are "rooted in the meaningful practices of people" and thus have "their feet on the ground" (Comaroff, 1992, 33) illustrates the key point of *Grounded* Theory, ethnography and qualitative social research in general. Such approaches foreground that and elaborate on *how* social macro structures shape and are shaped by – and can be investigated through the analysis of – local, situated activity. In doing so, qualitative social research draws on the key rationale of integrative social theories such as Realist Social Theory (D|4.1): the assumption that micro activity in context and general macro structures are systematically interrelated. Those theories, however, generally do not elaborate on how these interrelations are realized and can be researched. In contrast, frameworks of qualitative social research such as Grounded Theory and ethnography do. Ethnographers apply and adopt macro theory to consider "social processes that for the most part lie outside the realm of investigation" (Burawoy, 1998, 15) and understand situated activity as "the local [and contextualized] form of general properties of social life – patterns of role and status, rights and duties, differential command of resources, transmitted values and environmental constraints" (Hymes, 1996, 14).

27.   Blommaert, 2006, 4, emphasizes that there "is no way in which language can be 'context-less' in this anthropological tradition in ethnography. To language, there is always a particular function, a concrete shape, a specific mode of operation, and an identifiable set of relations between singular acts of language and wider patterns of resources and their functions." Consequently, as Lillis, 2008, 374, explains, the concept of language use "is used as a way of linking specific instances of language use with what individuals, as socially situated actors, do": their nonverbal practices, their individual and organizational routines, and the social

d₃   Ethnography thus aims to understand micro-events as both unique and structured, as cases – and to locate these cases within larger contexts and theories. This calls for an abductive approach, combining induction and deduction. In a strictly inductive approach, researchers would build their theory on empirical findings only, ignoring the accumulated knowledge of existing theories; in a purely deductive approach, they would risk overlooking what is not consistent with existing concepts. In an abductive approach, by contrast, surprising facts prompt researchers to create new concepts and thus to elaborate theory in order to explain the formerly unexpected. This abductive move is applied cyclically, which makes doing ethnography an interactive, adaptive, and open-ended process of generalization and validation, in which the theories, methods and even the research questions evolve and change.[28]

d₄   How this has to happen, however, has not been clarified within ethnography itself. Traditional ethnography tends to be vague – and criticized – when explaining procedures of generalizing from observable practices to cases and then further to macro structures. Other potential pitfalls of ethnography, for example in practically-oriented newswriting research, are its traditional focus on oral communication. To avoid such pitfalls, ethnography has been and has to be combined with other research frameworks.

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structure beyond, which shapes and is shaped by the practices. In this understanding, Lillis analyzes practices of academic writing. However, as Keating, 2001, 294, remarks, in most ethnographic work "the emphasis remained on speaking" although Hymes broadened the notion from [ethnography of] 'speaking' to [ethnography of] 'communication' in his articles".

28.   Contemporary ethnography sees theory and empiricism dialectically related: "as the narrative of theory never maps exactly and unproblematically onto the field, it must be always reworked – if ever so slightly – to encompass the empirical" (Tavory & Timmermans, 2009, 250). Hymes, 1996, 7, describes ethnography as "a dialectical, or feed-back (or interactive-adaptive)" framework where "initial questions may change during the course of inquiry. For many ethnographers, an essential characteristic of ethnography is that it is open-ended, subject to self-correction during the process of inquiry itself". Practicing ethnography means both discovering and validating theory (W. J. Wilson & Chaddha, 2009, 550) and requires both induction and deduction: "Just as a strictly deductive approach could lead researchers to overlook important nuanced behavior not consistent with prior theoretical argument, so too an inductive approach could result in an inappropriate use of certain theoretical insights to interpret new findings" (W. J. Wilson & Chaddha, 2009, 560). In order to explain the dynamics in the interplay of induction and deduction, Agar, 2010, 289–290, refers to Peirce's concept of abduction (Peirce, 1965): If a surprising fact is observed, the understanding of the context has to be reconsidered until the former surprise fits in as a matter of course. As Agar, 2010, 289, puts it: "Abduction is the heart of ethnography, its great strength. It seeks out unexpected data and creates new concepts to explain them." Such abductive moves are applied cyclically, which means that "ethnography at time n + 1 is a function of what was just learned at time n. It is a path-dependent kind of research" (290). Based on this path-dependence or non-linearity or openness to emergence, Agar, 2004, draws close links between ethnography and Dynamic Systems Theory (D|5.1).

e   *Outcomes: From rich points to stories of practice*

From an outcomes perspective, ethnography produces ethnographies: "thick descriptions" (Geertz, 1973, 6, referring to Ryle, 1971) about the sense-making practices of the participants on the site investigated. In their reports, ethnographers carefully reflect on the research process itself (e_1) and use narratives as a key genre of dissemination (e_2). With their ethnographies, they aim to share what they have learned and embodied from changing and mapping perspectives (e_3).

e_1   Reports on ethnographic research refer to the trajectory of the research process. The process is seen as constitutive for the results, that is for the situated and interpretative knowledge being generated and verified. This knowledge explains what works for whom in which setting and in what wider social and cultural context. It is related to both participants' contexts and researchers' methods of data gathering and generalizing and to the theories beyond. Basically, this is the case for any research framework, but contemporary ethnography aims to be particularly explicit and comprehensible in contextualizing and relativizing its findings.[29]

e_2   Ethnographic findings can be presented in various media and dramaturgies that allow for contextualizing of knowledge. A widespread genre is ethnographies: the written narratives, which often comprise two layers: On a first layer, they tell the story of the research enterprise. On a second layer, they reproduce and reflect on the key narratives of social life with which the participants under investigation make sense of their lives, delineate contexts, and shape their practices. In contrast to chronologies, narratives construct coherence, identify events, build suspense and provide closure. In doing so, ethnography, again, tries to follow, interpret, and translate participants' perspectives and thus to blend and map emic and etic narration:[30] Narratives are often anchored in the

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29.   Since the "reflexive turn in social research, there has been a corresponding concern with how ethnographers themselves shape the cases that they study" (Ó Riain, 2009, 292). Thus, "one should never have to argue […] for the importance of subjectivity in ethnography – whether we call it (*pace* Bourdieu) an objectified subjectivity, or (*pace* Fabian) intersubjectivity" (Blommaert, 2007, 684).

30.   Agar, 2004, 23, distinguishes the "backstory", which tells the "history of the construction", and the "story of the study, telling and showing the results at the same time". Hymes, 1996, 13, emphasizes the relevance of such narrative accounts for knowledge generation and transformation: "[t]he general problem of social knowledge is two-edged: both to increase the accumulated structural knowledge of social life, moving from narrative to structurally precise accounts, as we have commonly understood the progress of science, and to bring to light the ineradicable role of narrative accounts. Instead of thinking of narrative accounts as an early stage that in principle will be replaced, we may need to think of them as a permanent stage, whose principles are little understood, and whose role may increase." (Hymes, 1996, 13). A crucial function of narratives is translation between domains: "Ethnography can be

study's rich points, in its typical moments that mirror the change of perspective needed to understand what makes sense to the people researched (E|2.2).

e₃   One target that researchers can pursue with their ethnographies is to shift from ethnographers' personal learning to fostering collective learning through writing and publishing texts that the audience can and wants to read and understand. Another target is to share one's embodiment as a researcher with the audience: to report vividly on being immersed on the site, so that readers feel immersed as well.[31] A different, community-oriented dissemination target is to help the individuals, organizations, and societies under investigation to reframe and solve some of their problems by varying perspectives, reframing their contexts and reconsidering their practices. A first milestone towards this target is related to specific problems that need solving; the final goal, however, is that the community under investigation becomes ethnographers of their own situation in order to understand and improve it.[32] By re-perspectivizing problems, ethnography, again, builds on the key practice of blending and mapping emic and etic approaches.

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described as translation writ large", showing "how social action in the context of one world can be understood as coherent from the point of view of another" (Agar, 2004, 21). Translating thus means mapping the "bounded narratives" that "social worlds continuously produce to further shape and enable action" (Tavory & Timmermans, 2009, 252) with theoretical narratives, instead of substituting one with the other.

31.   It is widely acknowledged that ethnography includes societal knowledge transformation. As Ó Riain, 2009, 302, puts it, "the ethnographer's personalized learning […] is a vehicle for collective learning". Thus, the "embodiment of ethnographic experience and the evocation of that experience by bringing the reader inside the case are crucial and irreducible parts of ethnographic research" (Ó Riain, 2009, 293–294). Hymes, 1996, 14, emphasizes the political in collective learning through ethnography: "The fact that good ethnography entails trust and confidence, that it requires some narrative accounting, and that it is an extension of a universal form of personal knowledge, make me think that ethnography is peculiarly appropriate to a democratic society" (Hymes, 1996, 14).

32.   Hymes, 1996, 13, describes ethnography as an explicit and elaborated form of the everyday practice of contextual learning: "Much of what we seek to find out in ethnography is knowledge that others already have. Our ability to learn ethnographically is an extension of what every human being must do, that is, learn the meanings, norms, patterns of a way of life." Agar, 2010, 293, reports about projects of research and consulting where he systematically applies ethnography to identify knowledge that some individuals already have while others do not. He refers to Spreitzer & Sonenshein, 2004, to explain the key concept of his rationale: "In every community there are certain individuals (the Positive Deviants) whose special practices / strategies / behaviors enable them to find better solutions to prevalent community problems than their neighbors who have access to the same resources". When the goal is to offer advice to an organization, the question to answer with ethnographic research is therefore (Agar, 2010, 293): "Are there places in the organization […] where the fulcrum might be found for maximum effect with minimum force?"

f   *Summary: Strengths and limitations*

To sum up, doing ethnography enables researchers to blend and map emic and etic perspectives (Section a), combine data sources and methods to analyze cases of situated activity in social settings (b), reconstruct and understand participants' practices and understandings (c), reflect on generalizations of findings and related problems (d), and share findings with a threefold audience: scientific communities, the people researched, and a wider audience (e).

The reflected interplay of emic and etic approaches is widely seen as the core strength of contemporary ethnography. Social practices, events, and settings can be reconstructed as interrelated in a complex and meaningful way. At the same time, the complexity of contexts is reduced by tracking participants' trajectories of attention and activities: what people on the site do is basically considered as functional to them in their understanding. Blended and mapped against theoretical, etic knowledge, this emic, insider knowledge is interpreted, explained, re-contextualized, shared, and discussed.

However, the depth of analysis contrasts with a certain vagueness when it comes to generalizing the findings from case studies. This and other pitfalls of ethnography can be lessened by combining it with newer research frameworks: with Grounded Theory for systematic generalizing (D|2.1); with Transdisciplinary Action Research for knowledge transformation between academic and non-academic fields (D|3.1); with integrative social theories such as Realist Social Theory for linking situated activity and social structure (D|4.1); and with Dynamic Systems Theory for aspects of emergence and change across timeframes and scales (D|5.1).

D|1.2   The example of the SDA project

The strengths and limitations of ethnography as the sole framework for knowledge generation and transformation becomes apparent in the SDA project. Between 1995 and 1998, I spent eight months in the newsroom of the Swiss news agency SDA, first as a doctoral researcher in the participant role of a desk editor, later as the coach of one of the editors. The following excerpt from an article on this project illustrates how research into the activity and medialinguistic mindset of foreign desk editor K.L. helped identify causes for persistent coherence problems in his texts (Ex. 1).

[…] At noon, SDA sent a circular to its customers announcing the availability of a text for 6:00 p.m. KL had exactly two hours in the evening to review and summarize the daily events in a crisis area. During writing breaks, KL continually checked to see if the last evening summary had arrived. Usually, the DEUTSCHE PRESSE-AGENTUR DPA [German Press Agency] delivers these to the SDA before 5 p.m., but this time they arrived 10 minutes late. The writing process in our example started at 4 p.m. with the cross-reading of source texts from other news agencies, and ended at 6:10 p.m., ten minutes after the deadline. […] KL overran the deadline by the same amount of time that one of his supply agencies had exceeded it.

On the one hand, the time available for writing was limited. This also applied to the given text space: the finished article had to contain 450 words. The lead was supposed to consist of exactly five lines. […] On the other hand, the office was quite spacious: the desk was broad, well illuminated, and almost empty. Paper, pens, and markers were ready for use, and the laser printer worked. Nevertheless, KL, who "learned to write only by writing on the computer" […], restricted his work space to the screen (see Fig. 1).

KL received four source texts on the screen as he began to write. In addition, his own text and the delayed DPA text were shown on the screen. Thus, up to six buffers were open and stacked at the same time. By pressing a button KL moved the buffer he needed to the front, and switched from one window to other, between his own text and the source texts. Due to the small screen, KL was forced to scroll, too, which meant that he had to move up and down in the uppermost text (non-highlighted area in Figure 1). As soon as these movements led to changes in KL's new text, they were tracked on the next level of the progression analysis.
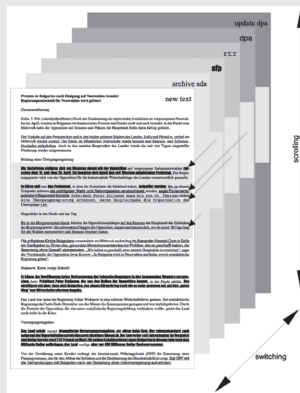

Figure 1. KL's working situation: six texts are layered on the small screen virtually behind each other. The writer switches from one window to another and scrolls to copy passages from source texts into his own text. […]

The four strategies KL mentioned most frequently in the verbal protocol combine processes of copying with processes of (α) structuring, (β) time adjustment, (γ) source adjustment, and (δ) actor adjustment. In the passage we have been analyzing (see (a)–(f), above), KL verbalized these strategies in the following way […].

α   **Copying and structuring**: Now I'm taking the whole block […] in, with the story of the whole thing; then I start a new paragraph to make it a bit clearer, […] (revision 28).

β   **Copying and time adjustment**: Here we don't need the *Mittwoch* [Wednesday] any more, I'm taking it out (revision 92). […] And because it's on Tuesday, it's enough to say the day before, isn't it, but I think that's not so clear anymore (97).

γ   **Copying and source adjustment**: Now in this second phrase, before the deletion, I'm polishing it a little, so that it fits in better, […] um, reported speech, this one I changed too. Here I still have the source in it (revision 91).

δ   **Copying and actor adjustment**: And now this sentence […] has been removed, because of the formation of the transitional government, (revision 136) now we put it in the right place too. Let's look for it, and this one we put here now, that's it, in you go. […] (138). Now I have to give him a surname too, because he hasn't been mentioned yet over there, so I added this, Präsident Petar Stonjanow (139).

These strategies thus determine KL's repertoire: he copied passages from the source texts into his own text, which he continually restructured (α). Consequently, he adjusted the references to time, sources, and actors according to the changing context (β–δ). […]

In KL's changes between copying, adjusting, and formulating, moving back and forth, and switching from one buffer to another, the computer acts as a flexible writing medium encouraging disjunctive text progression. What are the consequences of this kind of writing process for the text product? With PA, it can be shown that discontinuous writing progression may result in coherence problems in the text product, such as gaps, breaks, and contradictions.

In our example of KL's writing, some words did not fit the linguistic context in the finished text. For instance, the verb *verfügt* in (g) is ungrammatical, since the obligatory preposition *über* is missing. The revision protocol (h) indicates what happened: KL copied the paragraph into his text; then he deleted the bracket (revision 61), canceled the verb *hat* ([has], revision 62), and added the synonym *verfügt* [to have something at one's disposal], (revision 63), but forgot the preposition *über* demanded by this verb and hurried ahead. In the verbal protocol (i) he called this "a typical mistake".

(g)   […], das Land verfügt aber nur 400 Millionen Dollar Devisenreserven.

(h)   Für seinen Schuldendienst muss Bulgarien in diesem Jahr rund eine Milliarde Dollar[61][(1,63 Milliarden Mark)][61] |[62] aufbringen, das Land [62][hat][62] |[63][63]{verfügt}[63] aber nur 400 Millionen Dollar Devisenreserven.

(i)   I took that down, too. I mean that Bulgaria has to raise about one million dollars this year for debt servicing, these marks I don't need, that will do it- that's OK for the DPA- um, for the German AFP, here we don't need that, so away with it. And here I'm actually um now I forgot the *über* I think, yes, really, I forgot to add it later, a typical mistake. Now I think I have now- have to look once more to see how long the text is, now it's getting a little too luxuriant. (cf. revisions 61–63) […]

A close examination of revisions, progression, and text product thus reveals that gaps, breaks, and contradictions are consequences of a repertoire of writing strategies oriented to copying texts on the computer […].

Ex. 1   Excerpts from an article about the SDA project (Perrin, 2003, 908–919)

D|1.3 Recommendations for project design on the ethnographic level

The practical examples (D|1.0 and D|1.2) and the theoretical discussion (D|1.1) have shown strengths and weaknesses of ethnography as the sole research framework: strong focus on understanding individual practices, sense making, and context – but a questionable basis for generalizations and therefore limited transferability of the knowledge generated. These properties need to be considered in the design of research and transformation projects, such as those oriented towards developing and shaping practitioners' medialinguistic mindsets of newswriting (C|4.3).

From a structures perspective, ethnography presupposes the researchers' awareness of the different kinds of knowledge involved (D|1.1|a). Research groups should include members with diverse individual experience, thus enabling them to reflect on both practical skills as well as theoretical generalizations of newswriting.

From a dynamics perspective, ethnography engages in the investigation of small samples (D|1.1|b). This requires an in-depth approach, seeking to understand the object of study from all relevant angles. Apparent technical, legal, and psychological problems related to data collection in the newsroom have to be addressed empathetically but persistently.

From an identity perspective, ethnography focuses on understanding participants' views (D|1.1|c). This includes appreciating that practitioners need to feel comfortable during and after the investigation; that they want to learn; and that the least they will learn is whether collaborating with researchers is worth considering again.

From an evaluation perspective, ethnography is open to admitting to its problems of generalization (D|1.1|d). Being open requires a self-reflective and humble attitude towards potential knowledge transformation. This can be difficult with practitioners who want clear and indisputable do's and don't's of newswriting after engaging in such research.

From an outcomes perspective, ethnography guides its addressees from rich points to stories of practice (D|1.1|e). This requires, first, the identification of those rich points, such as a journalist's or newsroom's copying routine (D|1.2). Second, researchers have to condense and tell their findings in stories practitioners want to hear and can learn from.

Learning from experienced writers

Ethnography leaves researchers with the problem of generalization. In this chapter, project architecture expands to a second level of knowledge transformation: systematic generalization and classification, for example to distinguish practices of experienced and inexperienced writers. This is what applied linguistics can achieve when performed in the research framework of Grounded Theory, GT (D|2.1). Excerpts from the Fami case and the entire Idée suisse corpus serve as introductory examples (D|2.0); an excerpt from an article based on the OFCOM project (1997–2000) illustrates the framework's strengths and limitations for knowledge transformation (D|2.2). The chapter ends with recommendations for the second level of project design (D|2.3). An extended overview of the chapter's main topics is provided in the following paragraphs.

GT cyclically repeats case selection, analysis, and generalization until saturation. Data, for example about newswriting practices, are sampled and analyzed case by case. Each case analysis leads to theoretical assumptions. To test this interim theory, a further case is identified and analyzed. The new results are compared with those from preceding research cycles. Unexpected results influence both the emerging theory and the selection of new cases. The process only stops when including new data from further cases no longer alters the theory (D|2.1).

In the Idée suisse project, GT shapes the selection of the specific case per journalist that was analyzed in detail (B|3.0). This is reflected in those sections of the case stories that tell about the journalists' experience, task, production process, and product. Moreover, the knowledge map showing the conflicting expectations by media policy and management (A|1.0|b) was developed in a GT framework (B|3.0). Transforming knowledge means exploiting this potential of the Idée suisse project to generalize findings about the medialinguistic mindset (D|1.0).

In the OFCOM project, which was carried out before the Idée suisse project, all case studies were selected and analyzed in a GT framework. An excerpt from a publication of findings illustrates how research into the writers' activities and medialinguistic mindsets helped identify systematic differences between experienced and inexperienced writers (D|1.2). On the other hand, only knowing about systematic differences is not sufficient to develop the mindsets of inexperienced writers (D|1.3).

D|2.0   The Fami case: Exploiting professional experience

In the Fami case and the other Idée suisse case stories, sections (a), (e), (f), and (g) tell about the journalists' professional experience, tasks to be solved in the case, production processes, and resulting products. O.K., for example, had worked for seven years in print media and nine in the Téléjournal newsroom at the time of data collection. Other journalists in the Idée suisse sample are far less experienced, such as the Gast journalist with two years working for television after five at a radio station. O.K. draws on his professional experience to propose a socially relevant topic for the Téléjournal and then solves the task carefully and successfully according to his own and his colleagues' criteria. Less experienced colleagues tend to get their tasks from superiors, get irritated by changes imposed top-down, and end up stressed and dissatisfied. In general, experienced journalists tend to plan and realize newswriting projects flexibly and purposefully at the same time, while the less experienced struggle with a lack of clear visions, goals, and plans, but tend to prove inflexible in comparably complex projects.

Thus, transforming knowledge successfully, for example between experienced and inexperienced writers, means elaborating on such differences in media-linguistic mindsets. Upon closer examination, it is the systematic – albeit still context-bound – difference that makes learning from those more experienced a particularly promising enterprise.

The range of experience across the fifteen Idée suisse cases is shown in the next table (Fig. 2). The list below the table presents the experienced journalists' solutions to key problems, as identified in the writing processes and resulting products of all the cases. The table and the list draw on findings that have been contextualized in the story sections (a), (e), (f), and (g). These sections are presented in full for the Fami case. The data demonstrate that none of the experienced journalists struggled with problems of planning, however critical the situation. Their medialinguistic mindset proved to be deep, broad, and flexible enough to solve such problems with ease and routine or even to arrange for conditions that facilitated emergent, new solutions (A|2.0). In contrast, all of the inexperienced journalists left production problems unsolved. These findings, crucial for knowledge transformation, are empirically grounded through GT.

		Case														
		TAGESSCHAU					10 VOR 10					TÉLÉJOURNAL				
		OLMA	ELEC	WHEA	RONC	RUMS	CABL	YOUT	TEMP	WORL	SWIS	MARS	LEBA	FAMI	GAST	YOGY
Journalist	Name	ST	ES	CP	KR	HS	ES	MP	MR	CB	MK	JR	RG	OK	CS	CA
	Born in 19..	48	46	68	71	47	64	67	73	70	79	72	59	71	76	52
	Gender	M	M	F	F	M	F	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	F	M
	Experience	H	H			H	H	H		L	L	L	H	H	L	H
	– in wires				5	9										
	– print	3	16	2	1	6		5	3			3		7		8
	– radio	5					2						20		5	
	– online											1				
	– television	26	15	9	1	14	13	10	7	1	6	3	2	9	2	8
	– total	34	31	11	7	29	15	15	10	1	6	7	22	16	7	16

Fig. 2   Journalists' professional experience. High experience (>14 years in total, >7 years in TV) is reflected in successful solutions (see below), Low experience (<7 years in total and <2 years in TV) in unsolved problems of planning and realization. This applies throughout the sample. The cases documenting high experience are:

ELEC   Documents the emergence of a new cross-genre dramaturgy beyond the item itself – and a break with TAGESSCHAU traditions: The journalist decided to provide all abstract background information in an anchor introduction he wrote himself. In the item itself, he could then focus on pictures showing agents' emotions and comments.

OLMA   Documents an experienced journalist's routine on-site production under high time pressure.

RUMS   Documents an experienced journalist's elaborated practices of expressing stance, criticism, and irony through subtle semiotic means.

CABL   Documents the two-fold lay approach of news journalism in the case of highly technical topics: A journalist who feels much more interested and competent in newswriting than in the topic itself finds a way to explain this topic comprehensively and stage the story attractively for her lay audience.

YOUT   Documents experienced video journalism that handles the unexpected in a relaxed way.

FAMI   Documents the emergence and realization of a flexible master plan for both the process and the product of newswriting.

LEBA   Documents the emergence and implementation of the idea to change one particular word and use it as a leitmotif.

YOGY   Documents the negotiation between a journalist and the cutter, representing different professional socializations and ethics. Out of conflicts between journalistic ethics and video clip esthetics, a sustainable third way of dramaturgy emerges: carefully explaining the dreadful.

a   *The journalist O.K.*

a₁   O.K., born in 1971, grew up in a household with an abundance of newspapers. He remembers having felt a "vocation" for journalism since his childhood. At the age of six he started reading newspapers, without neglecting radio and TV news, eager to understand what was going on in the world.[1305] O.K. says that he loves writing and that he learned writing techniques at high school from "excellent teachers".[1306] When he was eighteen, he won a radio contest and was invited to do some reporting from Ireland – "perhaps an important element contributing to the fact that I am in this profession".[1307]

a₂   At university, O.K studied literature and history and attended courses in social and political science. During his studies, he started writing for the local paper of his hometown, where he still lives.[1308] After completing university, in 1991, he did a six-month internship at the Nouveau Quotidien,[1309] a newspaper that was new at the time and implemented the primacy of text design in journalism in the French-speaking part of Switzerland.[1310] That is where he says he learned how to focus and structure a story, from the key message to the title, the lead, the pictures and the information in text.[1311] Besides the local and regional topics, he started traveling around the world and "passionately" reporting international issues.[1312]

a₃   When a colleague from Téléjournal told him they were looking for new journalists, O.K. decided to apply. He passed entrance exams in general knowledge, speaking, and presenting in front of the camera, was hired in 1998 as a foreign affairs journalist, and "rapidly felt integrated into the editorial team".[1313] Since he started working for television, he has watched it less, he says. Instead, he reads novels and historical and political essays, as they "provide a key to understanding the world" when working under journalistic time pressure and with "floods of pictures".[1314]

e   *The Fami task*

e₁   In the week of Friday, February 23, 2007, O.K. wanted to realize his idea of a Téléjournal item about the increase of Iraqi refugees in Switzerland. Two million people had fled the violence in Iraq since the war started in 2003[1315] and further moves of refugees were expected.

e₂   On February 2, 2007, the Swiss Federal Office for Migration had held a media conference to discuss statistical data showing that the number of asylum seekers from Iraq had doubled in 2006. On an international level, the issue was discussed on February 16 at a media conference by the International Organization for Migration. This conference was held in Geneva, the biggest city in the region covered by Télévision Suisse Romande.

e₃   Instead of exposing himself to dangers in Iraq just to report on "very repetitive scenes of violence", O.K. decided to exemplify "through an individual" the problems of this war and the flood of refugees to Europe in general and to Switzerland in particular.[1316] The day before he shot the pictures and produced the item, he had the idea of portraying a family in a refugee center telling the story of how they had experienced Iraq,[1317] why they had fled the war, how they came to Switzerland, and when they hope to return to their country.[1318]

f   *The FAMI production process*

f₁   Two days before production, O.K. started discussing "how to stage this story" with the cameraman and scheduled the tasks for him and the other colleagues who would be involved. "In this job you always work with a stopwatch in your mind."[1319] He planned to be in the refugee center from 10 a.m. to 1:30 p.m.[1320] and back in the newsroom by 3 p.m. He scheduled an hour for selecting the quotes and pictures from the video recordings, and another for writing. Then, he wanted to be in the cutting room by 5 p.m. in order to add sound and to "instruct the cutter to pixelate the faces of the refugees in the videos".[1321] From the first telephone contacts, O.K. knew that the interviewees were afraid of being recognized on television; they thought they could be threatened afterwards. So either the cameraman had to avoid shooting their faces or the cutter had to make them unrecognizable when finalizing the pictures.[1322]

f₂   When O.K. went for the site visit in the next morning and edited the item in the afternoon, he adapted the project flexibly on the go, resisted tempting but misleading details from the interviews, and handled unexpected negotiations and time pressure in the cutting room. By and large, he followed both the narrative "construction"[1323] of his story and the master plan for the production process. In doing so, he experienced himself as working on his text with meticulousness and passion, "like shaping a piece of dough".[1324]

g   *The FAMI product*

At the end of the production process, the news item was 109 seconds long and broadcasted at 7:44 p.m. The offtext is spoken by O.K., the voiceover translation of the refugee's Arabic utterances by a colleague of O.K.'s.[1325] The transcript shows the broadcasted version (Ex. 2).

```
001   M:  La situation en Irak fait de nombreux exilés
          The situation in Iraq is creating numerous exiles
002       y compris vers la Suisse.
          including to Switzerland.
003       Les requérants Irakiens ont doublé l'an dernier.
          Requests from Iraqis doubled last year.
004       Ils forment désormais le deuxième groupe de requérants
          They now constitute the second largest group of requesters
005       après les Serbes.
          after Serbs.
006       Ils fuient un pays
          They are fleeing a country
007       où la violence est extrême
          where the violence is extreme
008       entre groupes Musulmans,
          between Muslim groups,
009       Sunnites contre Shiites
          Sunnis against Shiites
010       et entre l'armée Américaine et les combattants Irakiens.
          and between the American army and Iraqi combatants.
011       Ecoutez cette famille Irakienne
          Listen to this Iraqi family
012       qui veut témoigner à visage couvert.
          that wants to testify with blurred faces.
013       Reportage d'O[…] K[…] et F[…] I[…].
          Reportage by O[…] K[…] and F[…] I[…].
```



```
014   O:  Du jour au lendemain laisser une vie derrière soi
          From one day to the next, leaving a life behind you,
015       quitter l'enfer de Bagdad
          leaving the inferno of Baghdad
```



```
016       pour se retrouver dans un centre d'accueil pour réfugiés
          to find yourself in a reception centre for refugees
```



```
017       dans le Val de Travers.
          in the Val de Travers.
018       C'est la trajectoire de cette famille Irakienne,
          That is the trajectory of this Iraqi family
019       arrivée en début d'année dans notre pays.
          (who) arrived at the beginning of the year in our country.
```



```
020       De confession Sunnite cette famille ne souhaite pas
          Of Sunni faith, this family does not wish
```



```
021       s'exprimer à visage découvert devant la caméra.
          to talk with their faces shown in front of the camera.
```



```
022       La peur de représailles pour le père,
          The fear of reprisals for the father,
023       un ancien militaire de carrière.
          a former career army officer.
```



```
024       Pour sa femme et ses deux enfants ;
          For his wife and his two children;
```

025   le traumatisme de la guerre civile.
          the trauma of the civil war.

026   A: Nous n'avons pas d'autre solution que de fuir de notre pays.
          We have no other solution but to flee our country.

027   Vous savez, la crainte est permanente :
          You know, the fear is permanent:
028   Vous sortez de chez vous le matin
          You leave home in the morning
029   pour aller travailler,
          to go to work,
030   faire des courses au marché
          to go shopping at the market
031   sans savoir si vous allez revoir votre famille
          without knowing if you will see your family again
032   si vous allez rester en vie.
          if you stay alive.

033   Les américains ont complètement détruit notre pays
          The Americans have completely destroyed our country
034   au prétexte d'imposer la démocratie.
          under the pretext of imposing democracy.

035   O: Deux millions d'Irakiens ont fui leur pays
          Two million Iraqis have fled their country

036   depuis le début de l'occupation Américaine.
          since the beginning of the American occupation.

037   Cette famille est partie en laissant tout derrière elle.
          This family departed, leaving everything behind them.
038   Trois semaines de galères pour arriver en Suisse.
          Three weeks of trials to get to Switzerland.

039   D'abord en voiture de Bagdad à Damas, en Syrie.
          First in a car from Baghdad to Damascus, in Syria.

040   Puis la Turquie, où ils parviennent à prendre un avion
          Then to Turkey, where they managed to board a plane

041   pour gagner Genève et demander asile.
          to reach Geneva and request asylum.

042   Beaucoup d'amertume
          A lot of bitterness
043   et aujourd'hui
          and today
044   l'espoir improbable de retourner un jour au pays.
          the improbable hope of returning to their country one day.

045   A: Grâce à la Suisse nous pouvons vivre en paix et en sécurité.
          Thanks to Switzerland we can live in peace and safety.
046   Et on espère que la situation s'arrange dans notre pays,
          And we hope that the situation improves in our country,

```
047        qu'on puisse y rentrer rapidement.
           so that we can return there quickly.

048   O:   Cent dix Irakiens sont réfugiés à Neuchâtel.
           One hundred and ten Iraqis have taken refuge in Neuchâtel.

049        La plupart obtiendront une admission provisoire,
           Most of them will obtain provisional admission
050        peut-être l'asile.
           maybe asylum.

051        Dans l'immédiat la confédération n'envisage pas
           For the time being the government does not envisage
052        de renvoyer ces familles en Irak.
           sending these families back to Iraq.
```

Ex. 2   Text and translation of the FAMI news item
             Source: tsr_tj_070223_1930_kohler_ familleirakienne_item

D|2.1 Integrating Grounded Theory

Research in a largely unexplored field such as newswriting takes time and needs an open mind to unexpected findings. An appropriate research strategy should, on the one hand, enable the researcher to investigate single cases in depth and in detail. On the other hand, comparisons between carefully selected cases should allow for well-reflected, limited generalizations. Such a research strategy is Grounded Theory (GT), as developed by Glaser & Strauss (1967).[33]

In GT, data, for example about newswriting strategies and practices, are sampled and analyzed case by case. Each case analysis leads to generalizations – theoretical assumptions. To test them, a further case is identified and analyzed. The new results are compared with those from preceding research cycles. Unexpected results influence both the emerging theory and the selection of new cases. The research process is documented explicitly to stimulate reflection and discussion. Grounded Theory, thus, is a research strategy applied to answer a question by developing a theory that is grounded in empirical data.

The term *grounded* in GT refers to an emergent, flexible, circular, comparative, and explicit process of knowledge generation and testing in close relation to empirical data.[34] In GT, *theory* can refer to both the research framework itself

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33.   As a research strategy, GT was developed by Glaser and Strauss to investigate death in hospitals (see Glaser & Strauss, 1967, for the basic description of GT). Today, GT is widely used and often seen as improperly used, for example in ethnography (Glaser, 2002).

34.   According to Glaser & Strauss, 1967, grounding theories in data is clearly the better alternative to deducing them from other, more general theories: "why not take the data and develop from them a theory that fits and works instead of wasting time and good men in an attempt to fit a theory based on 'reified' ideas of culture and social structure" (262).

and the result of applying it: an empirically-grounded theory. In this publication, *Grounded Theory* or *GT* is used for the research framework.[35]

From a structures perspective,[36] GT systematically compares prior and new knowledge (Section a). From a dynamic view, this happens in cycles of theoretical sampling until saturation is reached (b). From an identity or uniqueness perspective, GT differs from other research frameworks in its strict procedures for building theories from coded data (c). In an evaluation perspective, GT is self-monitored by researchers' writing and processing memos throughout the project of study (d). From an outcomes perspective, GT produces empirically-grounded mid-range theories (e).

a   *Structures: Comparing prior and new knowledge*

From a structures perspective, GT deals with two types of knowledge: the new knowledge researchers generate within the research process – and the prior knowledge they bring with them. Prior knowledge is a precondition for asking reasonable research questions. However, conditions such as prior knowledge shape – and are shaped by – the research process.[37] This is the reason that grounded theorists aim to be explicit about such conditions throughout their research process[38] and collaborate in comparing and discussing their approaches and findings.[39]

By contrast, the research literature does not need to be reviewed at the beginning of a GT project. Not being exposed to previous interpretations may help researchers minimize their preconceptions about the research problem and the data. In other words, they try to keep their minds open to emergence

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35.   The term *Grounded Theory* can refer to both a research strategy with "specific analytic processes" (Wasserman et al., 2009, 357) and to the product of it, a mid-range theory grounded in data (Charmaz, 2008). To avoid confusion, I use the term only to refer to the strategy, not to its product (for other interpretations, see Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, 20).

36.   In distinguishing between the four epistemological perspectives of *structure*, *dynamics*, *identity*, and *evaluation*, I am consistent with the MIC epistemology (A|3.3).

37.   I share a socio-constructivist view of GT whereby the research process and all the parties and resources involved as well as their empowerments and constraints, such as expectations and time allocations, influence the findings of research and vice versa (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, 21; Mills, Bonner, & Francis, 2006).

38.   Being explicit about conditions such as prior knowledge means accepting that there is such prior knowledge. In contrast, thinking that all knowledge must emerge from the data would mean believing "the epistemological fairy-tale of grounded theory" (Wacquant, 2002, 1481).

39.   To foster emergent interpretations and quality control through explicitness, groups of researchers should collaborate. They should deal with the same research problem, commit themselves to shared standards and explicit responsibilities, analyze the same data, discuss their ideas, and review their findings together.

and serendipity, in order to impartially understand anything unexpected in the data.[40] As Dey puts it, "there is a difference between an open mind and an empty head" (Dey, 1999, 251). Before publication, however, the new knowledge generated[41] with GT needs to be situated, evaluated, and reworked into the field of shared scientific knowledge.

b   *Dynamics: Sampling theoretically until saturation*

From a dynamics perspective, GT develops knowledge through the data access strategy of theoretical sampling. Grounded theorists let the research process take them from the initial problem to the most plausible and often unanticipated, emergent understanding of their object of study. They collect and analyze data cyclically during the whole research process.

At the beginning of each research cycle, they select the next case to investigate. Based on the present state of the emerging theory, they choose a case they expect to be similar or opposed to the former cases and typical or extreme in the field investigated.[42] Such a new case can be a new expert and his or her different perspective on the object of study, and the new data can be his or her answers in an interview.[43] By integrating these new data into the next cycle of theory building, the grounded theorist aims to elaborate, modify, or falsify the theory built so far.

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40. This open-mindedness for emergence and serendipity has been described as abduction in GT literature: "Grounded theory starts with an inductive logic but moves into abductive reasoning as the researcher seeks to understand emergent empirical findings. Abductive reasoning aims to account for surprises, anomalies, or puzzles in the collected data. This type of reasoning invokes imaginative interpretations because the researcher imagines all possible theoretical accounts for the observed data and then forms and checks hypotheses until arriving at the most plausible interpretation of the observed data." (Charmaz, 2008, 157; see also Glaser & Holton, 2004). Abduction in this sense has been explained by Peirce: he sees abduction as the kind of argument emanating from a surprising experience, that is from an experience running counter to a conviction. A new form of conviction is then necessary to assimilate and generalize the experience. "Deduction proves that something must be; Induction shows that something actually is operative; Abduction merely suggests that something may be." (Peirce, 1965, 5.171).

41. From a socio-constructivist point of view, this knowledge is *generated* or *(re-)constructed* and not *discovered*. "[…] by today's standards the claims of Glaser and Strauss [1967; DP] that grounded theory is a technique of discovering concepts that *are* in the data and indeed that they had themselves 'discovered' the technique, may seem exceedingly positivist." (Wasserman et al., 2009, 360; see also Rennie, 1998).

42. Theoretical sampling thus means a cyclical "purposive sampling" (Patton, 1990, 169–181) of new cases based on theory generated through processing the previous cases. In addition to four key criteria (similar, opposed, typical, extreme), Patton mentions feasibility as a selection criterion in purposive sampling: Data from a specific case can only be sampled if the case can be accessed with the (social, technical, financial, etc.) resources allocated to the research project.

43. Data collection and analysis "inform each other" (Charmaz, 2008, 155).

The process only stops when it reaches theoretical saturation: the point where including new data from further cases no longer alters the theory.[44]

c   *Identity: Building theories by coding data*

From an identity or uniqueness perspective, GT weaves back and forth between data and theory, building and testing concepts and relations hierarchically to develop its data-grounded theory. This coding process usually happens on four levels of coding: open (c_1), conceptual (c_2), axial (c_3), and selective (c_4).

c_1 On the first level, called *open coding*, researchers transform relevant segments of (narrative) data into dense, focused and explicit reformulations, the *codes*. If literally taken from the data, a code is called a *natural* or *in-vivo code*. Coding with gerunds, such as Balancing multiple constraints, emphasizes the activity in a segment of data.[45]

c_2 On the second, broader level, similar codes are grouped into more abstract *concepts*.[46] For example, the concept Product property | Flexible can group codes such as Balancing multiple constraints, Handling unexpected event, and Evaluating different ways of staging story.

c_3 On the third level, called *axial coding*, the researchers identify and test the frequent and relevant concepts against increasingly larger amounts of data, integrating concepts into more and more general *categories* and specifying *relations* between them. In any given case, the researchers scrutinize, cycle by cycle, all possible understandings against all of the data to find out which ones best explain the object of study.[47] On this level, newswriting can be conceptualized as a set of sixteen key activity fields such as Planning.

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44.   Theoretical sampling in particular and GT in general thus demand "constant comparison" of data within and between all levels of abstraction (Glaser & Strauss, 1967); "[…] everything is compared with everything and all of the time" (Wasserman et al., 2009, 359). Within GT, it is mainly theoretical sampling that differentiates between systematic theory building and the vague generalizability of case studies. As Ó Riain, 2009, 304, puts it: "While theoretical discovery seeks to bound cases in pursuit of domain specific findings, theoretical extension and theoretical reconstruction seek a broader set of generalizations through the strategic use of comparative cases and negative cases, respectively."

45.   "From the very beginning, coding for actions and theoretical potential distinguishes the grounded theory method and, likely, its product from other types of qualitative research. […] Coding with gerunds, that is, noun forms of verbs, such as *revealing*, *defining*, *feeling*, or *wanting*, helps to define what is happening in a fragment of data or a description of an incident. Gerunds enable grounded theorists to see implicit processes, to make connections between codes, and to keep their analyses active and emergent." (Charmaz, 2008, 163–164).

46.   Of course, what is called a *code* in GT refers to a concept too: the identified concept beyond a particular stretch of language.

47.   Axial coding, here situated on the third level, is important in the work of Strauss (e.g. Strauss, 1987), whereas Glaser suggests following a static coding paradigm instead (Glaser, 1978).

C₄   On the fourth and highest macro level, called *selective coding*, the most robust categories and relations are defined and refined as *propositions*. Such a proposition can be that experienced journalists have a more elaborated repertoire of practices oriented to Planning. The clearer these thematic theoretical propositions are, the more focused further coding on lower levels can be. On this top level, static[48] and dynamic[49] principles of grouping and linking categories may be followed.[50]

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48.   An example of a static principle and the controversy it evocated: Glaser, 1978, recommended researchers select their top categories from a set of 18 coding families. This static paradigm is widely seen as the main difference between the later GT approaches of Glaser and Strauss: "[T]he controversy between Glaser and Strauss boils down to the question of whether the researcher uses a well defined 'coding paradigm' and always looks systematically for 'causal conditions,' 'phenomena/context, intervening conditions, action strategies' and 'consequences' in the data, or whether theoretical codes are employed as they emerge in the same way as substantive codes emerge, but drawing on a huge fund of 'coding families.' Both strategies have their pros and cons. Novices who wish to get clear advice on how to structure data material may be satisfied with the use of the coding paradigm. Since the paradigm consists of theoretical terms which carry only limited empirical content, the risk is not very high that data are forced by its application. However, it must not be forgotten that it is linked to a certain micro-sociological perspective. Many researchers may concur with that approach especially since qualitative research always had a relation to micro-sociological action theory, but others who want to employ a macro-sociological and system theory perspective may feel that the use of the coding paradigm would lead them astray." (Kelle, 2005, 49–50)

49.   Such a dynamic principle, the "multilevel integrated cognition generator" (MIC generator) for "fractal concept analysis", is proposed by Wasserman et al., 2009, 367–378, to link concepts systematically into theoretical structures across levels of scale in doing GT. With the "MIC generator", theoretical knowledge can be generalized in a transparent way from empirical data (A|3.3). Being a dynamic formalism, not a static taxonomy, the "MIC generator" suggests what *kind* of concept (and not: which substantive concept) has to be identified or interpolated to build an empirically-grounded theory. The "MIC generator" combines a universal epistemology with fractal logic. K. L. Wilson & Lowndes, 2004, proposed MIC as a universal epistemology for humanities. With MIC, all conceptual models, that is, all categories and relations referring to the human world, fit in one principle combining four ontological qualities: the Self/Identity includes the Evaluative, which includes the Dynamic, which includes the Static. Fractals are "self-organized systems replicated [*author*: and thus self-similar] at various levels of scale" (356), so the structures identified on the micro level of data can be replicated on the macro level of theory. Mandelbrot, 1982, discovered fractal patterns in his analysis of cotton prices: Analyzed in spans of years, months, and weeks, the rhythm of ebbs and flows turned out to be the same. For further application of fractals in economics, see Mandelbrot & Hudon, 2004; in social science, see A. Abbott, 2001; in theory of ethnography, Agar, 2004; L. Kuhn & Woog, 2005; in ethnography practice Salzinger, 2004; and in pedagogy, Wasserman & Wilson, 2008.

50.   If neither static nor dynamic principles are followed, the theory building process on macro levels of GT can be criticized as vague in theory and arbitrary in practice: "So while grounded theorists have spent much time on coding, they leave unclear just how the logical relation of multiple concepts, that is theory, jumps out of the data through this coding process, even when supplementing it with 'constant comparison.'" (Wasserman et al., 2009, 362).

d   *Evaluation: Monitoring the process with memos*

From an evaluation perspective, doing GT means systematic and explicit self-reflection through memo writing. While coding, grounded theorists become aware of ambiguities, questions, and new ideas, for example about which case to sample in the next cycle, how to sort out the data sampled so far, or where and how to further develop the emerging theory. All this is noted down, in memos, often in narrative form. Memos are messages that researchers write for themselves.[51] Writing, sorting, reading, linking, and rewriting such memos tracks – and triggers – ideas in progress and fosters serendipity and emergence during the conceptualization process.

Linked to codes and categories, memos expand the researchers' cognitive construction site; recorded in a project diary, they document the researchers' process of learning. Thus, memos allow for explicit self-reflection and connect the data analysis with the emerging theory and initial drafts of research reports.

e   *Outcomes: Empirically-grounded mid-range theories*

From an outcomes perspective, GT produces theories that are empirically grounded instead of deduced from other theories. Because GT strictly refers to empirical data from systematically selected relevant cases, the range of the resulting theories is limited to the circumstances represented by these cases. Such a theory, explaining "what works for whom in what circumstances" (Sealey & Carter, 2004, 197)[52], is called a mid-range theory. It consists of at least two and usually a few *theoretical categories* and the relation(s) between them, explaining for example how media output and production strategies are connected in specific circumstances.

Ideally, the theory is relevant to all scientific and practical fields involved because it is innovative, fits the problem and the data, explains all the cases under investigation,[53] and works in practice by providing a variety of solutions. The theory can be further modified and transferred to fit new relevant data[54] – or

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51.   A memo can be seen as a piece of news a researcher addresses to him- or herself (Krotz, 2005, 173).

52.   This is what is usually called situated knowledge in discussions of applied sciences and what is considered as a realistic format for research-based solutions to practical problems. "Applied researchers may feel much better equipped to address the policy makers' concern with 'what works', if questions can be reformulated as 'what works for whom in what circumstances?'" (Sealey & Carter, 2004, 197).

53.   In GT there are no outliers. If a case is relevant for the research question, the theory is reworked until it also matches this case.

54.   Such quality criteria for constructivist, empirically-grounded qualitative research are often opposed to established criteria of scientific research. "Terms such as *credibility*, *transferability*, *dependability*, and *confirmability* replace the usual positivist criteria of internal and

generalized. Various mid-range theories can be combined through further GT procedures to form more general abstract theories: *formal theories.*

Grounded theories are ideally presented as texts which reflect on the research process explicitly and in depth, refer to the data, and present the theories in a comprehensible and vivid way – for example as a set of consistent hypotheses, a typology, or a narrative with quotes of exemplary wordings from the data.

f   *Summary: Strengths and limitations*

To sum up, doing GT enables researchers to carefully and consciously distinguish and integrate prior and new knowledge when doing research and learning from in-depth case analyses (Section a). Case by case, the knowledge built up so far is scrutinized against new findings and further developed, the new state of knowledge serving as the basis for the selection of the next case (b). Data are coded systematically on increasingly general levels, and on the top level, codes are logically connected to theoretical claims (c). Throughout the process, activities are monitored and procedures are adapted to the growing state of knowledge (d). The result is an empirically-grounded and limited theory. It fits the data, applies to the reality represented by these data and works in practice (e).

Due to its strict and thoroughly reflected procedures, GT allows for theoretically sound generalization based on cases. This enables researchers to develop theories in close relation to empirical data instead of deducing them from other theories. The resulting theoretical claims are supported by data. Such an approach makes particular sense when new knowledge has to be developed as independently as possible from existing theories and other conceptualizations, in order to overcome stereotypes and to explain phenomena from new perspectives. Thus, GT is the ideal supplement to ethnography (D|1.1), adding to the theoretically elaborated treatment of emic and etic perspectives a theoretically sound procedure of generalization.[55]

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external validity, reliability, and objectivity." (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, 21). However, from the socio-constructivist perspective of "subtle realism" (Hammersley, 1992, 50–52), criteria like fit, credibility, workability, and transferability appear as aspects of plausible validity, and reflexivity appears as a core aspect of a plausible reliability. They are plausible and not provable, because the phenomena exist independently of our knowledge. Thus, as a construction on its own, this knowledge can be more or less appropriate, but never right or wrong.

[55.] Many newer ethnographic studies use GT concepts to reflect on their procedures of case selection and generalization. Ó Riain, 2009, for example detects a "new emphasis on the ongoing process of theoretical sampling within the process of the ethnographic study, with close attention to be paid to the paths chosen and rejected, and the reasons for these decisions" (304). This is what W. J. Wilson & Chaddha, 2009, call the "context of validation": "Ethnography has always been a vital part of the sociological undertaking. Scholars are beginning to appreciate its role in the context of validation; it is no longer relegated solely to the context of discovery." (562)

On the other hand, GT lacks a clear distinction between ontology and epistemology. Whereas the coding and generalization processes are reflected upon in detail, the interface to the objects in general and the social structures in particular represented by the coded material is not. This calls for combining GT with Realist Social Theory (D|4.1), which is, as a research framework, also oriented to cycles of iterative learning and elaborates on reality and construction as well as micro activity and macro structures.[56] Combining GT with Dynamic Systems Theory (D|5.1) promotes an understanding of the role of emergence within the GT research cycles of data collection, analysis, and case selection. Finally, Transdisciplinary Action Research (D|3.1) can complement GT with a deep understanding of what it means to make mid-range theories work in practice.

D|2.2 The example of the OFCOM project

The reasons to include GT as a supplementary framework for knowledge generation and transformation became apparent in the OFCOM project. Between 1997 and 2000, our research team investigated writing in seventeen newsrooms of print, radio, television, and online media. The following excerpt from an article based on this project illustrates how experience and its influence on writing were explained (Ex. 3). However, as the project remained on the levels of ethnography and GT, the macro structures beyond situated activity were neglected and the knowledge generation and transformation were designed mainly from researchers' perspectives.

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56.   This potential was recognized early by researchers working on integrative social theories, for example Layder, 1993: "[…] in order for GT to deploy its stronger features to maximum effect, it […] must draw on other approaches to research as well as forms of general theory so that it may secure more sophisticated and comprehensive grounded theories." (51) The problem is that "[…] some aspects of the operation of social institutions or relations of power are not clearly visible or detectable if the researcher focuses on the observable behaviour and activities of people in particular settings." (55) In consequence, "the fieldworker must be aware of the existence and operation of structural phenomena in order to be sensitive to their implications for emerging theoretical ideas and concepts." (55) "Clearly, general theory can be employed both as an initial part of the research design (loosely conceived, of course) as well as a post-research strategy. Both forms have the effect of stimulating innovative forms of theory either by using ideas or concepts as initial 'sounding boards', or as a retrospective means of establishing an explanatory pattern on the data." (64–65) Layder concludes that "[…] it is a mistake to imagine that the micro world is self-contained and self-sufficient." (67) Thus, "[…] researchers must also assume the importance of power "behind the scenes" of activity." (70)

By *experienced* journalists we mean professionals with length, depth, and/or breadth of experience. These include professionals who have been working in media for many years and/or have a great deal of experience in multi-media and/or have a great deal of professional experience in topics somewhat removed from classic news journalism. By contrast, 'inexperienced' journalists have little and/or limited experience. In the latter case, they may have been working for quite a few years in media but do not research their own articles or write the final version themselves. […]

Category	Case	AP	SZ	TT	R32	SR	SDA	BZ	WOZ	BAZ	NLZ	BLI	WW	NQ	TA	BEO	SR-echo	TZ
Experience	Expert					●				●							●	
	Pro	●			●		●	●			●							
	Guest								●				●	●		●		
	Routiner											●			●			
	Novice		●	●														●
Task	Direct	●	●	●	●	●									●			●
	Indirect						●	●	●	●	●					●	●	
	Associative											●	●	●				
	+ parallel														●	●	●	●

Table 1. Distribution of case studies according to experience, task [excerpt of original table]

Experience. The experienced journalists in the case studies include *experts* (with extensive professional experience in news journalism, working for a leading medium and/or with multi-media experience), *pros* (with over five years of professional experience and research, responsible for their own contributions right up to the final proofreading phase), and *guests* (with extensive professional experience in topics at some distance from classical news journalism). The inexperienced journalists include so-called *routiners* or routine writers (with in-depth but narrow experience doing routine writing who have been working for a long time but do not research or write the final version themselves) and *novices* (with two or three years of professional experience, so lacking both depth and breadth). For example, a business journalist of a local newspaper (BAZ), with 25 years of experience in news journalism for television and newspapers, is an *expert*. An Associated Press (AP) federal affairs correspondent with seven years professional experience in news journalism is a *pro*. An experienced culture editor who has recently been writing for all of the sections of an on-line consumer ombudsman magazine (BEO) is a *guest*. A tabloid's (BLI) chief reporter of society topics, whose texts are usually rewritten by editors, is a *routiner*. And a Teletext (TT) editor with one year of experience is a *novice*.

Task. In order to be able to compare writing processes and strategies, a distinction is made between direct text production (when writers electronically copy material from source texts), indirect text production (when they rephrase parts of texts from sources), and associative text reproduction (when they resort primarily to recalled source texts, writing and citing from memory) in addition to parallel text reproduction (when texts are created to accompany other texts). For example, a news editor of a radio station (R32), who copies a news agency report into his file and then shortens it,

is reproducing text directly. A local editor of a city paper (BZ), who relies on his notes from a phone call for his writing, is reproducing text indirectly. A broadsheet (WW) society editor, who writes mainly from memory, is working associatively. A news editor from a television station (TZ), who fine tunes a source text to fit a picture, or an on-line magazine (BEO) editor, who writes his contribution as a portal to an existing hypertext network, are working directly or indirectly, respectively, as well as in parallel mode. Although not generalizable, it is noteworthy that all novices decide on direct text reproduction, whereas indirect or associative text reproduction is practiced by all of the guest writers – those authors with a great deal of experience outside of classic news journalism. […]

The strategies discussed in the previous section are oriented to either the process of writing or the dramaturgy of the text product: many journalists seem aware of how the writing process works and what makes a text work well. As they write, they apply various strategies and are so aware of them that they can verbalize them to justify their actions. Each journalist's repertoire of verbalized strategies has a different focus (see Perrin, 2001, for the complete lists), but there are some similarities based on the experience journalists bring to the writing task.

Experienced journalists seem much more aware of what they are doing during the writing process: they express process-oriented strategies far more often than inexperienced journalists do. These strategies refer to the writing goal, plan, flow, and monitoring and extend over the writing process as part of a larger project, the actual writing process, and to phases of the writing process. Journalists use these strategies to plan and guide the writing process, for example, to avoid tangents and complete texts on time. Not only do the experienced journalists have more precise ideas of the effect the text dramaturgy should have, they have better strategies at their disposal to recognize and overcome problems while writing.

Experienced journalists plan their texts before starting to write and tend to revise them in several complete passes, consciously separated by a certain distance. They mention a rich repertoire of strategies for the writing process and also seem to use them. For example, many experienced journalists are aware of the possibilities of computer technology and use it in a sophisticated way by trying things out and fitting parts of text together, using it as a supplier of material and organization or as a text editor after the text is already planned. The inexperienced journalists, by contrast, do not mention anything about the computer as a writing tool and lose time and perspective by copying and pasting text fragments and jumping back and forth to correct small sections of text. By being more conscious of writing techniques and the writing process, experienced writers perceive that they achieve better and more efficient text results for comparable tasks (e.g. SR vs. TZ or BAZ vs. SZ).

Ex. 3   Excerpts from an article about the OFCOM project
(Perrin & Ehrensberger-Dow, 2007, 320–339)

D|2.3 Recommendations for project design on the GT level

The practical examples (D|2.0 and D|2.2) and the theoretical discussion (D|2.1) have shown strengths and weaknesses of GT as a research framework supplementing ethnography: resulting mid-range theories are grounded in *real*-world data, but the relations between reality, theory, and knowledge transformation remain theoretically unaddressed. These properties need to be considered in the design of research and transformation projects, such as those oriented towards developing and shaping practitioners' medialinguistic mindsets of newswriting (C|4.3).

From a structures perspective, GT cyclically compares prior and new knowledge (D|2.1|a). This requires key concepts that can be reshaped throughout the research collaboration. The effort for developing ways of talking about newswriting that meet both researchers' and practitioners' needs has to be considered in project designs.

From a dynamics perspective, GT engages in theoretical sampling until saturation (D|2.1|b). This requires scopes that can be saturated. Whether and how experienced writers' mindsets, processes, and products differ from those of their inexperienced colleagues can be clarified, but not calculated, within a GT sample of ten to twenty in-depth case studies.

From an identity perspective, GT builds theories by coding data (D|2.1|c). This requires data that cover the relevant aspects of the phenomenon under investigation, including methodologically bulky aspects such as the interplay of writing activities and decisions at the workplace. Only well-grounded theories can fit the problems they are meant to solve.

From an evaluation perspective, GT research is monitored by processing memos (D|2.1|d). This requires a self-reflected and open-minded project management, ready to realize the unexpected on the go and to adapt research designs if necessary. This applies not only to knowledge generation, but also to transformation aspects of a project.

From an outcomes perspective, GT results in grounded mid-range theories (D|2.1|e). For transformation, such a theory has to imply consequences that are relevant to practice. Explaining why experienced journalists can handle problems of promoting public understanding that neither their less experienced colleagues nor management (A|1.0|g) can, calls for learning from their mindset.

D|3 Sharing knowledge with experts in the newsrooms

Both GT and ethnography leave researchers with the problem of implementation. In this chapter, project architecture expands to a third level of knowledge transformation: systematic knowledge sharing throughout the project. This is what applied linguistics can achieve when performed in the research framework of Transdisciplinary Action Research, TD (D|3.1). Excerpts from the Fami case and the entire Idée suisse corpus serve as introductory examples (D|3.0); an excerpt from an article based on the Tages-Anzeiger project (1999–2001) illustrates the framework's strengths and limitations for knowledge transformation (D|3.2). The chapter ends with recommendations for the TD level of project design (D|3.3). An extended overview of the chapter's main topics is provided in the following paragraphs.

In TD, academics from various disciplines collaborate with practitioners to solve a practical problem in a sustainable way. As illustrated by the case of promoting public understanding (A|1.0|a), the problem is too complex to be solved by one discipline alone and socially too relevant to be left unsolved. The project members bring in their respective expert knowledge, for example scientific, professional, and personal knowledge. Projects are designed cyclically and planned incrementally to allow for the unpredicted and to foster mutual learning (D|3.1).

In the Idée suisse project, the research framework of TD is visible, first, in the socially relevant research question concerning the implementation of a national broadcaster's public mandate; second, in the funding through the Swiss National Science Foundation; third, in the collaboration between researchers and practitioners from the very beginning of the project design; and fourth, in mutual learning based on insights into the medialinguistic mindset (D|3.0).

The Tages-Anzeiger project, in contrast to Idée suisse, was initiated and funded by practitioners. A chief editor and a publishing company of a leading quality newspaper wanted to implement quality measures – and let their stakeholders know about it. Mutual learning in a TD framework was considered appropriate for optimizing organizational and individual practices on a high professional level. The real-world problem could be solved in a successful and reflected way (D|3.2). Some painful questions on macro levels, however, were not raised (D|3.3).

D|3.0 The FAMI case: Identifying and modeling good practice

In the FAMI case and the other IDÉE SUISSE case stories, section i tells about the case's potential for knowledge transformation. The critical situations the journalist had to overcome are summarized, as well as the practices he or she decided on – or could have decided for. Whereas critical situations denote exemplary constellations of circumstances which could lead to failure, good practices have the potential to lead to success, even in such critical situations. In the IDÉE SUISSE project for example, success means promoting public understanding in terms of the journalists', chief editors', managers', and policy makers' criteria. The journalist O.K. had to handle highly complex and dynamic circumstances when planning and realizing his project. He succeeded by organizing both the writing process and the text product carefully and flexibly.

Handling project complexity in critical situations of change is what most news journalists have to do when they are developing their own stories instead of just copy-pasting and shortening newswire materials. The FAMI case, just like many others in the corpus, illustrates in detail an exemplary way of doing what basically every journalist has and wants to do. Such good practices that recur in typical contexts can be generalized as empirically-grounded good practice models.

This is what the writing helix (Fig. 3) is: a toolbox of good practice models, abstracted from and related to specific circumstances and stages in newswriting processes. In the helix, the models are called *writing techniques*. Their descriptions all start with a short instruction, then tell what (not) to do in which circumstances, and finally explain why it works (Box 1 and Box 2 below and Part E|2.3). Addressees are practitioners only, so the explanations are oriented to their needs. The entire toolbox and the techniques have been developed and shaped in transdisciplinary projects as explained in this book, for example in training and coaching sessions with journalists from the newsrooms investigated in the IDÉE SUISSE project.

The principle of the writing helix is explained and applied to the IDÉE SUISSE cases below (Fig. 3). Afterwards, two writing techniques condensing the transformation potential of the FAMI case are contextualized and presented in detail. (Box 1 and Box 2).

Field of activity	Working technique	Case														
		TAGESSCHAU					10 VOR 10					TÉLÉJOURNAL				
		OLMA	ELEC	WHEA	RONC	RUMS	CABL	YOUT	TEMP	WORL	SWIS	MARS	LEBA	FAMI	GAST	YOGY
Organizing workplace and workflow	desktop				−					+				+		
	location change				−											+
	adrenaline													+[1]	−	
	refueling				−		+									
Goal setting	mugging	+					+		+	−		−			−[2]	
	appetizers											+	+	+		
Planning the text	finger		+												−[3]	
	drafting									−		−		+[4]	−[5]	
	score			−			+	+			−		+			
Controlling the writing flow	stages	+	+				+	+	+				+	+		
	e-mail		+											+		
	crash					−								+		
	transcribing															
Evaluating the result	typo													+		+
	stumbling															
	re-explaining	−									−	−				

Fig. 3   The writing helix combines the five activity fields shown in the leftmost column. Activities oriented to organizing workplace and workflow surround an inner circle of writing activities: goal setting, planning, controlling, and evaluating. In writing processes, these five activites overlap and recur. Activities in these fields can be optimized by using appropriate techniques, such as those listed in the second column. The narrow columns indicate which technique was applied [+] in which of the IDÉE SUISSE cases – or could have helped [–]. Short explanations for the highlighted entries in the FAMI and the GAST columns are given below. The respective techniques are contextualized afterwards for the FAMI case and in Section C|3.0|i for the GAST case. The entire toolbox, as developed in the IDÉE SUISSE and earlier projects, is presented in Section E|2.5.

1	adreFAMI	+	set flexible goals for process and product before going on site
2	muggGAST	–	missed goal setting at the beginning
3	fingGAST	–	missed planning at the beginning
4	drafFAMI	+	conceived infographics for the backbone of his story
5	drafGAST	–	missed defining key concepts and relations at the beginning

i   *The FAMI case's potential for knowledge transformation*

i₁   The FAMI result was fostered by conditions and resources that can partly be and were controlled by the journalist: a news*writing* attitude towards flexible planning, a *new*swriting attitude of understanding and explaining events – and accordingly good practices to overcome critical situations.

i_2 From a news*writing* perspective, O.K. overcame the critical situation of project complexity by flexible planning. Throughout the process, he balanced focus and open-mindedness in processes of collaborative long-term planning and improvising on the spot. On the one hand, he carefully scheduled everything that could be taken into consideration in advance: he was "super organized to be effective" (D|1.0|c_2) with his entourage of cameraman, interpreter, info-designer, and cutter; he engaged in "scripting" the item as a "director" (D|1.0|c_1) in a value-loaded, emotional, and multilingual intercultural setting; and he controlled the production process with a "stopwatch in mind" (D|2.0|f_1). On the other hand, he scrutinized and revised his planning "on the go" (D|1.0|b_3) and made some of the most pertinent decisions spontaneously, as a "sprinter" and "emergency doctor" D|1.0|b_3), realizing emerging solutions under time pressure in the cutting room and even in the booth. The well-organized overall structures and clear scope enabled him to remain open to the unexpected throughout the process. In doing so, he makes a case for a writing technique of planning flexibly, for example the ADRENALINE TECHNIQUE (Box 1).

The ADRENALINE TECHNIQUE

Channel your stress: plan ahead for the time when you have to write under pressure.

Choose your writing objective early on, cautiously and calmly. Play with ideas when you do not immediately need the text. Accomplish the most ambitious parts of your text without haste, before the pressure of deadlines gets to you.

Before you do anything else, formulate the beginning of your text, some (provisional) chapter headings and an (equally provisional) end. And when the deadline is closing in on you and it's time to start running, sprint in the right direction. Without a goal or stages in mind, when it comes to the final spurt and you're writing fiercely, it's easy to write past your goal, to get lost in details, to write yourself free of the topic at hand. At the last minute the ticking of the seconds paralyzes your imagination, you can't quite get that last sentence; at any other time you would be able to think of something, but right now you just can't.

Why do you write differently just before a deadline, often faster, more fluently, but less controlled? Just as you can run faster when a dog is chasing you, you sprint mentally when you are under pressure to produce. The internal sensor that makes you think twice about things is switched off, your brain uses all of its resources to move forward. In this situation, self control and self criticism stand no chance. If the crash barriers are missing at this stage, the text may well derail.

When you work with the ADRENALINE TECHNIQUE, you plan a suitable end for your text, at the right time, while you're still relaxed.

Box 1   Example of a writing technique to balance planning and flexibility in the writing process

i₃   From a *news*writing perspective, however, O.K. had to overcome yet another
      critical situation: facing a highly complex and value-loaded topic without any
      immediate event to report on. He solved the problem by balancing distance and
      proximity to provide a concise new explanation of how his protagonist made
      it from Iraq into the audience's neighborhood and how he hopes to return. In
      doing so, he connected words and pictures in minute detail – always keeping in
      mind the big picture of the trajectory between two contrasting and interacting
      worlds and the emotions related to it. This big picture is what he sketched out
      by "scribbling" (Section j), by talking his ideas through with the cameraman two
      days before the shooting and then again in the car (Sections d and f), and by draft-
      ing the beginning of the anchor's intro before writing the item itself (D|4.0|h₆). It
      helped him to remain open to the unexpected during the site visit, to evaluate
      emerging new ideas on the go throughout the process – and to delete seductive
      details to strengthen his 109-second story. What O.K. did is mirrored in the
      DRAFTING TECHNIQUE (Box 2).

> **The DRAFTING TECHNIQUE**
>
> Extricate yourself from complicated explanations. If you want to explain something difficult
> or new, sketch out a draft before you start writing.
>
> For example, before you start to write a short news item about refugees, think about how
> to explain their risky trajectory between two contrasting worlds and the complex emotions
> involved. Sketch the main players graphically or list them, indicating the most important
> relationships between them. Work on your draft until it consists of as little as possible, with
> just the most important points. Only these belong in your text, nothing else.
>
> If you skip this extricating process, you will later have to clarify, order, and sharpen your
> thoughts while writing. You will lose time struggling to compose complex sections about
> secondary players and arguments – work that will pull you (and later also your audience)
> out of the story.
>
> Why is drafting before writing worthwhile? Writing consists of linearizing on all levels:
> goals and topics, paragraphs and sentences, words and letters are all brought into line. While
> this is happening, a significant part of working memory is occupied with purely linguistic
> work. Draft the complex sections in advance, first channeling your efforts into logical
> clarification, and later, during the writing process, use your energy for the language work.

Box 2   Example of a writing technique to set a key message for an item

i₄   By applying techniques such as the ADRENALINE and the DRAFTING TECHNIQUE,
      O.K. translated his newswriting attitudes into situated activities that match his
      self-estimation: Being a journalist who feels a passion to "understand the world"
      in times of "floods of pictures" (Section a), "decoding" the world by putting both
      positive and negative matters into perspective and feeling committed to an audi-
      ence who "wants to stay in the know" (Section b). In terms of activity fields, O.K.
      managed to plan both the production process and the item flexibly (PLANNING),

focus on key explanations (LIMITING THE TOPIC), develop the story along a single case (STAGING THE STORY), and link distance with proximity (ESTABLISHING RELEVANCE FOR THE AUDIENCE). In the item, the link between the distant and the local societal problem is made interesting and meaningful to both an as-yet-uninformed and an experienced audience due to vivid "popularizing" (Section c). This is what promoting public understanding is all about.

D|3.1 Integrating Transdisciplinary Action Research

Transdisciplinary Action Research (TD)[57] is about understanding and improving the real world, the "life-world"[58] (Hirsch Hadorn et al., 2008, 20). In this research framework, academics from various disciplines collaborate with practitioners to sustainably solve a practical problem.[59] An example of linguistically-based TD is the IDÉE SUISSE project, in which linguists, sociologists, and journalists jointly investigated newswriting in order to identify practices which can contribute to societal cohesion through public understanding (A|1.0). TD transcends academia: It is research "on, for and with" practitioners (D. Cameron, Frazer, Rampton, & Richardson, 1992, 22).[60]

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57. Concepts similar to *Transdisciplinary Action Research* are *Action Research* (Kemmis, 1988) and *Transdisciplinary Research* (Stokols, 2006). The explicit notion of *action* shifts the focus towards the practitioners as insiders and problem owners who investigate their practices and situations in order to understand, transform, and improve them, whereas the academic researchers, outsiders from a practitioners' perspective, primarily moderate the process.

58. TD uses both the terms *life-world* and *real world* to refer to settings and activities people experience in their everyday and professional lives. Hirsch Hadorn et al., 2008, 20, attribute *life-world* to Schütz & Luckmann, 1973, and the phenomenologist Edmund Husserl (1859–1938) who coined *Lebenswelt* for "the ongoing lived experiences, activities and contacts that make up the world of an individual or corporate life" (Hirsch Hadorn et al., 2008, 20).

59. In applied linguistics, Bygate, 2005, 571, uses the term *pragmatic* for "the intention to address and not merely describe the real-world problems".

60. In TD practice and discourse, *TD research* is contrasted to a couple of concepts which refer to less extensive forms of collaboration: Whereas *transdisciplinarity* means transcending boundaries of academia to produce new kinds of knowledge, *interdisciplinarity* refers to a similar collaboration between disciplines within academia only, and in *multidisciplinarity*, knowledge bases from academic disciplines complement each other, allowing for different, yet still disciplinary perspectives on the same object of study (Jantsch, 1972). *Cross-disciplinarity*, on the other hand, encompasses the three former concepts (Stokols, 2006, 65). However, some researchers use *interdisciplinarity* to refer to the complementary collaboration and *transdisciplinarity* for integrative collaboration across disciplines, both only within academia (Defila, Di Giulio, & Scheuermann, 2006, 34–35; Klein, 2008, 400). In yet other terminology, what I call *transdisciplinarity* is referred to as *Mode 2 interdisciplinarity*, whereas *Mode 1 interdisciplinarity* refers to academic disciplines that complement each other with their

Transdisciplinary Action Research, thus, is a research framework in which scientists and practitioners jointly investigate socially relevant practical problems in order to solve them sustainably.

The term *action research* was coined by Kurt Lewin (e.g. Lewin, 1946). He systematically involved practitioners in a recursive process of trial and evaluation in order to optimize workplaces and organizations or business entities such as production plants. At the same time, he aimed at democratizing their work policies and stopping exploitation. The term *transdisciplinarity* was introduced at the first international conference on interdisciplinarity, held 1970 in Nice, France, and was supported by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development OECD (e.g. Apostel, Berger, Briggs, & Michaud, 1972). The aim of this conference was to outline alternatives to the disciplinary organization of tertiary education – education that was criticized as not matching societal needs. Throughout scientific discourse, TD is often linked to the philosophy of John Dewey (e.g. Dewey, 1929) who saw research as motivated by and influencing everyday life.

TD thus differs from other research frameworks: From a structures perspective,[61] TD focuses on a socially relevant practical problem, involves multiple stakeholders, and integrates their multiple knowledge bases (Section a). From a dynamics perspective, TD manages knowledge generation and transformation cyclically across academic and professional disciplines (b). From an identity perspective, TD aims to solve the practical problem by implementing the knowledge that emerges from this transdisciplinary collaboration (c). From an evaluation perspective, TD has to handle the opportunities and risks of transgressing disciplinary and organizational boundaries (d). From an outcomes perspective, TD contributes to practice by solving problems, to science by grounding and extending theory, and to society by changing social conditions (e).

a   *Structures: Connecting stakeholders and a real-world problem*

From a structures perspective, TD links a real-world problem (a_1) to the relevant stakeholders (a_2): those with the knowledge that could contribute to an appropriate solution to the problem (a_3).

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respective strength (Gibbons, 1994; Rampton, 2008). On a more general level, *basic research* addresses theoretically interesting problems, *applied research* tries to apply existing theories in practical fields in order to test the theories or to solve practical problems, and only *transdisciplinary research* develops knowledge throughout projects in collaboration with practitioners (Hirsch Hadorn et al., 2008, 33; Krohn, 2008, 369).

61.   In distinguishing between the four epistemological perspectives of *structure*, *dynamics*, *identity*, and *evaluation*, I am consistent with the MIC epistemology (A|3.3).

a₁ First of all, TD focuses on a socially relevant practical problem: a real-world problem, which matters both to practitioners and to society at large. Typically, TD problems are complex, uncertain and value loaded (e.g. Wiesmann et al., 2008, 435). Thus, "standardized applications of generalised theories are not effective" (Jones & Stubbe, 2004, 194, referring to Schön, 1983). In the IDÉE SUISSE project, an example of such a problem is how to fulfill, as a public broadcasting company, both the political mandate of promoting public understanding and the market demands of attracting large audiences. Neglecting the political mandate means losing legitimacy for public funding; ignoring market demands means losses in audience share, undermining the public relevance of the broadcaster and, again, its legitimacy. However, in daily news production, mandate and market demands often contradict each other. Thus, a sustainable practical solution – attracting audience through socially and politically relevant communication offers – could help the media organization to do a better job for the benefit of society at large.

a₂ TD tends to treat practitioners such as media organizations and journalists as the owners of the problem, whereas society at large participates indirectly, for example by funding TD projects. Besides these two stakeholders, academics from one or, usually, various disciplines such as applied linguistics, journalism studies, and sociology join a TD project to help solve the real-world problem. All these parties are considered not only stakeholders of the project, but also beneficiaries of its outcomes. The practitioners expect a sustainable solution to their problem, society at large hopes for better general conditions as a consequence of the solution, and the academic disciplines involved seek to ground and elaborate their theories and raise their reputations (e.g. Elzinga, 2008, 349).

a₃ These goals can be reached jointly if different kinds of knowledge, all considered equally relevant in TD, are integrated (e.g. Hirsch Hadorn et al., 2008, 35–36): Practitioners bring in contextual, local, action-oriented insider knowledge, primarily based on plausibility and anecdotal evidence (e.g. Funtowicz & Ravetz, 2008, 365). Academics contribute knowledge focused on explaining problems logically from a general and outsider perspective (e.g. Krohn, 2008, 369). Both practitioners and academics can have a third type of knowledge called expert knowledge. This combines general and specific perspectives in case-based approaches and is open to both what is typical and unique about future cases (e.g. Funtowicz & Ravetz, 2008, 362; Krohn, 2008, 375–376). A fourth type of knowledge called *transformation knowledge* is needed to identify, develop, and implement solutions to the real-world problem under investigation, in a process of mutual learning (e.g. Kemmis, 1988, 47; Hirsch Hadorn et al., 2008, 30). This transformation knowledge and the respective attitude is what distinguishes researchers experienced in TD from colleagues oriented to basic and applied research.

b *Dynamics: Spiraling through knowledge generation
and transformation*

From a dynamics perspective, TD has to manage a complex, labor-intensive, and conflict-ridden process: knowledge generation and transformation across all the academic and professional disciplines and organizations involved. This process starts with a joint problem definition (b_1), takes the stakeholders through cycles of mutual learning (b_2), and ends with the implementation and generalization of the solution developed (b_3).

b_1 Ideally, the entire group of stakeholders collaborate throughout the project (e.g. Gibbons, 1994, 33–34). At the beginning, the project members jointly define and structure the problem to be solved in order to get a "fuller picture" of it (Klein, 2004), integrate further stakeholders whose experience could be relevant in the project, find a common language[62] to communicate across boundaries, and start evaluating and aligning their different knowledge bases. Communicating intensively, reducing status differences among and between scientists and practitioners, rethinking goals and theoretical concepts, and balancing practitioners' and researchers' needs – these activities all remain key issues for the project management during the entire TD process (e.g. Stokols, 2006, 68–73; Hollaender, Loibl, & Wilts, 2008, 385–392; Jäger, 2008, viii).

b_2 Usually, the stakeholders decide on a TD approach because the problem has proven to be too complex and persistent to be solved by practitioners alone (e.g. Agar, 2010, 294). In such complex settings, the effects of interventions cannot be predicted entirely (e.g. Krohn, 2008, 380). Thus, the core process of knowledge generation in TD projects is organized as recursive learning (e.g. Jones & Stubbe, 2004, 199): Reflection and action, diagnosis and intervention alternate, for example in cycles of "planning, acting, observing, and reflecting" (Kemmis, 1988, 42). Recursive learning includes trial and error, and an openness for surprises (e.g. Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, 244–245; Krohn, 2008, 379). Change is constantly monitored. Measures are developed and locally adapted until the result seems promising in a sufficiently complex view of the problem.

b_3 Finally, the stakeholders can jointly implement the solution and discuss it in their communities. Discussing findings in scientific communities calls for generalization, for abstraction from the case (e.g. Krohn, 2008, 371–375). TD conceptualizes cases as representing general problems in a "specific and unique shape" (Krohn, 2008, 373). Thus, TD researchers identify key elements of the solution that could point

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62. Finding a common language requires the awareness that one and the same notion can mean different things in different communities. Thus, TD practice requires careful shared definitions and re-definitions of the key concepts which are "the building blocks of theory" and form "the link between theory and empirical research" (Bergman, 2010, 171).

beyond the case under investigation, formulate mid-range theories about "what works for whom in what circumstances" (Sealey & Carter, 2004, 197) and reflect on conditions for their adaptation to new contexts (e.g. Hirsch Hadorn et al., 2008, 36).

c   *Identity: Solving the problem sustainably*

From an identity or uniqueness perspective, TD aims to sustainably solve the given real-world problem with knowledge that emerges from the transdisciplinary collaboration (b_1). In doing so, researchers identify local, tacit solutions of positive deviants within the field under investigation (b_2) as good practices and starting points for organizational and societal learning (b_3).

c_1 TD usually starts with a problem that has proven too important to be ignored and too complex to be solved by an organization alone or within a single domain or discipline (e.g. Agar, 2010, 294). The solution to such a problem requires new knowledge emerging from transdisciplinary collaboration. In addition, the solution needs to be sustainable. It must be: effective locally and globally, over the short- and long-term, to the benefit of all stakeholders involved, for example the journalists, the media organization, and the public (e.g. Reason & Bradbury, 2006, 2).

c_2 In TD, the starting point for such a solution is often identified within the investigated field of practice itself, as a "positive deviant case" (Agar, 2010, 295). Positive deviants are individuals or groups who, in a period of change, break free from organizational constraints to perform more successful strategies, practices, and routines than their peers (e.g. Spreitzer & Sonenshein, 2004).[63] Their local solutions to the overall problem under investigation or to parts of it are honored by the organization – or rather, would be, if known to the organization's stakeholders. Mostly, they reflect "tacit" knowledge (Polanyi, 1966; Sarangi, 2007, 570). Such tacit knowledge is implicit knowledge that "others already have" (Hymes, 1996, 13), with the potential to solve the problem. This tacit knowledge needs to be identified in the TD project, for example through ethnographic fieldwork.[64] Potential places for discovery are micro settings that mirror the overall problems of the organization, such as journalists' workplaces, where, bit by bit, a media organization's output is being generated.

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63.   This is consistent with Spreitzer & Sonenshein, 2004, and K. S. Cameron, Dutton, & Quinn, 2003, who argue that deviance, although investigated primarily as negative, threatening behavior (Sagarin, 1975; Sagarin, 1985), can also be researched in its positive variant. "Instead of focusing on the negative behaviors that some organizations create (e.g. errors, unethical actions, inefficiency, etc.) […], POS [positive organizational studies] addresses the virtuousness inherent in organisations" (Spreitzer & Sonenshein, 2004, 828).

64.   For a vigorous discussion of pitfalls regarding approaches and projects dealing with tacit knowledge see for example T. D. Wilson, 2002. Tacit knowledge cannot be "captured", it "can only be demonstrated through our expressible knowledge and through our acts" (T. D. Wilson, 2002, 28).

c_3 Once identified, the formerly tacit knowledge of the positive deviants is made explicit and triggers a reconsideration of organizational strategies, problems, and solutions: As TD is a cyclic and discursive process, researchers and practitioners can immediately start discussing the knowledge they have identified and gained through research. Insights can be formulated, for example, as good practices that help to overcome certain critical situations. Critical situations denote exemplary constellations of circumstances which could lead to failure. They are critical because, first, they threaten successful completion of a task to be solved, and second, routinized partial solutions aggravate other parts of the problems. Good practices, in contrast, stand for potential success. Journalists overcome critical situations with good practices – good according to their own, their organizations', and/or theoretically-grounded principles. Good practices that recur in typical contexts can be generalized as empirically-grounded good practice models.

c_4 However, the first outcome of such a project will be an increase in individual and organizational awareness: Just like "ethnographers of their own situations" (Hymes, 1996, 60), the practitioners involved in a TD project will start reflecting on their own activities more consistently, for example on their implicit norms and communication routines (e.g. Jones & Stubbe, 2004, 190). TD considers this awareness and reflective practice a precondition for organizational learning (e.g. Schön, 1983; Schön, 1987).[65]

d   *Evaluation: Handling the risks of crossing borders*

From an evaluation perspective, TD calls for criteria related to its properties, mainly specific opportunities and risks such as making use of disciplinary focus vs. losing focus. The criteria can be grouped around the key elements of the term *Transdisciplinary Action Research*, namely the aspects of *trans-* (d_1), *action* (d_2), and *research* (d_3).

d_1 The *trans* aspect: TD *trans*gresses boundaries on three levels: between domains such as science and journalism; between disciplines such as applied linguistics and journalism studies; and between institutions such as universities and broadcasting companies. This aspect of TD is evaluated with the general criterion of *Integrating or excluding relevant stakeholders throughout the project*. It is reflected in specific criteria such as:

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65.   Based on a TD project on improving organizational communication, Jones & Stubbe, 2004, outline the trajectory from raising organizational awareness to organizational learning. Similar to the *positive deviants* approach, they seek "to involve the whole organisation in a reflective learning process which builds on existing strengths" (Jones & Stubbe, 2004, 195) instead of focusing on deviance.

- getting support from the relevant parties or failing to, perhaps by ignoring institutions that structure "the ways in which research is funded, organized, conducted, and evaluated" and that are still strongly rooted in disciplinary paradigms (Pohl, Kerkhoff, Hirsch Hadorn, & Bammer, 2008, 417);
- overcoming the incompatibility of targets or over-compromising, for example by sacrificing theoretical precision to a customer's interests in practical solutions (e.g. Hammersley, 2004);
- resolving differences in timescales or struggling over them, perhaps by being torn between "quick answers" (Agar, 2010, 8) and well-grounded theories;
- fostering communication and mutual learning or neglecting to do so, perhaps by failing to organize regular workshops for all the stakeholders during a research project.

d_2 The *action* aspect. TD is oriented towards solving a practical problem by taking *action*. Science seeks "true" mid-range theories about situated activity; practitioners look for "authentic" insights into their own circumstances and practices; and society at large aims for "prudent" measures for solving the practical problem (Kemmis, 1988, 46, based on Habermas, 1974). This *action* aspect of TD projects is evaluated with the general criterion of *Solving or shifting the problem*. It is reflected in specific criteria such as:

- observing organizational power or shifting it, perhaps by amplifying conflicts between management and employees on the practitioners' side (e.g. Jones & Stubbe, 2004, 205);
- motivating practitioners' superiors or threatening them, perhaps when translating "what was learned from lower levels" (Agar, 2010, 12) and "organizational enthusiasm" into "actual and enduring organizational change" (Agar, 2010, 24);
- collaborating with practitioners or exploiting them, perhaps as cheap sources of scientific data (e.g. Davies, 2007, 23);
- putting tacit knowledge to use or wasting it, perhaps by destroying positive deviants' incentive to be one step ahead (McNamara, 2010).

d_3 The *research* aspect. TD, ultimately, is research, a theoretically-based enterprise. In contrast to disciplinary research, it is oriented towards a "quadrangulation of disciplinary depth, multidisciplinary breadth, interdisciplinary integration, and transdisciplinary competencies" (Klein, 2008, 406). This *research* aspect of TD projects is evaluated with the general criterion of *Combining or missing depth and breadth*. It is reflected in specific criteria such as:

- grasping the complexity of problems or missing it, perhaps by overlooking the diversity of scientific and societal views upon questions, problems, and approaches;
- exploiting disciplinary focus or losing it, perhaps by abandoning precise knowledge and rigorous methods (e.g. Arber, 1964, 80; Denzin, 2010, 424; Hirsch Hadorn et al., 2008, 20);
- integrating practitioners' views or reproducing them, perhaps by uncritically reformulating everyday concepts in complicated words (e.g. Bergman et al., 2010, 11; Kühl, 2008, 178);
- generalizing the findings or failing to, perhaps by not linking case-specific information to abstract knowledge (e.g. Hammersley, 2004, 174).

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Outcomes: Solutions for practice, science, and society at large

From an outcomes perspective, TD contributes to practice by solving practitioners' current problems (e_1), as well as by raising their awareness in order for them to solve future problems, and by fostering organizational learning (e_2). TD adds value to science by grounding and extending expert knowledge and theory (e_3), and by finding social resonance and legitimization for research (e_4). Society at large is offered scientific evidence and recommendations to improve social conditions (e_5).

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e_1   The practical solution consists of a theoretically- and empirically-grounded recommendation to change ways of thinking and acting: strategies, practices, and routines that proved helpful in overcoming the problem. Ideally, the suggested variations are based on positive deviant cases from within organizations and therefore rooted in insiders' experience. Since deviant cases offer a local solution to a local representation of the organization's general problem, TD has used them as "indicators" and "leverage points" (Agar, 2010, 295). They have served as probes to identify implicit aspects of the problem under investigation – and as starting points to develop and implement a sustainable solution in the interests of the entire organization(s) involved.

e_2   At the same time, TD aims at changing practitioners' attitudes and their ability to reflect on their activity as individuals and organizations. For example, practitioners who have been involved in a TD project can become "more critical and open-minded observers of their own communication practices" (Jones & Stubbe, 2004, 190). Based on their own experience at their own workplaces with their own problems, practitioners' insights are "inherently meaningful to them and thus more likely to be acted upon" (190–191) than prescriptive knowledge. When entire organizations are involved in TD projects and increasingly reflect on their practices, communication about insights will stimulate organizational learning (191).

e_3   With respect to the knowledge generated for professions and science, TD results in extended expert knowledge and well-grounded theory. Both mediate between singular and general views by means of the typical: generalizing experience from cases and, at the same time, allowing for the specific shape of new cases to be detected and evaluated (e.g. Krohn, 2008, 375). Thus, TD helps scientists to develop grounded theories, for example through theoretical sampling (D|2.1|b). Experts such as advisors and professionals can "expand their capacity to properly judge the next case" in order to better "operate with similarities and dissimilarities" when identifying problems and suggesting solutions (Krohn, 2008, 375–376).

e_4   By contributing substantially to identifying and solving real-world problems, TD takes on societal responsibility (e.g. Nowotny, 1999). In return, it demonstrates its relevance and strength as a societal subsystem. TD considers this outcome a crucial advantage for science in general and the disciplines involved: It helps

legitimize the enterprise of science in a society that has lost faith in scientific knowledge (e.g. Funtowicz & Ravetz, 2008, 364) and that expects evident returns for the public funding of science (e.g. Gibbons, 1994). This is particularly important for applied linguistics, which tends to be overlooked even when socially relevant questions of language use need to be addressed (e.g. Antos, 2003, 474–479).

e₅   When scientific disciplines exploit the potential of TD, society at large will benefit. Knowing the right experts from successful TD research helps allocate resources effectively when real-world problems need solving. Furthermore, the individuals and organizations that join TD projects experience "an embodiment of democratic principles in research" (Kemmis, 1988, 43). This embodiment increases the chances that, even after project completion, they will act as promoters of participation in their life-world (e.g. Elzinga, 2008, 355).

f   *Summary: Strengths and limitations*

To sum up, doing TD enables representatives from scientific and professional fields as well as society at large to collaborate in joint projects, bringing in their respective kind of expert knowledge (Section a). Projects are designed cyclically and planned incrementally to allow for unpredicted developments and to foster mutual learning (b). The overall goal is to define and solve a complex real-world problem sustainably (c). To reach this goal, TD project groups have to handle risks related to crossing borders between scientific and other fields (d). Ideally, the results of TD projects benefit all parties involved (e).

The orientation towards sustainably solving a complex practical problem is thereby widely seen as the core strength of TD. This research framework allows stakeholders to address problems that are too complex to be solved by a single discipline or domain – and too relevant to be neglected by society at large. As change in complex settings is not entirely predictable and, thus, complex problems cannot be solved in linear causal processes, TD allows for iterative learning in project cycles of reflection and action, of diagnosis and intervention. Cycle by cycle, the solution emerges and results in an increase of expert knowledge about critical situations and situated good practices. TD, thus, is the very research framework to systematically bridge the gap between theory and practice.

On the other hand, TD itself is too general and open a research framework to allow for precise understandings of some of its key concepts. This calls for combining TD with other research frameworks. Ethnography focuses on sense-making real-world practices, for example practices by positive deviants (D|1.1). Grounded Theory addresses related problems of generalization (D|2.1), and Realist Social Theory explains the interplay of situated activity and social structure related to real-life issues (D|4.1). What a complex problem is and how emergence contributes to solving problems are key questions in Dynamic Systems Theory (D|5.1).

D|3.2   The example of the TAGES-ANZEIGER project

The reasons to include TD as a supplementary framework for knowledge generation and transformation became apparent in the TAGES-ANZEIGER project. From 1999 to 2001, I was engaged in ethnographically-based newsroom consulting at a Swiss quality newspaper. The following excerpt from an article based on this project illustrates both the transdisciplinary collaboration on the media-linguistic mindset and potential outcomes of such projects for applied linguistics. However, how the research was exploited for the publisher's promotional issues was not considered at the time.

> The project was carried out from 1999–2001, both as a service contract and as an ethnographic case study, and involved 180 writers and editors of the print edition and 14 of the on-line edition of the highest-circulation Swiss quality newspaper (TAGES-ANZEIGER). The client's objectives were to increase the quality of the newspaper and to improve its image. It was agreed to cooperate at four levels of organizational text production in order to: (a) establish a basic mutual appreciation of the commission; (b) develop a mission statement and guidelines as a measure of the quality to be strived for; (c) measure the repertoires of text production strategies in the newsroom against the guidelines and expand them as needed; and (d) cyclically review the whole procedure by checking the end product, the printed newspaper. This plan called for methods of knowledge transformation, especially at the level of (c). Moreover, it presupposed knowledge about text production in general and about text production in the specific situation at hand. What was also needed therefore were methods to create this knowledge. […]
>
> […] With the agreement of the staff members, a computer program recorded all of the work done at all of the workstations in the newsroom. […] In the consulting project, the editors and writers were able to review their writing processes in the form of progression graphs or videos in real-time or time-lapse mode. They viewed these with the consultant, watching how the text developed on the computer screen and commenting continuously on what they had done while writing and why they had done it. […] In the excerpt below from a verbal protocol, the editor explains how he formulated a title so that it was exactly the right length and "immediately" indicated the relevance of a text.
>
>> "It is too long, so I go and just take out 'crash'. Then I take out another word, because it's still too long. There isn't much room on this page." – "Now I just have the title 'Insulation examined'. But something else has to be added, so it's immediately clear what it's about."
>>
>> (translation from the German protocol)

Such considerations and text production movements can be related to the text product, the amount of work involved, the writers' expectations of themselves, and the expected quality specified by the newspaper in their guidelines. This editor, like others, failed to allocate time carefully enough and so often came under pressure towards the end of the production process – and of the text. This diagnosis lent itself to an intervention with training techniques for text planning. Individual coaching was called for when successful and experienced journalists wanted to break out of production routines that had proven reliable but become too boring for them. With team coaching and organizational development sessions, groups improved the production processes that were based on division of labor, such as updating previously uploaded on-line news reports. Diagnosed problems thus determined the teaching and learning arrangements and the topics or, in the case of trainings, the training fields. […]

[…] the consultant and the client first established a joint understanding of their collaboration. They agreed that the consultant would accompany the editorial office in organizationally anchoring quality management for text production as a circular process. This involved locating and including the relevant people, defining the desired quality of the text production, measuring the current quality level, optimizing the text production processes – and re-considering the standard of the desired quality with new experience. In addition, a mutual understanding of journalistic text production was negotiated. It was understood to be not only an individual task but also an organizational, institutional, and social task: a division of labor at the interface of cognitive and social practices in which problems were to be solved and decisions to be made constantly at various, sometimes conflicting levels. […] Defusing or resolving such conflicts in expectations with more functional texts and production processes was the objective of the consulting process and its integrated trainings. […]

[…] text producers fulfill various functions to meet the expectations of various parties. These functions can be grouped into those that (1) present a topic, (2) include text protagonists that are interesting to their public, (3) introduce the writer's own position, (4) assign speaking roles and moderate the discussion, (5) establish a relationship with the audience, and (6) observe the economically-determined production constraints of space, time and costs. These functions can contradict each other. For example, writers who stop doing research as soon as they can outline the essentials of a topic save time and can present their knowledge in little space or broadcast time. By contrast, those who isolate and differentiate contradictions do better justice to a complex topic but need more space and time, a conflict between functions (1) and (6). If writers incorporate direct quotes into a text, they might have to present the utterances to the sources for authorization, which risks production delays. Writers who want to avoid this problem by incorporating the utterances as indirect speech forfeit authenticity, a conflict between functions (6) and (4). […], decisions at certain points in the production sequence can neutralize conflicts. Training thus can profit from models of text production structure. […]

[…] the comparison between experienced and inexperienced writers resulted in task-specific good practice models for whole writing processes and individual phases. One such practice by experienced journalists consists of first mapping out the main message and text organization and then writing the text in the order it is to be read, as much as possible without jumping back and forth or moving text blocks around. Extensive revisions under time pressure usually lead to text rifts: there is too little time to gain distance from the mental representations of old versions of the text. This and other production patterns were justified in trainings and practiced as variants instead of familiar patterns. Various methods, such as the STAGE TECHNIQUE and the TYPO TEST, helped participants improve their writing performance […].

Investments to determine practically applicable knowledge about text production would be worthwhile in two ways: for practical purposes, but especially for linguistics itself. In trans-disciplinary contact with non-academic subjects, linguistics can recognize which parts of texts language users identify as problematic, how they handle language, and how they reflect on their cognitive and social practices of language use. Language awareness becomes tangible, a linguistic research field of topical interest. Applied linguistics can ultimately profit from text consulting and text production trainings not only at the level of the knowledge they generate within the discipline itself but also at a meta-level. In academic-political terms, it is of importance what linguistic laypeople want to know about language and consequently where opportunities exist for knowledge transformation.

Ex. 4   Excerpts from an article about the TAGES-ANZEIGER project (Jakobs & Perrin, 2008, 368–378)

D|3.3   Recommendations for project design on the TD level

The practical examples (D|3.0 and D|3.2) and the theoretical discussion (D|3.1) have shown strengths and weaknesses of TD as a research framework supplementing ethnography and GT: Systematic collaboration on real-world problems fosters mutual learning to the benefit of practitioners, researchers, and society at large. On the other hand, TD risks taking *reality* in the "real"-world issues for granted. These properties need to be considered in the design of research and transformation projects, such as those oriented towards developing and shaping practitioners' medialinguistic mindsets of newswriting (C|4.3).

From a structures perspective, TD connects stakeholders with a real-world problem (D|3.1|a). This requires careful reflection about whose realities, problems, and interests are involved. Newswriting, and even developing medialinguistic mindsets, is related to objectives that can contradict each other (C|2.3). Interests have to be considered critically.

From a dynamics perspective, TD spirals through knowledge generation and transformation (D|3.1|b). This requires interrelating both modes of knowledge processing throughout the project. Thus, developing and implementing measures such as the writing helix toolbox is not the finishing touch, but a constitutive part of a TD project.

From an identity perspective, TD solves relevant practical problems in a sustainable way (D|3.1|c). This requires solutions beyond toolboxes. Measures have to be tested for their acceptability, feasibility, and impact before, while, and after implementing. Ideally, the problem owners can adapt those measures to their changing needs after project completion.

From an evaluation perspective, TD has to handle the risks of crossing borders (D|3.1|d). This requires integrating all relevant stakeholders such as researchers, policy makers, management *and* journalists; carefully mediating between their different understandings of problems and solutions; and combining research frameworks for depth and breadth.

From an outcomes perspective, TD results in solutions for practice, science, and society at large (D|3.1|e). The solutions have to matter, in their various aspects, across domains: the helix toolbox in journalism, the medialinguistic mindset in applied linguistics, and the implications for promoting public understanding in society.

D|4 Raising awareness across stakeholders' realities

Ethnography, GT, and TDA leave researchers with the problem of theorizing macro structures that interact with the analyzed situated activity. In this chapter, project architecture expands to a fourth level of knowledge transformation: integrating macro "reality". This is what applied linguistics can achieve when performed in the research framework of Realist Social Theory, RST (D|4.1). Excerpts from the Fami case and the entire Idée suisse corpus serve as introductory examples (D|4.0); an excerpt from a research article on translation illustrates the framework's strengths and limitations (D|4.2). The chapter ends with recommendations for the RST level of project design (D|4.3). An overview of the chapter's main topics is provided in the following paragraphs.

In RST, researchers situate activity within layers of social structures with different durability. In the case of newswriting, structural layers range from the medialinguistic mindsets of individual journalists to the social settings of newsrooms and the contextual resources of a democracy with public service media. RST outlines the interplay between micro activity and macro structures as a basis for change. In doing so, RST takes social structures to be as real as physical structures. They can precede and outlive humans and exist independently of human knowledge (D|4.1).

In the Idée suisse project, the research framework of RST is visible in the layered contextualization of the situated activity investigated: first, the journalists' individual biographies and medialinguistic mindsets; second, the newsrooms as workplaces where tasks and newsflows intersect; third, the media organization with subcompanies in the four linguistic regions of Switzerland; fourth, the deliberative democracy and its need of social integration through public discourse; and fifth, glocalized media markets with increasing competition and technological change (D|4.0).

The Capturing Translation Processes project transposes modules from Idée suisse to the domain of professional translating. Mindsets and processes of translators are investigated using progression analysis. In a follow-up study combining the two projects, our research team re-analyzes Idée suisse data to explore translation in the newsroom. Findings show that individuals and organizations could benefit from knowledge transformation across domains (D|4.2). When planning transformation, domain-specific structures of different durability have to be considered (D|4.3).

D|4.0 The FAMI case: Linking micro activity and macro structure

In the FAMI case and the other IDÉE SUISSE case stories, section h focuses on rich points (D|1.1|e) of the writing process. They are analyzed in the context of the individual journalist, the newsroom, the media organization, the public mandate, and globalized digital media in a world of impartially distributed resources. O.K., a born journalist (D|2.0|a), benefits from considerable freedom of scope: He realizes his own ideas for TÉLÉJOURNAL (D|2.0|e), draws on organizational resources such as an archive (h₂) and the technology to pixelate faces (h₁), and collaborates with graphic designers (h₆) and interpreters (h₄). In contrast, he can hardly alter the deadline and timeslot allocated to his item and other dramaturgical key properties of TÉLÉJOURNAL news. Even further removed from his control are social structures beyond the newsroom: the Iraq war and the Swiss refugee center, the flood of asylum seekers being perceived in the region of the TÉLÉJOURNAL audience, the journey of the family portrayed, the biography of the former army officer. They exist, whether perceived or not. However, by focusing on certain aspects and neglecting others, he alters the item and thereby his influence on public discourse.

As this interplay with structures differing in durability enables or constrains newswriting, its analysis is crucial for knowledge transformation. Appropriate interventions to develop individual and organizational medialinguistic mindsets adapt to structural properties on all levels. In contrast to O.K. in the FAMI case, the MARS journalist had to work on a topic he was unfamiliar with (C|2.0); the LEBA journalist depended on poor source materials (A|2.0); the GAST journalist struggled with communication problems between regional sub-companies of SRG (C|3.0); the YOGY journalist was impacted by austerity measures (C|1.0); the ELEC journalist (D|2.0|Fig. 2; E|2.2) felt frustrated by organizational bureaucracy.

In addition to providing evidence that such constraints can be handled successfully with elaborated mindsets, knowledge transformation projects have to identify incentives for the experienced journalists to share their tacit knowledge and for policy makers, media management and newsroom staff to learn from each other. A key measure is showing how changes interconnect throughout structural levels when handling realities (Fig. 4). Structures such as resources matter. For example, they can facilitate the flexible realization of a master plan, as the excerpt from the FAMI case below the table and the caption illustrates.

| Product | | Case | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | TAGESSCHAU | | | | | 10 VOR 10 | | | | | TÉLÉJOURNAL | | | | |
		OLMA	ELEC	WHEA	RONC	RUMS	CABL	YOUT	TEMP	WORL	SWIS	MARS	LEBA	FAMI	GAST	YOGY
	Issue[1]	N	N	L	E	L	E	E	E	E	E	E	N	E	E	N
	Intro length[2]	24	31	22	25	25	22	22	36	21	12	14	17	28	22	18
	Item length[3]	94	67	37	95	107	223	156	221	118	227	86	80	109	108	80
	Archives[4]				28	19	16		49	31	70		9	17		
	Infographic[5]													9		
	Visible cuts[6]	11	13	17	12	9	32	20	42	28	18	19	24	21	23	17
	Questions[7]						1	3			2					
	Text agents[8]	1	2	0	2	3	3	4	3	2	2	2	2	1	5	1
	Quotes[9]	2	2	0	2	3	5	7	5	2	3	2	2	2	5	1
	Dubs[10]		2			3				1			2	2		1
	Off-speaker[11]	J	S	S	J	S	S	S	S	S	S	J	J	J	J	J

Fig. 4   Product properties. In combination with other IDÉE SUISSE findings, the item properties read as traces of situated activity enabled and constrained by macro structures with different durability:

1   Airtime of issue: Noon, Evening, Late (A|1.2). Airtimes determine deadlines and newsroom routines (A|1.4). Like most television news, the issues of TÉLÉJOURNAL are broadcasted at airtimes that are assumed to fit the daily schedules of the target audience.

2, 3   Length of the anchor introduction and the item, in seconds. The formats are determined by the program (A|1.2) and allow for certain variations. Their limitations, however, have to be respected in daily newsroom practice.

4, 5   Length of integrated archive materials and infographics, in seconds. If read as traces of organizational and societal structures, such properties document SRG's mandate and resources to maintain an archive and technologies that support the protection of sources (A|1.3).

6   Number of visible cuts in the item. Read as traces of audience design, the relation of item length and cuts document higher picture pace in the French TÉLÉJOURNAL (4.5 seconds on average between visible cuts) than in the German TAGESSCHAU (8.5) and 10 VOR 10 (7).

7   Number of questions asked in the item by an interviewer who is on site and audible but not necessarily visible. This practice is evident only in 10 VOR 10 items.

8, 9   Numbers of quotes and text agents in the item. Only the shortest items do without quotes, which documents the dramaturgical constraint to tell news stories along text agents' quotes.

10   Number of voiceover translations dubbing quotes. Consequent dubbing, even from other national languages into the regional one, documents the language policy followed.

11   Speaker of the offtext: Journalist him- or herself, professional Speaker. Offtexts are spoken by professional speakers at 10 VOR 10; by the journalists at TÉLÉJOURNAL; and by selected, trained, and approved journalists at TAGESSCHAU (A|1.3).

h   *The case study's focus of analysis: Handling structures*

h₁   The anchor introduction to the Fᴀᴍɪ item zooms in from the distant war to the local situation in Switzerland and the case of one family of refugees seeking for asylum there. In the item itself, the refugees tell their story, as the journalist had planned. The offtext and the voiceover-translation complement each other in providing overviews and details of why and how the refugees fled the Iraq war, how they made it from Baghdad to Couvet, how they feel, and what they are expecting now. War pictures show why they left, an infographic outlines their arduous trip, the pixelated faces in the on-text interview scenes emphasize the uncomfortable situation they are still in. Thus, all dramaturgical means cater to the master plan: Focusing on one case, one single family of refugees, in order to explain how the distant reality, the war in Iraq, interconnects with the local reality, the increasing numbers of refugees.

h₂   O.K. had worked out this dramaturgy in detail when planning the project. He wanted to reconstruct the distant reality in a locally relevant way. The first pictures of the item should be "sad" and show "the uprooting",[1326] "something strong" that immediately symbolizes exile, for example refugees reading newspapers from their home countries or staring down a river.[1327] Then, O.K. wanted the focus of the item to shift to the refugee family's testimony, with scenes showing them in the refugee center, maybe in the kitchen, and in the little village of Couvet.[1328] In contrast, pictures from archives should bring in war scenes from Iraq.[1329] In order to "penetrate the universe"[1330] of the refugee center, O.K. thought about having another interview, this time with the director, about the recent increase in refugees and about intercultural problems at the center.[1331]

h₃   This matching of plan and its product resulted from a process where O.K. pursued his key ideas while at the same time remaining open to the unexpected. In doing so, he could integrate emerging new ideas and impulses from sources and scenes on the go. A balance of goal-orientation and flexibility can be found throughout the process on all levels of realization.

h₄   For example, in the car on the road to the refugee center, O.K called a graphic designer at Tᴇ́ʟᴇ́ᴠɪsɪᴏɴ Sᴜɪssᴇ Rᴏᴍᴀɴᴅᴇ to announce that he was going to need an animated map showing the refugees' journey from Baghdad to Couvet: "This takes time."[1332] At lunchtime, O.K., together with the cameraman and an interpreter, interviewed the family from Iraq at the refugee center in the French-speaking Swiss village of Couvet.

h₅   In the car, on their way back to the newsroom, O.K. and the cameraman shared their impressions, for example of the director of the center claiming that these refugees would stay in Switzerland for a long time,[1333] or about "funny pictures" they had shot, showing the mother and the daughter of the portrayed family peeling potatoes in the kitchen and the father just watching them. "In this

culture, the man doesn't prepare meals." O.K. said he wanted to show these pictures in the item; later, he abstained from doing so.[1334] Still in the car, he started "scribbling", "constructing", "structuring" the item.[1335] He again stressed that he wanted to highlight the contrast between Baghdad and Couvet, on the one hand the oriental culture and the war, on the other the "lost village at the end of a valley".[1336] He said he was going to pick the "good pieces" from the interview to "personalize the story".[1337]

h_6 Back in his office at 3:20 p.m., O.K. first had a look at the animated map the graphic designer had prepared for him. "That's really what I need."[1338] Then he opened a new text file and defined the starting point for his item: an opening sentence (Fig. 5, phase A) and a draft for the anchor's introduction (phase B). The opening sentence lays out the contrast O.K. wants to elaborate on and is already close to the final version (Ex. 2, lines 15–17): "From the inferno of Baghdad to the small tranquility of the reception centre for refugees in Couvet, in the Val de Travers".

h_7 In the next writing phases, O.K. added material to the bottom of the text file: quotes (Fig. 5, phase C) and references to specific pictures in the video material (D). Then he elaborated the beginning of the story and described the family's trip, as a complement to the infographics (E). In the last phase, he went through the emerging item twice from top to bottom, moving the quotes into the right places and writing transitions (F). With his last three revisions, the first version of his conclusion to the item emerged: "At the moment, the government does not consider sending these families back" (Ex. 5, revisions 275–279).
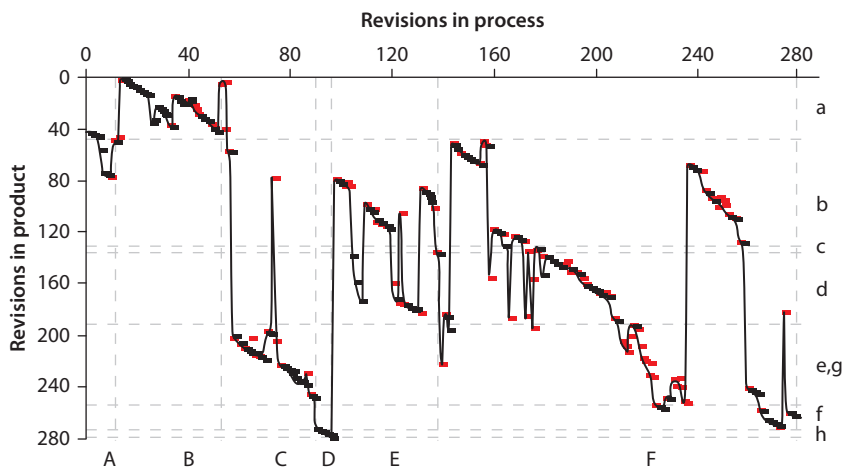
Fig. 5   Progression graph from the FAMI workplace session, phases A–F (see above) and text parts a–h (Fig. 8)
Source: tsr_tj_070222_1930_kohler_familleirakienne_progress_1

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275{276[pOUR L|276]276,277[ü|277]277, 277Pour l'instant,
la Confé279[r278[enda|278]278érat|279]279 dération n'envisage pas de
renvoyer ces famiiles... }275
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Ex. 5   Revisions from the FAMI workplace session, last sentence
Source: tsr_tj_070222_1930_ kohler_familleirakienne_snt_1

h_8 Because O.K. had already outlined the dramaturgy at the start, he could con-
centrate on individual formulations while writing. So he evaluated synonyms
for *fear*, such as *crainte* and *peur*, in order to make the sentence more fluid,
more speakable: "You try the text out in your mouth."[1339] He considered the text
particularly important in this item because "we are not excessively rich in pic-
tures, so the text has to carry a picture which might not be too interesting".[1340]
In editing the pictures himself, he took care to cut the interview clips with the
refugees precisely, omitting passages where the voice of the on-site interpreter
would have been audible.[1341]

These are some of O.K.'s reflections and activities while he was consciously,
flexibly, and carefully staging a media reality within local and global social reali-
ties, which are far more durable.

D|4.1   Integrating Realist Social Theory

What people do influences the world, and the world influences what people
do. For example, a striking headline might slightly change the way a language
is used by a certain community. At the same time, writing for the media means
respecting that language's existing structure.

This interplay of agency and structure through practices is what most inte-
grative social theories explain.[66] In doing so, Realist Social Theory (RST)[67] – more

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66.   Sealey & Carter, 2004, 6, explain that sociologists "such as Durkheim, Parsons or Lévi-
Strauss" focus on "social structure shaping people's values, cultures and choices", whereas
sociologists like Goffman or Becker focus on "the role played by individuals in sustaining
social interactions and interpreting meanings" (Sealey & Carter, 2004, 6). They summarize it
this way: "An overemphasis on structure brings the problem of explaining social change,
whilst an overemphasis on agency brings the problem of explaining social persistence or
stability" (8).

67.   In this summary of RST, I draw primarily on Sealey & Carter, 2004, where the sociologist Bob
Carter and the applied linguist Alison Sealey elaborate on the use of RST for interdisciplinary
investigation of the socially relevant practice of language use. I will focus on epistemological
aspects of RST; a critical examination of the ontological "reality" concept of RST would go
beyond the scope of LINGUISTICS OF NEWSWRITING.

than any other integrative social theory[68] – focuses on the different natures of agency and structure: on their distinct power and properties such as their durability. RST explains social change as being caused by outcomes emerging from human agency and complex, more or less durable, structures that constrain and enable agency in ways that actors often are not aware of.

Realist Social Theory, thus, is an integrative social theory and research framework for analyzing the interplay of situated activity and societal structures with specific powers and properties.

From a structures perspective,[69] RST conceptualizes human agency and social structure as stratified or layered (Section a). From a dynamics perspective, RST analyses the interplay of the different, distinct properties and powers of agency and structure. In this interplay, emergent properties are particularly interesting because they document and motivate social change (b). From an identity perspective, RST focuses on what is real about structures: their power to enable or constrain human agency, regardless of the extent to which people are aware of them (c). From an evaluation perspective, RST analyzes situated activity and its traces so that the interplay of agency and structure can be conceptualized appropriately (d). From an outcomes perspective, RST research applies multi-method approaches to generate mid-range theories about what works, for whom, and when (e).

a   *Structure: Relating human agency to a layered social structure*

From a structures perspective, RST distinguishes between different aspects of social structures and situated activity. These differences are discussed as, first, the dichotomy of agency and activity (a_1); second, the nature of structures of the world we live in (a_2); and third, a set of domains of the social world (a_3).

a_1 Humans have biological properties such as tongues and brains, as well as mental properties such as reflexivity and intentionality. These properties result in powers such as agency: the collective human power and ability to reflect upon the world and to modify it. Viewed more closely, distinct human collectives such as social classes and organizations have distinct agencies, that is, distinct powers to

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68.   Sealey & Carter, 2004, 16, explain their "opposition to the non-realist accounts of the relationship between structure and agency […]. In making agents the puppets of structures [the structuralist position], or structures the creation of agents [the interactionist position] or, in the case of structuration theory, making them mutually constitutive of each other [without taking into account their distinct powers and properties], these accounts make it difficult to examine the interplay between the world and ourselves."

69.   In distinguishing between the four epistemological perspectives of *structure*, *dynamics*, *identity*, and *evaluation*, I am consistent with the MIC epistemology (A|3.3).

modify the world. This agency can be realized in situated activity, for example in language use, where people invent words that match new communicative needs and that might become part of the general vocabulary over time.

a$_2$ According to RST, the world in which humans live and realize their agency through situated activity consists of three kinds of interrelated structures: Physical structures such as human bodies, social structures such as institutions, and cultural structures such as symbolic systems and shared knowledge.[70] Structures have the power to enable or constrain human agency. Other properties of structures are their persistence or durability; some precede and outlive people, others vanish after individual decisions. The north-south divide, for instance, is durable and hard to change through local human activity. Thus, media in certain countries cannot decide on their financial and legal frameworks. In contrast, some editorial rules set up in newsrooms can easily be reproduced or changed through individual decisions and actions.

a$_3$ As for the world humans live in, RST separates four *domains*, four highly interactive layers:[71] Psychobiography consists of the individual's mentally represented physical, emotional, and cognitive experiences – their "individual truth" (Craib, 1998, 31). Situated activity means what people do in context, for example, writing news or interacting with peers. Social settings are the social contexts of human agency, such as families or workplaces with their routinized practices, for example a newsroom and its staff's shared practices of language use. On the highest macro level, the domain of contextual resources comprises the cultural capital available to a particular group of people at a particular place and time, such as democracy, national wealth, the language of a community into which a person is born, and the increasingly mediatized and multilingual world.

b   *Dynamics: Outlining the micro-macro interplay*

From a dynamics perspective, situated activity and structures interact (b$_1$). This fosters emergence and change (b$_2$).

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70.   In explaining ontology, most RST theorists refer to Archer (e.g. Archer, 1988). She conceptualized a stratified ontology which comprises three domains of reality: agency, which is realized by agents through situated activity; structure, which is anchored in materiality and entails physical and social structures such as bodies and institutions; and (symbolic) culture, which is anchored in semiotic propositions and entails the shared knowledge of communities.

71.   In doing so, RST follows the "domain theory" (Layder, 1997). Some other contributions to the discussion of RST introduce other, similar terms or distinctive properties to concretize the crucial concept of layers in the stratified social world.

b₁   RST conceptualizes the four domains of the social world as experientially linked in complex interplays[72] as social activity unfolds over time: Psychobiography results from previous situated activity, that is, from all of an individual's previous engagement with the world. Thus, new situated activity is influenced by people's former experience, by psychobiography – but also by social settings, and contextual resources. Structures such as individual knowledge, workplace routines, and financial resources enable and constrain what one can do at a particular place and time. Conversely, situated activity is not only shaped by all kinds of structures, but also shapes them, with a distinct impact over distinct timescales: Breaking rules can contribute to the rules' immediate change or change over time, whereas respecting the rules reinforces their power.[73] This means that – for example in the newsroom – "praxis is both work, that is, conscious production, and (normally unconscious) reproduction of the conditions of production, that is, society" (Bhaskar, 1979, 33–34, referring to Giddens, 1976).

b₂   As humans engage with the world in a continuous interplay of agency and pre-existing structures, novel and unpredictable structures can emerge due to creativity, intention, and variation. Such emergent products can be relations, institutions – and cultural creations such as human language, a communicative genre, a new meaning of a word, and journalistic practices.[74] RST uses the

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72.   When conceptualizing this interplay, many RST researchers refer implicitly to Dynamic Systems Theory (D|5.1). Byrne, 2002, 31, for example foregrounds co-adaptation between action and variegated structure: "What exists are complex systems, which […] are nested, intersecting, which involve both the social and the natural, and which are subject to modification on the basis of human action, both individual and social." The "systems that 'contain' other systems are as potentially liable to be influenced by those contained, as the contained are to be influenced by the container" (33). Sealey, 2010, 17, concludes a paper on "a realist approach" by saying that it "conceives of the social world as an open, complex, dynamic set of inter-related systems".

73.   Structures can be seen as traces of situated activity. Archer, 1995, describes social structures as "the effects of *past actions*, often by long dead people" (148). As agency formed these structures, it can also alter them: "[…] whatever social structures are examined, they are only operative in and through the world of people which props the door permanently open because human action is typified by innovativeness, a capacity for interpreting the same material conditions, cultural elements, circumstances and situations in different ways and hence for introducing novel patterns or courses of action in response to them" (70). Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, 140, say that "the social is built into the grammatical tissue of language". Halliday, 1978, 19, puts it this way: "Language is as it is because of what is has to do".

74.   In RST traditions, journalism and newsroom practices have been discussed theoretically, but not yet investigated empirically. Lau, 2004, 701, outlines a "realist account of routine journalistic practices", seeing "any divergence between news and underlying reality [as] the outcome of specific configurations of actualized causal powers (707)." Toynbee, 2008, 277, draws the conclusion that the "agency of producers […] means that producers are sometimes

concept of emergence to explain social change. An emergent outcome is defined as being more than the sum of its constituent elements: it cannot be reduced to them; it is partially autonomous from them; and it interacts with them. Human language for instance is not reducible to sound waves or mental processes, it has existed much longer than its locutors, and it enables us to reflect upon ourselves, language itself, and the world in general.[75] Emergent outcomes change the world we live in.

c   *Identity: Contextualizing situated activity in a real world*

From an identity or uniqueness perspective, RST focuses on the complementary roles of reality (c_1) and conceptualization (c_2) in the interplay of social structures and situated activity.

c_1 The physical world, such as the sun and the earth, are seen as existing independently of human knowledge. Joining post-positivist positions, RST treats this world as real.[76] Similar to physical structures, contextual resources that constrain and empower agency precede and outlast individuals and thus are only subject to very slow changes. Being born male or female, in Western Europe or India, part of a lower or upper class – such realities remain, independent of

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and to some extent able to make texts independently of market pressures or other forms of external influence. More generally, autonomy constitutes a form of emergence on which is premised the possibility of all kinds of structural transformation."

75.   Archer, 2000, 467, exemplifies emergence with the case of English as a lingua franca for scientific communication. The "academic privileges which today's native English-speaking academics enjoy cannot be *explained* as other than the unintended resultant of these powers [such as colonialism, the industrial revolution, and economy], exercised seriatim, but irreducible to the individual people involved". – Benton & Craib, 2001, associate emergence with increasing complexity of organization: "When elements are combined together into more complex entities, the latter often have properties which are qualitatively distinct from those of the original elements. This is known as 'emergence', and the properties which 'emerge' in this way are 'emergent properties', or powers – a new level of organization."

76.   Popper, 1972, refers to the physical world with the term *World 1*. He sees this world as "real", as independent from human knowledge. In contrast, *World 2* covers the individual experiences which emerge when humans engage with *World 1*. These experiences are subjective, but they can be objectified in "products of the human mind, such as stories, explanatory myths, tools, scientific theories […], scientific problems, social institutions, and works of art" (Popper & Eccles, 1977, 38). Of course, such products of mind can be embodied, materialized; a theory for instance can be printed in a book. The book as a material, physical object belongs to *World 1*, what the individual readers learn from the book is part of *World 2*. However, the theory in the book can also be seen as independent from both materialization and individual knowledge: as "objective […] knowledge without a knower" (Popper, 1972, 109), as an immaterial and objective reality, as *World 3*.

awareness and interpretation, RST postulates.[77] Even social settings can unfold their power on the situated activity of all people involved, no matter whether these people realize it or not: Newcomers in a newsroom for example have to adapt to local rules and often do so unconsciously. Thus, for RST, social and symbolic structures such as media institutions and languages cannot be reduced to individual perception and understanding; they are as real as physical structures are.

c₂   In contrast, RST sees all sorts of representations such as conceptualization, knowledge, and theories as provisional and fallible. Thus, there is no such thing as completely objective, perspective-less observation or neutral measurement, neither in everyday life nor in scientific research. In research, assumptions about the world (ontology), the knowledge of the world (epistemology), and the ways to get this knowledge (methodology) have to be made explicit and shared with the scientific community. The shared scientific knowledge is what is often called objective knowledge in RST.[78]

d   *Evaluation: Overcoming the positivist-constructivist divide*

From an evaluation perspective, RST mediates between positivism and constructivism, bridging the concept of a real world with the concept of construed knowledge about it. This mediating position contributes to solving transdisciplinary (D|3.1) problems of applied linguistics in general and media linguistics in particular (d₁) with a solution that is theoretically and practically acceptable (d₂).

d₁   As soon as applied linguistics is considered to be dealing with "real-world" issues (D|3.1), the concept of *reality* has to be defined. In addition, *reality* can play a crucial role in an application field itself too, as is the case for journalism with its widespread ideal of separating *facts* from *fiction* and *opinions*. In transdisciplinary projects of media linguistics, such practical concepts matter and

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77.   Archer, 2000, 262, argues that *anteriority* causes power independent of individual choice: "Because of the preexistence of those structures which shape the situation in which we find ourselves, they impinge upon us without our compliance, consent or complicity." This argument is repeated in the discussion of RST, e.g. by Sealey, 2010, 2. The link between anteriority and power can be scrutinized. If a democracy is replaced by dictatorship, people confronted with this new structure might also feel impinged upon without their compliance. Of course one could argue that older sociopolitical structures enabled the recent change. Yet, what remains as the clue of the argument is that certain structures, "realities", possess much more power to resist change than others.

78.   Hymes, 1996, 13, puts it this way: "[S]cientific objectivity resides, not in the individual scientist, but in the community of scientists". According to Sealey & Carter, 2004, 15, only this shared knowledge "is capable of refinement and methodological development. The social practice of knowledge production has this as an aim".

must not be ignored. Approaching journalism and newswriting with a purely constructivist concept of *reality*, as is often practiced by communication studies and cultural studies, results in a deep epistemological gap between theory and practice in journalism.[79]

d[2]   RST overcomes this conflict of paradigms and research frameworks in a third way: "acknowledging the independent existence of objective reality, but asserting the constructedness of human knowledge about the nature of that reality" (Wright, 2011, 4). Thus, RST enables both researches and practitioners to conceive journalistic activities "as constructs – but as constructs formed in conjunction with realities external to them" (3). In an RST view, journalists have to develop their practices towards accounts of reality that are as adequate as possible.[80] Transdisciplinary projects can help them develop their mindsets and achieve this goal.

e   *Outcomes: Mid-range theories of situated activity in context*

From an outcomes perspective, RST produces mid-range theories of situated activity in context (e[1]), based on multi-method (e[2]) and cyclic (e[3]) project designs.

e[1]   As conditions of agency in complex, dynamic structures are crucial for RST, the result of RST-based research cannot be a grand theory claiming to explain what works with general laws, regardless of context. Rather, RST research aims to develop situated knowledge: case-driven, mid-range theories about "what works for whom in what circumstances".[81]

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79.   The problem of this epistemological gap has been criticized as irritating students and trainees in theoretically-based journalism education, where rather positivist media practice meets rather constructivist media and communication theories (Windschuttle, 2000; Zelizer, 2004; Wright, 2011).

80.   The key realist claim in this context is that "news is formally based on a prior reality and that this prerequisite reality is ultimately a given reality" (Gauthier, 2005, 51).

81.   With this formulation, Sealey & Carter, 2004, 197, draw on Pawson & Tilley, 1997, who developed "realistic evaluation", an approach in the framework of social realism which explains and promotes science-based evaluation of social policies, programs, and initiatives. Sealey, 2007, 654, illustrates that the "same linguistic resources, in the repertoire of the same individual, may be associated with different kinds of outcome in different settings". She refers to a striking example from Blommaert, 2003, 616: "The English acquired by urban Africans may offer them considerable prestige and access to middle-class identities in African towns. It may be an 'expensive' resource to them. But the same variety of English, when spoken in London by the same Africans, may be a crucial object of stigmatization and may qualify them as members of the lower strata of society." Sealey, 2007, 654, concludes that "the 'cultural capital' associated with the ability to speak English can diminish over time […]. In other words, what was an enablement in one social setting becomes a constraint in another."

e₂   RST is not methodologically prescriptive. However, to reconstruct the interplay of relations and processes in a complex world, RST researchers must combine multiple perspectives and methods in empirical research. If possible, case studies are combined with corpus research, and theoretical knowledge is combined with practical knowledge: the professional or everyday knowledge of the people being investigated.

e₃   Just as in Grounded Theory (D|2.1), research processes in RST are designed as cycles in which general propositions such as *writers' experience fosters flexible planning* are theoretically refined and empirically tested. Cycle by cycle, the complex interplay of agency and structure can be described with more precision, until the distinct properties and powers enabling and constraining emergence and change are identified.[82]

f   *Summary: Strengths and limitations*

To sum up, doing RST enables researchers to distinguish between variegated social structures with different durability and to situate activity within this layered social world (Section a). RST outlines the interplay between situated activity and social structure, between micro and macro development, as a basis for emergence and change (b). In doing so, RST takes social structures to be as real as physical structures, meaning that they can precede and outlast humans and exist independently of human perception and knowledge (c). All knowledge about the world, in contrast, is considered a human construction (d). Thus, RST aims to construct mid-range theories about reality: situated knowledge, explaining what works for whom in which structural conditions (e).

More than any other integrative theory, RST allows for a clear distinction between a pre-existing world of structures with various degrees of durability, its properties and powers such as enablement and constraint, the human power of agency, and the resulting activities that, at the same time, influence structures and are influenced by them. In bridging the positivist assumption

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82.   Byrne, 2002, 105, describes this interplay as complex, local, and time-dependent: "In the realist frame of reference we do not see causes as single factors whose presence inevitably generates an effect and whose absence means that the effect does not occur. Rather cause is a property of complex and contingent mechanisms in reality and such mechanisms, moreover, are not universal but only relatively permanent – inherently local." Sealey, 2010, 10, explains the cyclical aspect of RST research, getting close to abductive coding principles of Grounded Theory. "The realist approach, by contrast, does not begin with social categories decided a priori – gender (or sex), or ethnicity, or age-group or social class. Instead, it assumes that social phenomena are characterized by processes and relations, and therefore ways are sought to investigate and describe these and their effects." This closeness of RST research practice to Grounded Theory also becomes obvious when Byrne, 2002, 100, suggests finding "ways of sorting cases into categories" and looking for "category sets which emerge from the exploration of our data".

of a physical and social reality with the constructivist assumption of mental and social knowledge about this reality, RST enables researchers to understand core concepts of journalism, such as *facts* and *objectivity*, in a theoretically and practically acceptable way. This facilitates the collaboration with journalists in transdisciplinary projects on shared theoretical grounds.

RST is very open and non-committal in terms of project design. For more precise explanations of some of its key concepts, though, RST needs to be combined with other research frameworks. Ethnography is experienced in investigating situated activity and participants' conceptualizations of reality (D|1.1). Grounded Theory reflects on problems of cyclic research designs and generalizations when relating micro and macro perspectives (D|2.1). Transdisciplinary Action Research helps collaborating on *real*-world issues and implementing findings from RST (D|4.1). Dynamic Systems Theory theoretizes the key concept of emergence in the interplay of situated activity and structural context (D|5.1).

D|4.2   The example of an IDÉE SUISSE follow-up analysis

The reasons to include RST as a supplementary framework for knowledge generation and transformation became apparent not only in the IDÉE SUISSE project, but also in a follow-up study on translation processes. In 2009, our research team started re-analyzing data from IDÉE SUISSE and a related project, CAPTURING TRANSLATION PROCESSES (2009–2012). In this transdisciplinary project, researchers collaborated with professional development providers and a company that offers multilingual communication services and employs hundreds of professional translators around the globe. The follow-up study at the intersection of the two projects investigated multilingualism and translation by journalists in TV newsrooms. Findings show that mindsets and structural resources in this area of growing importance are still oriented to ad-hoc solutions, as the following article excerpts explain (Ex. 6):

From research in legal and medical settings, we know that there can be serious risks associated with engaging untrained personnel to perform public service interpreting (e.g. Bischoff & Dahinden 2008; Corsellis, 2008; de Pedro Ricoy, Perez, & Wilson, 2009). Working in socially powerful positions between languages without the professional preparation to do so, journalists are increasingly exposed to similar expectations.

With media convergence and globalization, an increasing amount of material coming into newsrooms originates from sources other than established news agencies. Recorded by amateurs or local media, useful source material such as video bites can contain utterances from all over the world in various languages. However, little research has been carried out in the area of working between languages during text production in the newsroom (for individual case studies see Tsai, 2005; Darwish, 2009). In the course of such text production – or reproduction – source texts and other types of source materials are used in collaborative

processes by journalists to produce target texts they consider appropriate for their audiences. The choice of which material to include and how do so when reporting local news globally or global news locally can be directly related to the linguistic resources available to the journalist and editors involved. This paper addresses the specific question of how journalists cope with linguistic diversity in their news production processes, focusing on quotes in languages they may not be familiar with or can hardly understand. […]

Psychobiography: Evaluated representations of social settings and contextual resources

Co-authors

Source   Source texts   Collaborative text production   Target texts   Audience

News media

Complex, dynamic and co-adaptive world of social settings and contextual resources
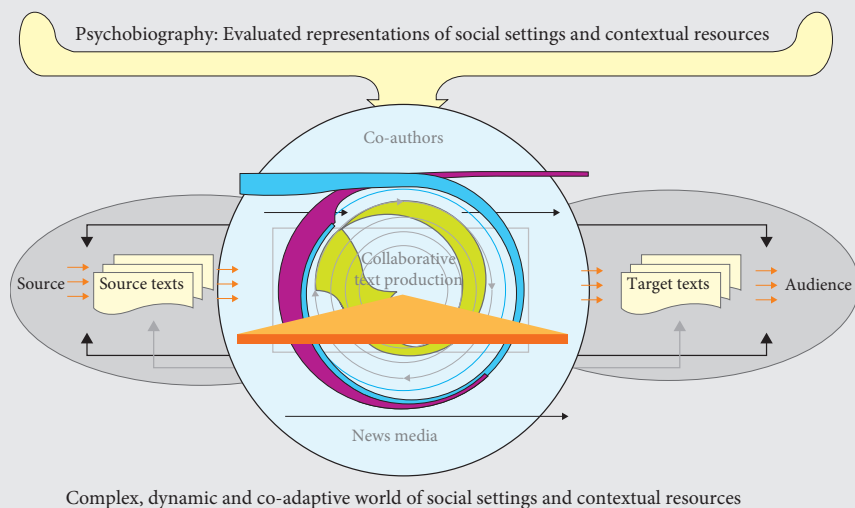
Figure 1. Text production as basic practice in the newsroom, interacting with layered structures

Conclusion

Translation practices can range from a sort of inner translation, such as when journalists reformulate the language of the source text to another language variety in order to meet audience design standards, to the purposeful omission of utterances from sources that journalists do not understand or do not have the resources to translate. Since they decide which voices will be heard, journalists have an important gatekeeping function, which can be affected by inappropriate translation strategies.

We have found evidence suggesting that journalists' translation strategies and practices are based on the availability of external linguistic resources, on journalists' linguistic awareness, and in some cases, on experienced journalists' elaborated tacit knowledge (cf. Agar, 2010; Polanyi, 1966; Sarangi, 2007). From the perspective of professional translation, this awareness and knowledge represent potential for organizational development. Even though some journalists may be sensitive to the challenges of working between languages, they may never have reflected on how they do it or whether this is the best way to do so, let alone the organizational significance and societal impact of the tacit knowledge they have and base their practices on. A transdisciplinary goal is to release this tacit knowledge – the situated, implicit and individual strategies and practices of certain experienced players or so-called positive deviants (see Agar (2010) who draws on Polanyi (1966) and Schein (1987)).

More specifically, the question is how such tacit knowledge as well as insights from trans-
lation theory and professional practice can be made available to media organizations and
the professionals involved in order to improve workflow efficiency and output quality of
journalism in a globally networked multilingual world. In a top-down approach, we are
systematically transforming and disseminating the knowledge generated in our research
projects through organizational consulting. In such projects we strive to stimulate a shift
of focus towards allocating appropriate resources for translating in the newsrooms. In a
bottom-up approach, we are transforming professional translation knowledge through
training, coaching, and educating future professionals in journalism schools and practition-
ers in the newsrooms.

Given the relevance of media in public discourse and democracy (Schudson, 2008),
investigating and improving multilingual practices in the newsroom has the potential to
contribute not only to fostering professional and organizational success as well as a fairer
society. It can also consolidate the importance of our discipline (cf. Antos, 2003; Perrin, 2012).

Ex. 6   Excerpts from an article about the CAPTURING TRANSLATION PROCESSES project
(Perrin & Ehrensberger-Dow, 2012)

D|4.3 Recommendations for project design on the RST level

The practical examples (D|4.0 and D|4.2) and the theoretical discussion (D|4.1) have
shown strengths and weaknesses of RST as a research framework supplement-
ing ethnography: Situated activity is explained in the context of macro struc-
tures differing in persistence, but some key concepts such as emergence remain
vague. These properties need to be considered in the design of research and
transformation projects, such as those oriented towards developing and shaping
practitioners' medialinguistic mindsets of newswriting (C|4.3).

From a structures perspective, RST cyclically relates human agency and
a layered social structure (D|4.1|a). This requires resources such as funding and
timeframes that allow for complex project architectures. Stakeholders and
aspects across structural levels have to be integrated. They range, for example,
from newsroom practices to national media policy.

From a dynamics perspective, RST outlines the micro-macro interplay
(D|4.1|b). This requires project designs that foster interactive implementation.
Interventions represent situated activity that interacts with macro structures
differing in durability. Their impact has to be monitored, throughout the pro-
cess, and their shape adapted if needed.

From an identity perspective, RST contextualizes situated activity in a real
world (D|4.1|c). This requires project designs that account for contradictory reali-
ties. Managers may find knowledge transformation from the bottom face-threa-
tening (e.g. Agar, 2010, 294), and positive deviants may want to keep their knowledge
tacit to outperform their colleagues.

From an evaluation perspective, RST overcomes the divide between positivism and constructivism (D|4.1|d). This requires understanding the knowledge generated and transferred as a construction. Based on field data and theory, it has to explain as appropriately as possible a reality that, to a certain extent, exists and persists independently from being known.

From an outcomes perspective, RST results in mid-range theories of situated activity in context (D|4.1|e). Many aspects of work contexts are standardized. There are standard constellations of circumstances and expectations in newswriting. Therefore, good practice models make sense – but there is no such thing as unconditional do's or don't's.

D|5 Understanding emergence in complex dynamic settings

Ethnography, GT, TDA, and RST leave researchers with the problem of explaining change. In this chapter, project architecture expands to a fifth level of knowledge transformation: focusing on emergence, the key driver of non-linear change. This is what applied linguistics can achieve when performed in the research framework of Dynamic Systems Theory, DST (D|5.1). Excerpts from the IDÉE SUISSE corpus serve as introductory examples (D|5.0); an excerpt from an article based on the MODELING WRITING PHASES project (2011–2013) illustrates DST's strengths and limitations for knowledge transformation (D|5.2). The chapter ends with recommendations for the DST level of project design (D|5.3). An extended overview of the chapter's main topics is provided in the following paragraphs.

DST enables researchers to track the dynamics of complex systems such as newswriting and to explain the often non-linear change in dynamic contexts. As social structures permanently interact with people's situated activity, contexts always change. In every newswriting task, writers face new and unique conditions apart from the familiar and standardized ones. Thus, knowledge transformation in a DST framework aims at fostering practitioners' capability to generate the emergent solutions needed to overcome new critical situations in complex dynamic contexts (D|5.1).

In the IDÉE SUISSE project, the research framework of DST is visible in the focus on the role of emergence in critical situations. In case studies such as LEBA (A|2) and YOGY (C|1), solutions to complex problems emerge while the writers interact with challenging contexts such as surprising information or a cutter's provocative approach. As the analyses and discussions of the cases have shown, the emergent new ideas not only solve the writers' problems of realizing their media items, but also the public service broadcaster's task of promoting public understanding.

With the MODELING WRITING PHASES project, our focus shifts from exploring emergence to modeling the non-linear dynamics of writing. Our research team mines large corpora of writing process data to develop statistically sound typologies of writing processes and phases and relate them to factors such as task type and writers' experience (D|5.2). The models are tested against qualitative data from projects like IDÉE SUISSE. They will allow for algorithmically-based transformation measures for self-coaching, such as online analysis and feedback while writing (D|5.3).

D|5.0   The FAMI case: Balancing focus and flexibility

In the FAMI case and the other IDÉE SUISSE case stories, section h analyzes changes of contexts, text production plans, and emerging products. As the analyses and DST reflections show, such changes cannot be predicted in detail, nor are they completely unpredictable.

Writing processes begin with COMPREHENDING THE TASK and move towards the fixed point attractor of IMPLEMENTING THE PRODUCT. In the newsrooms investigated, this trajectory corresponds to a timeframe between a few hours and a week (Fig. 6). In the experienced journalists' writing processes (D2), GOAL SETTING and PLANNING start early, resulting for example in a lean five-step plot (h_{10-11}). Moreover, these processes tend to end with monitoring and revising details (h_9), for example in the booth while speaking (h_{17}). On the way, critical situations (D|3.0) may occur, such as an interviewee's questionable past. In such situations, creativity is needed to find a solution on a higher level, where the contradictions and incompatibilities from lower levels are resolved. Such an emergent solution is disclosure without any comment on the status of the refugee as a career officer in the army of Saddam Hussein, as this unclear side story would not add to the main story about the family's fate (h_{12}).

As in the FAMI case, in all the IDÉE SUISSE cases emergence is enabled or constrained by the interplay of conditions across the structural layers (D|4.1). On the level of psychobiography, these could be the journalist's experience and elaborated mindset; on the level of social settings, irritating encounters with colleagues or materials; and on the level of contextual resources, the space that organizations and society at large provide for trying out alternatives. In the LEBA case, a leitmotif emerged from the conflict between stereotypes and a seductive detail in source pictures (A|2.0). Similarly, paying attention to conflicting key concepts in the source materials could have helped in the GAST case (C|3.0). In the YOGY case, innovation emerges from the negotiation across different professional socializations (C|1.0). In the same way, the journalist in the MARS case could have overcome his sources' partial views by listening to the cutter (C|2.0).

The next table presents an overview of structural properties that influence the dynamic system of newswriting in the fifteen IDÉE SUISSE cases (Fig. 6). This interplay is then analyzed in detail for the FAMI case (h).

| | | Case | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | TAGESSCHAU | | | | | 10 VOR 10 | | | | | TÉLÉJOURNAL | | | | |
		OLMA	ELEC	WHEA	RONC	RUMS	CABL	YOUT	TEMP	WORL	SWIS	MARS	LEBA	FAMI	GAST	YOGY
Task	Timeframe[1]	M	M	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	W	D	W	D	M
	Topical area[2]	RN	I	So	R	I	Se	RN	N	Sp	N	Sc	I	NI	N	I
Process	Research mode[3]	S	D	D	S	D	S	S	S	D	S	S	D	S	S	DC
	Writing sessions[4]	1	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	3
	Item draft[5]				DD					D		D		D	D	
	Item final[6]	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
	Supplements[7]		C													C
	Item revised[8]															C

Fig. 6 Task and process properties. In a dynamic system, the task sets the fixed point attractors for the writing process and the emerging item. The abbreviations stand for:

1   Timeframe for the process, from task comprehension until deadline: same Morning, same Day, same Week. The timeframe for the production of an item ends with the deadline that normally cannot be altered after programming. Deadline is the temporal fixed point attractor for the writing process.

2   Topical area of the product: Regional, National, International, Soft news, Service, Sport, Science. In newsrooms, topics and the respective departments are grouped along inconsistent, but pragmatically useful criteria such as geographic range (local, regional, national, and international affairs), domains (sports, science, arts), and intended functions for the audience (entertainment, service). The topic the journalists assign to an event shapes the way it is covered in the issue: for example the importance within the program, the resources allocated to the production, and the range of suitable story patterns. These patterns will function as dramaturgical fixed point attractors for the emerging product.

3   Mode of the research preceding or accompanying the text production process: Desk research, Site visit, Correspondent on site. Whereas the trajectories of research processes are open to unpredictable events such as unexpected encounters on the site, the space frame is limited by resources such as time and money. Due to such restrictions, the newsrooms investigated in the IDÉE SUISSE project cover most international issues with materials from newswires and correspondents, whereas regional issues are usually covered with site visits. The research modes offer different potentials for critical situations and emergence.

4–8   Number and locations for the writing sessions to accomplish the item. The locations are the Desk, meaning the journalists' workplace, and the Cutting room. *DD* means that there were two desk sessions in the same production process. A writing session starts with opening a file and ends with closing it in order to continue with the same task in a different setting or with another task. Most writing processes take place in the cutting room, some start in a first drafting session at the journalists' desks. Sometimes, the main production is followed by producing supplements or updated versions for following issues. Writing sessions depend on the availability of cutter and cutting rooms. This affects time pressure and collaboration and facilitates or constrains emergence (h_9).

h   *The case study's focus of analysis: Handling dynamics*

h$_9$ When O.K. came to the cutting room at 5:20 p.m., he only wanted the cutter to add sound and do minor technical work such as adding war pictures from the archive to the interview:[1342] "there isn't much to do, I can reassure you."[1343] While they went through the item, O.K. corrected typos in his text and adjusted some details. However, the dynamics of composition soon spread through various levels of text production.

Coming to the second block of juxtaposed quote excerpts, the cutter realized there was a problem on the visual level: In one part of the quote block the protagonist was speaking indoors, whereas in the other he was outdoors.[1344] This observation triggered a sudden change in both the writing process and the text product. O.K. immediately decided to move the indoor excerpt to the first block with the indoor quotes. This is what they finally did (Fig. 7, revisions 30–34, phase B), after some misunderstandings[1345] and harsh disputes: Cutter: "You don't want this anymore." Journalist, very stressed: "yes, I doooo want it".[1346]
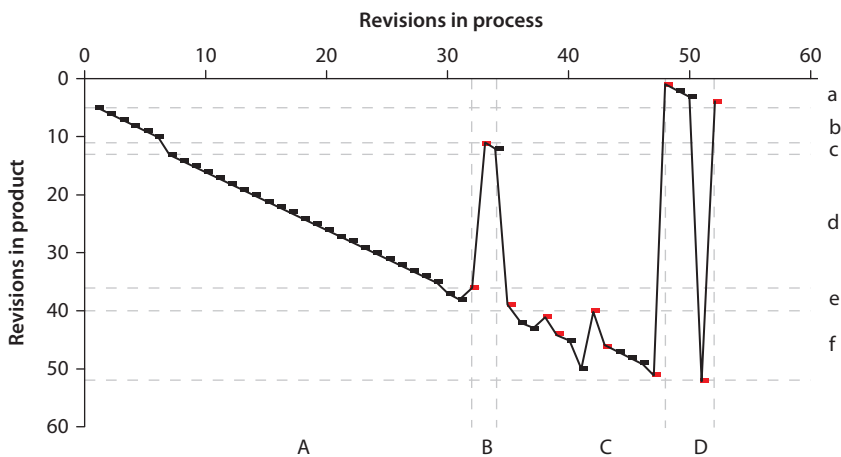
Fig. 7   Progression graph from the Fami cutting room
Source: tsr_tj_070222_1930_kohler_ familleirakienne_progress_2

h$_{10}$ Shifting this quote resulted in a clear differentiation between the item's two quote blocks: The first block (Ex. 2, lines 28–34) now refers to the past, the threatening situation in Iraq that the refugees had left behind. It is presented as spoken inside the refugee center. The pictures show the protagonist's lips and then his hands while speaking. When he talks about the Americans having destroyed the country (lines 33–34), archive pictures show scenes of violence.[1347] In contrast, the second quote block (lines 45–47) refers to the future, to the temporary peace the family was experiencing in Switzerland, and to their wish to go back to their home country as soon as peace is restored there. This second quote block is spoken outside the refugee center, with the protagonist standing on a bridge.

h₁₁   Thus, what happened to the item since O.K. drafted it for the first time (D|4.0, Fig. 5, phases A–E) was a reduction and concentration towards a straight and lean five-step plot: step one opens the Baghdad-Couvet contrast and notes the resulting fear of reprisals (Fig. 8, row b); step two supports step one with testimonies referring to the past (row c); step three shows the infographic piece explaining the trip (row d); step four quotes the protagonist's prospects (row e), and step five contextualizes these prospects in a future-oriented conclusion (row f). These five steps determine both the media product and the trajectory of the writing process; the row and line numbers in the leftmost column of Fig. 8 are mirrored in the transcription of the broadcasted item (D|2.0, Ex. 2) and in the progression graph of the writing process (D|4.0, Fig. 5), respectively.

h₁₂   When speaking the offtext, O.K. spontaneously changed some formulations (Fig. 8, changes between /slashes/). One of these changes completes a chain of revisions concerning a sensitive area of the refugee topic: the protagonist's status as a former career officer in Saddam Hussein's army. During preparations with the cameraman, O.K. had mentioned that the refugee they were going to interview and stage as the item's protagonist belonged to a privileged class. Later, in the cutting room, he said: "spending eight thousand dollars to pay a human smuggler […], not all Baghdadis can do this." Cutter: "Let's not be so naïve to think this is only a poor refugee, perhaps he has seen other people being made miserable too." For the cutter, this idea worked as a strong attractor to introduce a critical element to the writing process, but the journalist decided to keep the story to the point of refugees in Switzerland. "No doubt, but […] he also could have hidden [it], saying: me, I was a trader, you know, constructing another identity, at least, he was honest enough to say OK, I was in the military."1348

h₁₃   Thus, instead of facing the complexity of possible motives and backgrounds for leaving Iraq, O.K. basically decided not to discuss his protagonist's professional background in the item. He briefly referred to this background when calling him a "former career officer" at the very beginning of the writing process. However, what can be observed later is a de-emphasizing movement, a trajectoriy of reduction to the essentials, as analyzed below.

h₁₄   In O.K.'s initial draft, the first opening sequence ended with suspension points: "former career officer..". As the S-notation of the workplace session shows, the suspension points were then replaced by "threatened [with] death …" (Ex. 7, revisions 159–160), which was deleted again (162) in favor of the initial version with the suspension points: "former career officer …" (163). After working further down in the quote section of the file, O.K. returned to the passage in order to write and revise the grammatically incorrect "les menace de", literally "the [article, plural] threat of" – before deleting it (168–170). Then he wrote "the civil war". The resulting elliptic construction translates as "the fear of reprisals for this former career officer, the civil war". Only towards the end of the workplace session did

		Text state after first drafting	Text state after office session	Text state after cutting and /speaking/
row b	Line 014	De l'enfer de Bagdad à la quiétude exige du centre de réfugié de Couvet, dans le Val de Travers.. C'est la trajectoire de cette famille de Bagdad arrivé en début d'année dans notre pays... Cette famille sunnite ne souhaite pas s'exprimer à visage découvert, la peur de représailles, pour cet ancien militaire de carrière..	Laisser une vie derrière soi, ~~De~~ quitter l'enfer de Bagdad ~~à la quiétude exige~~ et se retrouver ~~du~~ dans un centre d'acceuil pour réfugiés, dans le Val de Travers.. C'est la trajectoire de cette famille irakienne, arrivée en début d'année dans notre pays. De confession sunnite, cette famille ne souhaite pas s'exprimer à visage découvert, la peur de représailles, pour cet ancien militaire de carrière, le traumatisme aussi de la guerre civile.	/Du jour au lendemain/ laisser une vie derrière soi quitter l'enfer de Bagdad et /et pour/ se retrouver dans un centre d'accueil pour réfugiés dans le Val de Travers. C'est la trajectoire de cette famille irakienne, arrivée en début d'année dans notre pays. De confession sunnite cette famille ne souhaite pas s'exprimer à visage découvert /devant la caméra/. La peur de représailles pour le père, un ancien militaire de carrière. Pour sa femme et ses deux enfants ; le traumatisme ~~aussi~~ de la guerre civile.
c	026		Nous n'avons pas eu d'autre solution que de fuire notre pays. La crainte est permanente, vous sortez de chez vous le matin pour aller travailler, faire des courses au marché, sans savoir si vous allez revoir votre famille, rester en vie.	Nous n'avons pas d'autre solution que de fuir de notre pays. /Vous savez/ la crainte est permanente : Vous sortez de chez vous le matin pour aller travailler, faire des courses au marché sans savoir si vous allez revoir votre famille /si vous allez/ rester en vie. Les américains ont complètement détruit notre pays au prétexte d'imposer la démocratie.
d	035	Menacés de mort dans leur pays, Ils sont parti du jour au lendemain. Trois semaines de galère pour arriver en Suisse.. en voiture de Bagdad à Damas, puis la Turquie où ils parviennent à prendre un avion pour Genève.	~~Menacés de mort dans leur pays,~~ Deux millions d'Irakiens ont fui leur pays depuis le début de l'occupation américaine. ~~Ils sont parti~~ Cette famille est partie du jour au lendemain Trois semaines de galère pour arriver en Suisse.. en voiture de Bagdad à Damas, en Syrie, puis la Turquie où ils parviennent à prendre un avion pour Genève. L'amertume et l'espoir improbable de retourner un jour au pays...	Deux millions d'Irakiens ont fui leur pays depuis le début de l'occupation Américaine. Cette famille est partie ~~du jour au lendemain~~ Trois semaines de galères pour arriver en Suisse. D'abord en voiture de Bagdad à Damas, en Syrie. Puis la Turquie, où ils parviennent à prendre un avion pour gagner Genève et demander asile. ~~L'~~ Beaucoup d'amertume et /aujourd'hui/ l'espoir improbable de retourner un jour au pays.
e			Les Américains ont complétement détruit notre pays, au prétexte d'imposer une démocratie. Depuis la chute de Saddam, la situation est désastreuse ~~La vie est devenu un enfer~~	
	045		~~Nous retrouvé la paix et la tranquillité~~ Grace à Suisse. nous pouvons vivre en paix et en sécurité. Mais on espère que la situation s'arrange dans notre pays, qu'on puisse y rentrer rapidement.	Grâce à la Suisse, nous pouvons vivre en paix et en sécurité. ~~Mais~~ Et on espère que la situation s'arrange dans notre pays, qu'on puisse y rentrer rapidement.
f	048		110 Irakiens sont réfugiés à Neuchâtel, la plupart obtiendront une admission provisoire, peut-être l'asile.. Pour l'instant, la Confédération n'envisage pas de renvoyer ces famiiles... Actuellement, il n'y a pas de renvois sur l'Irak, on s'attend à un long voyage avec eux	110 Irakiens sont réfugiés à Neuchâtel. La plupart obtiendront une admission provisoire, peut-être l'asile. ~~Pour l'instant,~~ Dans l'immédiat la confédération n'envisage pas de renvoyer ces familles /en Irak/.
g		15:35:17:12 15:34:55:08 La chute de Saddam n'a rien fait pour peuple... Je n'ai pas peur de le dire, les Américains ont complétement détruit notre pays, au prétexte d'imposer une démocratie. Depuis la chute de Saddam, la situation est désastreuse. La vie est devenu un enfer 15:37:14:24 La crainte est permanente, vous sortez de chez vous le matin pour aller travailler, faire des courses au marché, sans savoir si vous allez revoir votre famille, rester en vie. 15:44:04:02 Nous retrouvé la paix et la tranquillité grace à Suisse. On espère que la situation s'arrange dans notre pays, qu'on puisse y rentrer..		
h		15:44:04:02 beaux yeux 15:52:29:04 cusiine 15:47:53:19 travelling de fin chemin de fer 15:26:32:20 les amalgames se font ou se font pas entre chiites et sunnites. 15:27:02:03 actuellement il n 'y a pas de renvois sur l'Irak, donc ce sont des personnes qui ont leur traumatisme 15:27:20:11	15:44:04:02 beaux yeux 15:52:29:04 cusiine 15:47:53:19 travelling de fin chemin de fer 15:26:32:20 les amalgames se font ou se font pas entre chiites et sunnites. 15:27:02:03 actuellement il n 'y a pas de renvois sur l'Irak, donc ce sont des personnes qui ont leur traumatisme 15:27:20:11	

Fig. 8 Version analysis of the FAMI item in three production states

O.K. replace "the civil war" by "the trauma also of the civil war" (257). Put concisely, the status of the protagonist was clearly referred to, whereas there were meandering changes of formulations to foreshadow problems the former career officer could face after the regime he had supported was overthrown.

```
De confession sunnite, cette famille ne souhaite pas s'exprimer à
visage découvert, la peur de représailles, pour cet ancien mili-
taire de carrière159[..]159|160160{162[, menacé mort... ]162|163163{
167[...]167|168168{, 170[les menace de|170]170, 256[la guerre civile.
]256}168|172257{le traumatisme aussi de la guerre civile.}257}160
```

Ex. 7   S-notation from the FAMI workplace session, end of the opening sequence
Source: tsr_tj_ 070222_1930_kohler_familleirakienne_snt_1

h₁₅   In the cutting room session, however, the insertion "his wife and his two
children"(Ex. 8, revision 4), immediately followed by a preposed "for" (revision 5),
directs the focus towards his family. When speaking the offtext, O.K. added an
"also" (revision 6). Thus, in the broadcasted version, the emphasis had shifted from
military to family matters (D|2.0, Ex. 2, lines 22–25).

```
De confession sunnite, cette famille ne souhaite pas s'exprimer à
visage découvert, la peur de représailles, pour cet ancien mili-
taire de carrière, 4{ 5{pour }5|6sa femme et ses deux enfants,|5}4 le
traumatisme 6[aussi]6 de la guerre civile.
```

Ex. 8   S-notation from the FAMI cutting room session, end of the opening sequence
Source: tsr_tj_ 070222_1930_kohler_familleirakienne_snt_2

h₁₆   In the example above the emphasis shifted from military to family throughout
the stages of the production process. Likewise, the narrator's voice changed
from assumption to statements in the example below, the conclusion to the
item. At the very end of the workplace session, O.K. had found a concluding
sentence saying that "at the moment the government does not consider sending
these families back" (D|4.0, Ex. 2; Ex. 9, revisions 275–279). However, immediately before
typing this sentence, O.K. had written down at the end of the text a quote with
similar content: "Currently, there is no sending back to Iraq, we are anticipat-
ing being part of this journey with them for a long time" (revisions 266–273). The
quote stems from the interview with the director of the refugee center, who is
not mentioned elsewhere in the item.

```
275{276[pOUR L|276]276,277[ü|277]277, 277Pour l'instant, la
Confé279[r278[enda|278]278érat|279]279 dération n'envisage pas de renvoyer
ces famiiles... }275,266{
-
"A267[Ctuelleme|267]267ctuelleme268[tn,|268]268nt, il n'y a269[pa|269]269
pas de ren271[o270[iv|270]270voi|271]271vois sur l'Irak, on s'attend à
un 272[o|272]272lo273[u|273]273ng voyage avec eux"}266
```

Ex. 9   S-notation from the FAMI workplace session, end of the conclusion
Source: tsr_tj_070222_ 1930_kohler_familleirakienne_snt_1

h₁₇ At the end of the cutting room session, O.K. deleted the quote (Ex. 10, revision 51).[1349]
Beforehand, he had revised the conclusion by changing the initial time indica-
tor from "pour l'instant" to "pour l'heure" and back again to "pour l'instant", to
end up with "dans l'immédiat", meaning "for the time being" (revisions 36–44). In
addition, he corrected a typo in "familes" (revisions 45–46) and deleted the suspen-
sion points at the end (revision 41). It is only when speaking the offtext in the booth
that he added the place indicator and the last words of the item, "en Irak": "For
the time being the government does not consider sending these families back
to Iraq" (Fig. 8, row f). With "Iraq" as the last word, the end of the item explicitly
loops back to the very beginnings of both the anchor's introduction (D|2.0, Ex. 2,
line 1) and the item itself, when the audience is told that and why the refugees left
their home country behind "from one day to the next" (lines 14–15).

```
⁴²[Pour
l'³⁸[i³⁶[nstant]³⁶|₃₇ ₃₇{heuire}³⁷|₃₈]³⁸|₃₉ ³⁹{⁴⁰[heure,|₄₀]⁴⁰instant}³⁹|⁴²|₄₁|₄₃
⁴³{Dans l'immédiat⁴⁴[,|₄₄]⁴⁴|₄₅}⁴³, la Confédération n'envisage pas de
renvoyer ces fami⁴⁵[i]⁴⁵|₄₆ ⁴⁶{l}⁴⁶|₄₇les.⁴¹[.. ]⁴¹|₄₂ ⁴⁷{>_}⁴⁷|₄₈
⁵¹[
"Actuellement, il n'y a pas de renvois sur l'Irak, on s'attend à un
long voyage avec eux"]⁵¹
```

Ex. 10 S-notation from the FAMI cutting room session, end of the conclusion
Source: tsr_tj_ 070222_1930_kohler_familleirakienne_snt_2

h₁₈ Such examples illustrate O.K.'s goal-orientation, flexibility, and perfection-
ism throughout the process even when handling single words or pictures.[1350]
Shortly before deadline, both O.K. and the cutter felt under time pressure due
to upcoming tasks and appointments.[1351] When they realized that the end of the
offtext was not properly recorded yet,[1352] O.K. wanted to re-record not only the
improperly recorded end, but also the beginning, which he found "not good"
either.[1353] Whereas the cutter started swearing about the recording technology,
O.K. seemed pleased with the entire project and the first form of the text: "relax,
it's a good item, we should be happy."[1354]

h₁₉ Indeed, O.K. had done everything necessary to incorporate his initial ideas and
incrementally refine his plans:

- contrasting the distant war with the local peace
- contextualizing instead of reproducing the "very repetitive scenes of violence"
  from Iraq
- exemplifying what it means to be Iraqi refugees in Switzerland
- personalizing the story with "good bits" from an interview
- using strong and metaphorical scenes such as the refugee staring down the river
- explaining the trajectory of the voyage with concise infographics
- omitting or masking faces – which shows the fear the refugees live in
- finding the precise words to "carry the pictures"
- keeping with the schedule for directing, visiting, editing, and finalizing
- integrating the cutter's contribution to improve the visual storytelling

h₁₉   In DST terms, this final state of the text is considered the final attractor, pulling the dynamic system of writing (D|5.1|a₁) like a magnet. On their path towards this final attractor, during the workplace session and the collaboration in the cutting room, O.K. and his colleagues not only added what helped realize the concise five-step story, but also omitted or deleted everything superfluous to it.

- O.K. deleted the unclear assumption at the end of the item that "on s'attend à un long voyage avec eux", meaning that "one" expected the refugees to be allowed to stay in Switzerland for a long time, which was taken from O.K.'s interview with the director of the refugee center (Fig. 8, row f).
- O.K. abandoned the "funny pictures" taken in the kitchen at the refugee center to illustrate patriarchal housekeeping practices in the refugees' culture (see above).
- O.K. renounced discussing or emphasizing that the father of the refugee family had been a career officer under the Saddam Hussein regime and that his family must have belonged to the privileged classes in Iraq before and even during the war (Ex. 7 and Ex. 8).

D|5.1   Integrating Dynamic Systems Theory

Dynamic Systems Theory (DST)[83] is a research framework focusing on principles of change.[84] Systems such as languages[85] or newswriting processes are dynamic; they change continually as their elements and contexts interact. In the context of newswriting for example, if journalists invent new words and these words become part of the general vocabulary over time, language is changed through language use – with impacts upon further language use in "the dynamics of writing" (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, 186).

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83. As the purpose of Linguistics of newswriting is to explain processes and thus dynamics, I prefer the term *Dynamic Systems Theory* (DST) over other widespread terms that focus on other key properties of such systems, such as complexity, nonlinearity or adaptivity. In my summary of DST, I draw primarily on Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, where the applied linguists Diane Larsen-Freeman and Lynne Cameron elaborate on the use of *complexity theory* for the investigation of dynamics in applied linguistics in general and in "first and second language development", "the language classroom", and discourse in particular. In the chapter on "complex systems in discourse" they broach the issue of "the dynamics of written discourse" (185–188) – a reasonable starting point for combining DST and linguistics of newswriting.

84. I follow Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, in understanding the role of DST in social sciences as a theoretical framework, an over-arching approach and even a metaphor that "may not replace existing theories, but rather work at a supra-disciplinary, more abstract level than current theoretical frameworks" (15).

85. As Beckner et al., 2009, put it: "Cognition, consciousness, experience, embodiment, brain, self, human interaction, society, culture, and history are all inextricably intertwined in rich, complex, and dynamic ways in language. Everything is connected. Yet despite this complexity, despite its lack of overt government, instead of anarchy and chaos, there are patterns everywhere. Linguistic patterns are not preordained by God, genes, school curriculum, or other human policy. Instead, they are emergent [...]. We cannot understand these phenomena unless we understand their interplay" (18).

This change can be linear and completely predictable, but also non-linear and unexpected. Explaining it needs to take into account processes and interrelations from individual to global levels and from short to long-term timeframes. Therefore DST treats the complexity and dynamics of its object as integrally as possible.

Dynamic Systems Theory, thus, is a multidisciplinary research framework and theory of how interacting elements and contexts produce the overall behavior of a complex, dynamic system.

DST originated in biology, mathematics, and physics. Later, it was applied to mental and social processes. Today, DST deals with systems as varied as evolution, weather, business organizations – and language.[86] From a structural perspective,[87] doing DST research means reconstructing such a complex system's behavior, through levels and timescales, at a given point in time (Section a). From a dynamics perspective, DST tracks the change of the system in its context (b). From an identity perspective, DST explains emergence and the system's stability in motion (c). From an evaluation perspective, DST considers alternatives to given system states and identifies the control parameters for emergence as the triggers of change (d). From an outcome perspective, finally, DST research results in micro analyses, models, and metaphors of complex dynamic systems (e).

a   *Structures: Zooming through levels and timescales*

From a structures perspective, DST explains what a dynamic system consists of at a given point in time: first, the elements and relations of the system under investigation (a_1); second, its nested levels and timescales (a_2); third, its openness for interaction with other systems (a_3); and fourth, its context (a_4).

a_1 A system consists of interacting elements and relations producing a certain overall behavior at a given time. In a DST view, elements can be dynamic systems themselves. A newsroom, for example, can be seen as a dynamic system consisting of other dynamic systems such as newswriting processes. This dynamic system is embedded in contexts such as audience, sources, public sphere, competitors in media markets, and society at large. In a TV newsroom, the interplay of the systems results in overall activities such as broadcasting at airtimes and conferencing, newsgathering, and newswriting in the time between.

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86.   In their position paper, Beckner et al., 2009, propose a DST approach to explain how language is acquired and used and how it changes. L. Cameron & Deignan, 2006, Ellis & Larsen-Freeman, 2006, Lantolf, 2006, Larsen-Freeman, 2006, and MacWhinney, 2006, focus on emergence in the development, acquisition, and use of language. As Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, 18–19, argue, socio-cultural, interactionist, systemic, integrationist, and ecological approaches to language (e.g. Vygotsky, 1978; Halliday, 1973; Harris, 1993; Sealey & Carter, 2004) overlap with DST in their basic assumption that language use and mental, linguistic, and societal structures are interconnected.

87.   In distinguishing between the four epistemological perspectives of *structure*, *dynamics*, *identity*, and *evaluation*, I am consistent with the MIC epistemology (A|3.3).

a₂   Behavior in such a system happens on various nested and interconnected levels and timescales: from the milliseconds of neural processing to the minutes of newswriting, hours of daily production cycles, years of organizational restructuring, decades of professional careers, centuries of language change, and eons of evolution.[88] On some levels such as daily production cycles of newswriting, the agents are mostly aware of their activity, on other levels such as the domain of journalism, the system behaves beyond the agents' awareness.

a₃   Open systems allow and need particular input and output to maintain their stability: Resources such as source texts enter the dynamic system of newswriting from outside, products such as news items leave it. The dynamic system of writing a single news item is sensitive to initial conditions, unpredictable in parts, and strongly related to ideas that emerge during the writing process. It ends when the deadline is reached or the item is submitted to be broadcasted.

a₄   Ignoring the deadline when writing a single news item could affect the context of this system, namely the overall system that produces news continuously. Conversely, the unpleasant experience of lack of content at airtimes could trigger a stricter management of deadlines and thus change the contextual constraints for the next newswriting processes. Thus, dynamic systems and contexts are mutually and inseparably connected. A dynamic system can initiate changes in its contexts and it can also adapt to changes in its contexts. This is why DST treats context as a part of the complexity and dynamics of a system under investigation.[89]

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88.   An example Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, use to illustrate the complexity of language use is conversation: "Each conversation or meeting contributes to a longer, bigger 'conversation', the complex dynamic system of their ongoing interaction. Each person engaged in the face-to-face conversation can be seen as a complex system of interacting subsystems of continuous ideational, emotional, and physical activity, from the cellular and neural levels upwards to the physical being encountered in the conversation. This individual comes to the conversation from, and with, his or her ontogenetic history." (167) They refer to Schegloff, 2001, 230, who describes conversational interaction as "a form of social organization through which the work of the constitutive institutions of societies gets done – institutions such as the economy, the polity, the family, socialisation, etc. It is, so to speak, sociological bedrock." Doing this work is related to intentions of the agents involved. However, much of the structural effect of situated activity eludes the agents' intentions, e.g. on the level of language change: "Language is thus a consequence of human actions, albeit actions which are only unintentionally transformative" (Keller, 1985, 211).

89.   Synonyms for *context* in DST and related approaches are *environment*, *ecology*, and *ecosystems*. "Speaking ties into a communicative ecology that significantly affects the course of an interaction" (Gumperz, 2001, 221). Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, motivate researchers to be ecologically valid, including context as part of the system(s) under investigation" (241) instead of treating context as a "stable background variable outside the system" (7).

b *Dynamics: Tracking change in context*

From a dynamics perspective, DST investigates systems in time: First, their change in general (b$_1$); second, the often non-linear nature of this change (b$_2$); and third, the crucial role of variability as a "motor[…] of change" (Thelen & Corbetta, 2002, 59) (b$_3$).

b$_1$ Systems are always open to change. DST sees any perceived stability in a system as stability in motion.[90] Elements, relations, and contexts change in their specific timescales as they interact. In this multilevel flow of change, the future states of a dynamic system continuously depend on the respective present states. In the dynamic system of collaborative newswriting, even highly routinized and standardized procedures such as writing a newsflash or embedding a quote are adapted to context each time they are performed. Moreover, revising a peer's text under time pressure can result in rewriting the item and in offhand comments about the author's writing style; the comments can initiate changes in procedures and policies – which in turn will affect future collaboration in newswriting.[91]

b$_2$ Such complex changes are not random, but neither are they completely predictable. New system properties may emerge when a dynamic system adapts to context. As these new properties can change the way a dynamic system behaves, they can also alter the way the system changes. Therefore, change can be non-linear: sudden, radical, dramatic, turbulent, and chaotic instead of just smooth, continuous, and steady. If a newsroom were a simple system, behaving linearly, then adding more workplaces for cutters would proportionally shorten the waiting line of journalists wanting to cut their videos. In a non-linear DST scenario, however, easier access to video workplaces can discourage planning and eventually extend the wait. In an alternative non-linear scenario, easier access motivates experimentation; new, more effective strategies of cutting

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90. Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, 87, illustrate this concept of dynamic stability with the "constant adjustments [that] are required to overcome the force of gravity in order for us to stand erect on two feet" (87) and with swimming: "Without the extra input of energy produced by waggling hands or feet, floating would cease. […] the movements of the swimmer are adaptations made in response to the environment – to the need to prevent sinking" (33).

91. The pre-socratic Greek philosopher Heraclitus conceptualized the world as perpetually changing on all levels and coined the river metaphor: You cannot step twice into the same river. Thus all kinds of seemingly fixed patterns such as genres and standardized writing procedures change over time. As Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, point out, these patterns emerge "in multiple micro-level interactions over time" (189), and "connect upwards into social conventions" (163). Therefore, they are "everywhere, at every level of language" where they "both inform and constrain what is subsequently produced" (81). As all patterns have to be "soft assembled" (Thelen & Corbetta, 2002) in use, that is adapted to context, they are open to variation and thus to change (e.g. Bakhtin, 1986).

might emerge, the cutting time per news item would decrease, and many of the new workplaces would remain under-utilized.[92]

b₃   DST considers variability as the seed of change. The emergence of new strategies in non-linear scenarios can start by varying the cutting procedures and end in different fundamental changes in the overall behavior of the dynamic system. Thus, capturing local variation around stabilized ways of activity is crucial for DST. In contrast to top-down research, DST considers variability as data, not as noise. Smoothing away seemingly senseless details and variability, for instance by statistical averaging, would mean losing crucial information for detecting emergence and explaining change.

c   *Identity: Explaining emergence*

From an identity or uniqueness perspective, DST research aims at explaining how and why a system changes unpredictably – and why it persists even in the face of radical change. The key concepts are emergence (c_1), co-adaptation (c_2), and self-similarity (c_3).

c₁   Changes on one level of a dynamic system can lead to categorically new, emergent properties on a higher level. Such emergence happens for example if revising and criticizing single news reports triggers changes in style policies, or if missed deadlines stimulate a media organization to fundamentally optimize its workflows. The emergent new properties on the higher level of the dynamic system then affect activity on lower levels, for instance stylistic choice or process planning in newswriting. Whereas activities such as qualified criticism or missing deadlines can be identified retrospectively as some of the reasons for the emergence, it is hardly predictable which specific activity will cause it. Thus, emergence produces a new whole which is not reducible to and not explainable by the sum of its parts: emergence is "much coming from little" (Holland, 1998, 2).[93] It is through cycles of such emergence that a dynamic system evolves – and may change fundamentally on particular levels over time. In newswriting, new procedures, skills, policies, workflows, and technologies emerge.

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92.   Two familiar examples by Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, 75: "Weather forecasters can never feed absolutely exact data into their models and so can never predict future weather conditions with complete precision. Teachers can plan lessons very carefully but can never exactly know what learners will bring to the planned lesson, and so outcomes are unpredictable."

93.   Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, illustrate its explicative potential in applied linguistics: "A language, for example, French or Thai, emerges from the multiple interactions of its speakers. Once a language is labeled, in a socio-political act, its use is influenced by its status." (60) "Emergence in learning occurs when new ideas fall into place in an 'a-ha moment'. Once understood, the new knowledge influences other ideas." (59). Learning languages is thus "a succession of cycles of emergence" (60).

c_2 Nevertheless, as long as salient properties change in line with contextual changes, the system maintains its overall identity.[94] Newswriting is, after centuries of change, still newswriting: bound to investigation, facts, recency, and broad impact in a context of public discourse that has also changed in similar ways to newswriting itself. In this way, dynamic systems change in line with their context. *Changing in line with contexts* means changing in mutual response, in co-adaptation, and, in the long term, co-evolution. Elements and relations of a dynamic system perpetually interact, within and beyond the system. Emergence on one particular level of a dynamic system motivates change throughout the system and the context – and feeds back to that level as the co-adapted context fuels future activity.[95] This is what happens when faster technology accelerates newswriting and enables tighter deadlines which call for even faster technology. The behavior of a dynamic system changes, but since the context changes likewise, the system maintains its identity – dynamically.

c_3 In addition, change happens along scalable patterns, self-similar on several levels and timescales. A very general pattern is that throughout a dynamic system most changes are minor, whereas major changes are rare. Specific patterns are formulated in power laws such as Zipf's law, saying that, in a reasonably large corpus of language data, the most frequent word occurs twice as often as the second most frequent in the frequency rank, three times as often as the third, and so on.[96] Here again, the minor (occurrence) is extremely frequent and the major (occurrence) extremely rare. This distribution has remained stable

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94.   Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, 81, provide other examples by comparing the dynamic stability of languages to that of human bodies: "Of course, even though language is open to all sorts of influences and is continually changing, it still somehow maintains an identity as the 'same' language, as do other autopoietic systems, such as the human body, where cells are constantly being created and sloughed off even while a person from all outward appearances remains the same" (81).

95.   To illustrate co-adaptation, Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, refer to "the well known discovery of Huygens in 1794 that two pendulums in clocks swinging in different arcs will eventually swing in synchrony" (119). "The explanation for this is that each pendulum causes vibrations to pass through the wall to the other, perturbing each other's rhythms" (173) until the rhythms are coordinated. A linguistic example: "Speakers influence each other on various dimensions, including the physical, emotional, and conceptual or ideational, when they formulate talk contributions with the other person 'in mind', designing utterances that, for example, will not offend, that will explain adequately and appropriately, or that will be effective in achieving goals" (173).

96.   The linguist George K. Zipf found the same patterns of word frequency in English, Latin, and Chinese. He summarized that this meant "finding for the acts of speech what physicists have long since found for the acts of inanimate nature: behind all the apparent diversity and complexity of the phenomena lies the sameness of fundamental dynamic principle."

throughout centuries of language change. These are good reasons to search for similar scalable patterns in writing processes in general and newswriting in particular.[97]

d   *Evaluation: Finding the control parameters of change*

From an evaluation perspective, DST links what a system does at a given point in time with alternative states – and with the conditions fostering particular states and constraining others. In doing so, DST outlines the state space as the landscape of the potential trajectories the dynamic system under investigation could follow on its way from one state to another state through shifts (d_1). DST identifies, second, the attractors in this state space that stabilize the system (d_2), and third, the control parameters that determine its trajectory (d_3).

d_1 DST calls the overall behavior of a system in a given time a state. A shift is the dramatic change between very different states of a system. At any particular moment, a system is in a particular state, performing a particular pattern of behavior. Any system state at any particular point in time is just one of many ways in which a dynamic system could behave at that point in time. The synopsis of all possible states of the system is its state space. In the example of the newsroom, the state space includes three typical states: Conferencing, Newswriting, and Broadcasting. The simplified system of the newsroom shifts cyclically from one state to the next on its trajectory through the state space.[98]

(Zipf, 1949, 126). It can be assumed that Zipf's law "holds in all languages where it has been tested" (Ferrer i Cancho, 2006, 131).

97.   Clauset, Shalizi, & Newman, 2009, scrutinized and re-analyzed 24 sets of real-world data from studies whose authors assumed that the data structure followed power laws similar to Zipf's law. Clauset et al. found that most of the data sets followed power laws or similar regularities. Examples are "The frequency of occurrence of unique words in the novel *Moby Dick*" (best fit in the sample), "The number of citations received between publication and June 1997 by scientific papers published in 1981 and listed in the Science Citation Index", and "Sizes of email address books of computer users at a large university" (677).

98.   Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, visualize the state space as a landscape with valleys: In a conversation, the state space "represents the probabilities of various modes or phases of discourse behavior, and the trajectory is carved out as a particular conversation moves from one mode to another. The trajectory is a trace of the conversation, showing the choices made and directions taken. […] The valleys are attractors in the system, preferred modes of conversational behavior that the system tends to return to. A valley with steep sides indicates a stable mode of conversational behavior that will be difficult to move out of; for example, talk between disaffected couples or warring neighbors may quickly move into argument no matter where it begins. (175) A change of topic may move the conversation into a different region of state space […]. (176) Sequences that are routinized in conversation will be gentle attractors that the talk system moves into and out of as the conversation proceeds." (177)

The more finely graded an analysis of a dynamic system is, the greater the number of states in the state space. In the newsroom, the state of Newswriting then might expand to three states: Defining the task, Writing the text, and Implementing the product. The state of Writing the text can further expand to Setting the goal, Planning the text, Controlling the writing flow, and Revising the text. No matter how fine the gradation, change will happen smoothly within the preferred states and dramatically in the shifts between them.

d₂   Preferred states are called attractors in DST: They are the states into which a dynamic system preferably moves. The simplified system of the newsroom moves cyclically among the three attractors Conferencing, Newswriting, and Broadcasting. Such attractors are called cyclic attractors. In addition to this type, there are two others: fixed point and strange attractors. A fixed point attractor is where a dynamic system prefers to settle down. In a dynamic system of writing a single news item, a fixed point attractor is reached when the final version of the text is ready for publication. In contrast, a strange attractor is where a system shows high responsiveness and unstable behavior; a minute change in input can produce a dramatic change in behavior.[99] Reviewing the text produced so far in the face of surprising new information is such a strange attractor.[100]

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99.   A dynamic system pulled into a fixed point attractor behaves "like a pendulum […] dampened by friction" (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, 57), In a strange attractor, in contrast, the system is sensitive to minute changes. This is what the meteorologist Edward Lorenz illustrated with the butterfly metaphor: "Predictability: does the flap of a butterfly's wings in Brazil set off a tornado in Texas?" Lorenz is said to have coined this metaphor with the title of a presentation about problems of weather forecasting (Lorenz, 1972).

100.   Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, describe "the dynamic processes of composition" as "the trajectory of a complex system, in which the 'final' text emerges as a fixed point attractor. This compositional system contains multiple interacting subsystems. […] Interacting dynamic systems and subsystems would include the individual people involved as writers, readers, publishers, etc; their language and other resources; the publishing system. Each system or subsystem may have human agents, material elements such as computers, paper, pens, and intra-individual elements such as written language resources and skills. Within each system, agents and elements are connected through multiple relations: writer and publisher are connected through publishing contracts; the writer's language resources are connected to physical elements through such relations as computer skills or repetitive strain injury. The state space landscape of the compositional system is influenced by history and convention in the form of previously emerged routines and patterns, both ontogenetic and phylogenetic. As the text is composed, it moves through different versions, changing and adapting in the process of composition. This dynamic operates not just at the whole text level but with variability at all levels, selecting the best word, trying out several ways of writing the same idea, adapting syntactic formulations of clauses and sentences, moving around paragraph content and sections. Eventually the text stabilizes into a form that stops changing, and that we can see as a

An attractor thus pulls the dynamic system like a magnet: It is easy for the system to move into a strong attractor; but once a system is there, a push is needed to send it out again. In the newsroom example, it takes such a push to get people ready for the newsroom conference in time. At the end of the conference, it can be hard to finish on time and start researching. The same goes for the transitions between activities of text production: Once in research mode, writers might find it hard to stop gathering information and to start writing. In text production mode, some feel more attracted to revising the text they have written so far than to composing new text. Eventually, close to the deadline, they might have problems to stop revising and post their items for publication.

d₃   DST is interested in the forces that keep systems moving in their trajectories, despite attractors. The pushes to overcome attractors come from drivers in the dynamic system. The drivers help the system move around the state space, avoid certain attractors, meet others, and leave them again. Motivation is an example of such a driver, helping a dynamic system of reflexive newswriting to switch between the attractors of routinized activity and purposeful learning. This means alternating between newswriting routines and breaking out of these routines, trying out new procedures, and enhancing repertoires of writing strategies and techniques. As the drivers control the trajectory of the dynamic system in its state space, they are also called control parameters. Finding out what they are leads to knowing what made the system follow this trajectory instead of others. It facilitates interventions to the system, for instance in transdisciplinary projects (D|3.1).[101]

e   *Outcomes: Micro analyses, models, and metaphors*
     of dynamic systems

From an outcomes perspective, doing DST research means exploring and explaining behavior within and across very different levels and timescales. As DST considers everything to be connected with everything else, decontexualizing

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fixed point attractor in the compositional trajectory." (187) Thus, although a written text "is not in itself dynamic", it "can be part of multiple dynamic systems, through its composition and through its reading and use". (186)

101.   Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, 54, use motivation as an example for a control parameter in language learning: "In the language learning situation, motivation might seem a candidate control parameter in that it will help keep the learning system moving across its state space, avoiding attractors such as preference for watching television over doing homework. [...] Control parameters are the key to understanding change in complex systems – if they can be identified, then we know what drives the system and are able to intervene."

and atemporalizing single phenomena are out of the question.[102] Instead, DST research foregrounds certain aspects and investigates them in more detail, but remains open to contextual behavior that might explain change. This calls for multi-method approaches combining in-depth case studies (e₁), dense corpora (e₂), and modeling (e₃).

e₁ Case studies can reveal where, when, how and why change happens on the micro level of situated activity. In the critical situation of newswriting, a new pattern of process management or product design can emerge when a journalist tries to juggle conflicting expectations. If the new pattern succeeds, it might become part of that journalist's repertoire. Understanding such micro processes means shifting from a static view of newswriting to the dynamic perspective of DST. An identity perspective allows us to see the micro development as representing a principle also underlying changes on higher levels and larger timescales.[103] Finally, an evaluation perspective identifies control parameters of micro change.

e₂ Tracing micro development needs dense corpora with rich procedural data over short periods of time: The activities of collaborative writing and conferencing in the newsroom have to be captured as broadly and in as much detail as possible. In contrast, tracing change on macro levels and timescales of the newsroom, journalism or even society in general needs large corpora: The samples have to be large enough to allow for generalization, the sampling intervals close enough to infer variability and shifts in state, and the data collection prolonged enough to grasp long-term change. Combining dense and large corpora enables researchers to situate micro development within the context of macro development.

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102.   Analysis in a DST view is a complex enterprise, "antithetical to the common reductionist approach in science, which relies on a central principle that one can best understand an object of inquiry by taking it apart and examining its pieces. From a complexity theory perspective, knowing about the parts individually is insufficient because complexity theorists are interested in understanding how the interaction of the parts gives rise to new patterns of behavior" (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, 231).

103.   Thelen & Corbetta, 2002, describe the study of micro development as "the study of the processes of change, not only the endpoints". (59) "The goal of microdevelopmental studies is to understand change itself: what are the mechanisms by which people forgo old ways of behaving and adapt new ones." (60) Micro developments are "the motors of change" (59). Because of the self-similarity of dynamic systems, it can be assumed that "the processes that cause change in a matter of minutes or hours are the same as those working over months or years. In other words, the general principles underlying behavioral change work at multiple time scales." (60)

e₃   However, DST research also proceeds heuristically, starting with assumptions instead of data. In this case, the processes of change in a dynamic system are reconstructed through the "art" (Beckner et al., 2009, 13) of modeling: simulations and analogies are tested against reality for best fit. Such modeling or simulation makes particular sense when change over long timeframes is investigated.[104] The outcome of a computer simulation is compared with observations of the real-world system under investigation. Relations are redesigned and parameters adjusted until the model allows functional predictions to be tested. The dynamic model simulates change through iteration of algorithms: Rules are applied in loops where the output of one loop is the input for the next. Thus, the mechanisms of change in the model are known and can be taken as metaphors for the principles of change in the real world system.[105]

f   *Summary: Strengths and limitations*

To sum up, doing DST enables researchers to understand the structures of systems such as languages or newswriting processes at given points in time and at different levels of complexity (Section a). In particular, DST tracks the dynamics, the often non-linear change of such systems in their – also – dynamic context (b). Variability is identified as the motor of emergence and thus of smooth or even radical change (c). However, due to co-adaption and self-similarity, systems can change in line with their contexts and thus persist in the face of change. From a practical point of view, DST research aims at finding the control parameters that enable or constrain emergence (d). Thus, change in complex, dynamic systems can be modeled and explained in general, albeit not predicted in detail (e).

In providing tools to understand complexity and change in general and non-linear change in particular, DST allows explanations of the seemingly

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104.   An example for research topics beyond the empirical is long-term language change or language evolution. As Beckner et al., 2009, argue in their position paper: "Detailed, dense longitudinal studies of language use and acquisition are rare enough for single individuals over a time course of months. Extending the scope to cover the community of language users and the timescale to cover language evolution and change is clearly not feasible. Thus, our corpus studies and psycholinguistic investigations try to sample and focus on times of most change and interactions of most significance. However, there are other ways to investigate how language might emerge and evolve as a CAS [complex adaptive system]. A valuable tool featuring strongly in our methodology is mathematical or computational modeling" (12).

105.   A metaphor is not an explanation. Modeling is primarily oriented towards best fit of predictions. "[…] and one can ask whether having a model reproduce observed phenomena proves the specific set of assumptions that went into it. The answer is, of course, negative. However, greater confidence in the assumptions can be gained if a model based on existing data and theories makes new, testable predictions" (Beckner et al., 2009, 14).

unpredictable such as the emergence of new ideas, practices, and solutions. Metaphors such as the sand-pile-and-avalanche analogy[106] help people understand the idea of regularities in apparent chaos, and models help identify and test control parameters of change. Knowing more about these control parameters means being able to intervene in complex dynamic processes, for example by changing in a targeted way a particular writer's awareness or the physical settings of newswriting.

Like Realist Social Theory, DST is very open and non-committal in terms of project design, as long as variation can be investigated. In practical projects, DST needs to be combined with other research frameworks: Ethnography (D|1.1) is experienced in investigating settings of micro development such as writing processes where practices can emerge and trigger the change of editorial policies. Grounded Theory (D|2.1) reflects on problems of generalization, for example from tracking single cases of micro development to explaining a system's self-similarity throughout levels and timescales. Transdisciplinary Action Research helps implement new knowledge about control parameters in practical fields (D|3.1). Finally, Realist Social Theory (D|4.1) theoretizes the multi-layered *context* of systems such as languages or newswriting in a pre-existing and partly very durable semiotic, social, and physical world.

D|5.2 The example of the MODELING WRITING PHASES project

The reasons to include DST as a supplementary framework for knowledge generation and transformation became apparent in the MODELING WRITING PHASES project (2011–2013). Besides explaining emergence theoretically, DST offers modeling to handle the apparent paradox of complexity theories: predicting the unpredictable. In the research project, our team set up DST procedures to develop a statistically sound typology of writing phases and to relate it to context factors such task types and writers' experience. One of the corpora we drew on is from the IDÉE SUISSE project, containing the contextualized progression data from 120 newswriting processes by fifteen journalists. The outcome of this project allows for the computerized diagnosis of possible progression problems and appropriate feedback during writing (Ex. 11).

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106. Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, 231, use the example and metaphor of the sand pile to illustrate the integrative epistemology of DST: "when a sand pile avalanches, we can never know which particular grain of sand will produce the avalanche that collapses the pile. What we know is that if sand keeps being added to the pile, eventually a large avalanche will occur. We also know about avalanche patterns. Because we know these things, we can articulate an explanation at a higher level, i.e. our explanation of sand pile avalanches is expressed in terms of the structure and stability of the sand pile, rather than about the behavior of individual grains of sand."

I. Writing phases

Phase models of the text production process basically assume that different writing activities predominate during different time periods in the process. These time periods of activities can be recognized by more or less homogeneous time series dynamics in the data. Most of the newer models describe the writing process as incremental, increasing at every level. Far-reaching decisions such as those concerning topic planning as well as local actions such as correcting a typographical error are possible at any time but not equally functional and therefore not equally probable at all times. Furthermore, phases can overlap each other and recur in cycles. […]

Based on such preliminary calculations and considerations, we identified four types of phases that appear in the writing processes under investigation: (a) walking, (b) dancing, (c) skipping, and (d) jumping. According to which of these phases were dominant in a writing process, we identified five types of writing processes: (I) linear, (II) engraved, (III) iterative, (IV) fragmentary, and (V) chaotic. Below, we first describe the types of phases (a–d), next we describe the types of writing processes (I–V).

Types of phases

a.   During walking phases, the writer proceeds from one revision to the next without big jumps, always from top to bottom. When observing such a phase, the text evolves as if a computer reproduced a previously stored text character by character – interrupted only by casual corrections of typographical errors (see Fig. 8).

b.   During dancing phases, the writer proceeds mainly from top to bottom but often jumps back to revise parts of the text just written – the previous sentence, for example (see Fig. 9, particularly Sections E and F).

c.   During skipping phases, the writer jumps over longer distances in the same direction in the text. Typically, this phase occurs at the end of the process when the writer reads the almost finished text from top to bottom and makes final revisions (see Fig. 12, Section I).

d.   During jumping phases, the writer jumps over longer distances in different directions in the text (see Fig. 12, second half of Section G).

Types of writing processes

I.   Linear writing processes are characterized by a predominance of walking phases (see Fig. 8): the author writes the text from top to bottom with only casual corrections of typographical errors.
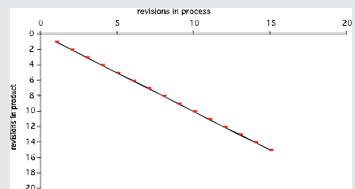
II. Engraved writing processes are characterized by a predominance of dancing phases from top to bottom (see Fig. 9): the author writes mainly from top to bottom, but often stops to revise paragraphs or sentences that have just been written.
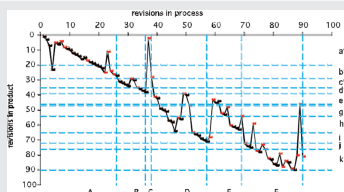
III. Iterative writing processes are characterized by a predominance of walking or dancing phases that cover the same parts of the text (see Fig. 10): the author writes a first version of the text and then continues to go over it several times.
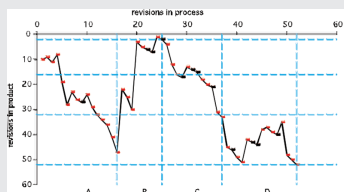
IV. Fragmentary writing processes are characterized by relatively short phases of walking and dancing, interrupted by jumping: the author writes parts of the text in a quite linear way but jumps between paragraphs (see Fig. 11).
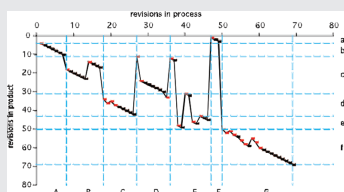
For example, instead of writing the first paragraph, proceeding to the second, and ending with the third, the author writes a part of the third paragraph first, then writes the first paragraph, works again on the third, and ends with the second.

V. Chaotic writing phases are characterized by many jumping phases (see Fig. 12): the author jumps back and forth in the text, simultaneously working on several fronts.
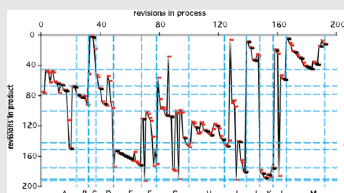
[…] We will also work on a statistical model that may enable us to automatically discern phases of writing processes. Also, by deriving new distance measures (between progression graphs), we hope to be able to characterize and compare various authors and to measure 'performances' (for example before and after a dedicated writing course). From an applied perspective, this knowledge can be used to improve or compare writing performances of individuals (adults or children) and to (re-) design writing courses.

Scientific approaches to writing may soon base their phase concepts and phase descriptions not only on introspection, experiments, and single case studies but also on statistical modeling based on large corpora of data from various fields.

Ex. 11 Excerpts from an article on the MODELING WRITING PHASES project
(Perrin, Fürer, Gantenbein, Sick, & Wildi, 2011)

D|5.3 Recommendations for project design on the DST level

The examples (D|5.0 and D|5.2) and the discussion (D|5.1) have shown strengths and weaknesses of DST as a research framework supplementing ethnography: Change and emergence in complex systems are thoroughly explained and modeling is recommended; for project designs, however, DST has to be combined with complex statistics and complementary research frameworks such as those presented above (D|1–D|4). These properties need to be considered in the design of research and transformation projects, such as those oriented towards developing and shaping practitioners' medialinguistic mindsets of newswriting (C|4.3).

From a structures perspective, DST connects systems throughout levels and timescales (D|5.1|a). This requires focus and perspectives to capture the relevant features without getting lost in the infinite space of interrelations. In transdisciplinary research, practitioners' focus, needs and experience contribute to balancing depth and breadth.

From a dynamics perspective, DST tracks change in context (D|5.1|b). This requires, first, methods to capture change in complex context from relevant perspectives. Second, it requires transformation tools such as a language to talk about the dynamics identified, for example S-notation (E|1.3) or progression graphs (E|2.1).

From an identity perspective, DST explains emergence as the key concept of change (D|5.1|c). This requires project designs that capture microdevelopment as the starting point of emergence and relate it to change on higher levels. Providing empirical evidence of the emergence of good practice models can foster knowledge transformation.

From an evaluation perspective, DST identifies the control parameters of change (D|5.1|d). This requires modeling and reflecting on conditions that constrain or foster emergent solutions, for example in a newsroom affected by austerity measures. Experience (D|2) and negotiations across professional backgrounds (C|1.0; C|2.0) have proved interesting candidates.

From an outcomes perspective, DST results in micro analyses, models, and metaphors of dynamic systems (D|5.1|e). This seduces transformation-oriented researchers to limit DST to an explicative metaphor. However, newswriting research can provide large data corpora to mine for dynamic patterns – and deep case studies to validate the statistical findings with.

D|6 Summary and conclusion

Part D has presented the FAMI case in all its detail to illustrate the strengths and limitations of the five research frameworks considered here. The case analysis has shown that emergent ideas can expand to a straight and flexible five-step plot (D|5.0|h$_{11}$). In other case studies, emergence has led to a stereotype-breaking leitmotif (A|2) or a new way of integrating amateur videos (C|1). The analyses have shown that these and many other practices result in items with the potential to promote public understanding.

Such knowledge about how and why situated micro-activity of newswriting interconnects to macrostructures from workplace settings up to organizations and societies can be identified in the newsrooms as tacit knowledge, systematized in research, and transferred back to practitioners on individual and organizational levels and society at large. In doing so, shaping the medialinguistic mindset is a precondition, a goal, and a consequence of knowledge transformation:

- a precondition, because practitioners need a certain medialinguistic awareness before they can anticipate advantages of collaborating in projects such as IDÉE SUISSE;

- a goal, because wider, deeper, and more flexible mindsets distinguish experienced from less experienced journalists and foster emergent solutions in critical situations;

- a consequence, because mutual learning about newswriting raises the awareness of, interest in and knowledge about empirically documented regularities in one's work.

Just as with knowledge generation, such knowledge transformation between science, practice, and society at large depends on research frameworks. As explained in this part's theoretical chapters (D|1.1, 2.1, 3.1, 4.1, and 5.1), research frameworks combine basic ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions: they define the relation between the world, the knowledge about it, and the methods about how to generate and process this knowledge. In doing so, they organize the way previous knowledge is accessed, research questions emerge and are formulated, data are gathered and analyzed, findings are generated and evaluated, and theories are developed and applied.

Thus, deciding on a particular research framework or combination of frameworks means focusing on particular aspects of the object under investigation – and giving less priority to the others (B|2). Several research frameworks have proved useful in the investigation of language in general and language use, or even writing, in particular.

In product-related frameworks, researchers primarily draw on final communicational offers such as written texts or media items in order to scrutinize public discourse from an external point of view. In contrast, ethnography also aims at understanding its objects of study from an insider's perspective and relate it to the researchers' external perspective. Ethnographic researchers are interested in discovering what the people and communities under investigation actually do and why they do it, or put differently, why it makes sense to them. Thus, writing research in ethnographic research frameworks focuses on processes of text production and on sense-making practices of writers instead of only analyzing products.

Classical ethnography, however, tends to be limited to single case studies. Writing research can overcome this limitation by combining ethnography with complementary research frameworks (Fig. 9):

- with Grounded Theory (GT) in order to develop theories that are grounded in data and explicit procedures of generalization (D|2);
- with Transdisciplinary Action Research (TD) in order to systematically share knowledge with the practitioners involved and to solve practical problems together (D|3);
- with Realist Social Theory (RST) in order to relate situated activity such as writing to social macro structures such as social settings and contextual resources (D|4);
- with Dynamic Systems Theory (DST) in order to model conditions that foster emergence and functional change in complex dynamic settings (D|5).

Apart from their differences, the five research frameworks share properties of all the perspectives discussed: In a *structures* view, they start from multitudes of perspectives, stakeholders, layers, and systems. In a dynamics view, they suggest cyclic procedures of knowledge generation and transformation. In an identity view, they are oriented towards sense making and development. In an evaluation view, they favor reflective project practice that adjusts to the lessons learned. In an outcomes view, finally, they provide situated knowledge about what works for whom under which circumstances. Sharing this knowledge in open databases fosters transformation beyond the projects discussed (Part E).

	Ethnography	GT	TD	RST	DST
Focus	case study	+ generalization	+ real-world problem	+ social relevance	+ dynamics
Structure	reflecting prior knowledge and field data	comparing prior and new knowledge	connecting stakeholders and a real-world problem	relating human agency and a layered social structure	zooming through levels and timescales
Dynamics	engaging in cases and small samples	sampling theoretically, till saturation	looping knowledge generation and transformation	outlining the micro-macro interplay	tracking change in context
Identity	understanding participants' perspectives	building theories by coding data	solving the problem in a sustainable way	contextualizing situated activity in a real world	explaining emergence and change
Evaluation	exposing the problems of generalization	monitoring the process by memos	handling the risks of crossing borders	overcoming the positivist– constructivist divide	finding the control parameters of change
Outcome	rich points and stories of meaningful practice	empirically grounded mid-range theories	solutions for practice, science, and society at large	mid-range theories of situated activity in context	micro analyses, models, and metaphors of dynamic systems

Fig. 9   Key properties of ethnography and the four supplementary research frameworks

Dissemination

Fostering knowledge transformation through open databases

In the previous parts of the book, I argued that shaping the medialinguistic mindset provides added value for all fields involved in the linguistics of newswriting. I then outlined five extensive research projects designed to shape medialinguistic mindsets by specific and increasingly complex knowledge transformation. But how can the transformation potential of such projects be systematically exploited?

In this final part, I reconsider the empirical basis of knowledge transformation: the data corpora. I explain how their architecture and maintenance affect their accessibility to users from all the fields involved and their potential for inter-disciplinary and transdisciplinary discourse. With appropriately-designed and well-managed databases, research data in newswriting processes can be made available to scientific communities worldwide. The chapters of Part E are:

E|1   **Processing ecological data from and for humans and computers**: accessing data (E|1.1); collecting data (E|1.2); transforming data (E|1.3); annotating data (E|1.4); labeling data (E|1.5).

E|2   **Layering corpora of media text production**: integrating progression graphs for the first layer of corpora (E|2.1); composing typologies for the second layer of corpora (E|2.2); developing toolboxes for the third layer of corpora (E|2.3).

E|3   **Stimulating transformation discourse**: building digital repositories (E|3.1); designing research-based assignments (E|3.2); writing research-based textbooks (E|3.3); teaching based on research and corpora (E|3.4); training based on research and corpora (E|3.5); consulting based on research and corpora (E|3.6); integrating research and practice discourses (E|3.7).

E|4   **Summary and conclusion**

In Chapter E|1, I present principles of data management that facilitate the ecological generation and use of research data. In E|2, I develop four layers of newswriting data, from single propositions and revisions on a zero level to toolboxes of good practice models on the fourth. In E|3, I condense a set of corpus-related practices, for example building and maintaining digital repositories of empirically-grounded knowledge about newswriting. These practices help stimulate transformation discourse in and across all of the disciplines involved, such as applied linguistics and journalism. Finally, Chapter E|4 summarizes Part E in context of the entire book.

Processing ecological data from and for humans and computers

In this chapter, I present principles of ecological data management that foster the integrated knowledge generation and transformation presented in the book. By *ecological* I mean unobtrusive integration into natural settings such as workplaces (e.g. Cicourel, 2007). *Data management* comprises accessing, collecting, transforming, annotating, and labeling data, as explained below.

Accessing data: newsrooms are full of sources of natural data about language use. In contexts where cameras and computers are familiar tools, data can be collected simultaneously or post-hoc without affecting the process under investigation. Ecological research ideally accesses its data sources without altering the settings. In doing so, though, it still has to deal with technical, legal, and psychological issues (E|1.1).

Collecting data: at digital workplaces, natural data are exchanged and can be gathered at human-human interfaces, such as negotiations between journalists and cutters, at computer-human interfaces, such as keyboards or screens, and at interfaces within computers. Ecological research is limited to the interfaces accessible at the workplaces, but elaborated procedures of data collection help in exploiting them (E|1.2).

Transforming data: once collected, the data are processed quantitatively, for example when progression graphs are generated, and qualitatively, for example when case stories are written up. Therefore, newswriting research has developed data formats and transformation procedures that allow for detailed and global analyses, for statistics and storytelling, and for publication across media (E|1.3).

Annotating data: Natural data from newsrooms are still hard to acquire. Therefore, ecological processing includes preparing data for multiple use and secondary analyses. This requires carefully-considered and consistent data formats and annotations – throughout and, if possible, between research projects (E|1.4).

Labeling data: transdisciplinary approaches to real-world problems result in a multitude of data reconstructing the object under investigation from different perspectives. Transparent nomenclature for data storage facilitate retrieval by humans and computers (E|1.5).

E|1.1   Accessing data

Newsrooms are ideal settings for direct access to natural data about writing. Journalists, anchors, and producers leave their traces in the computer files they collaborate on. From a technical point of view, researchers have to develop and implement software that will unobtrusively log data generated in the background of the editing systems. Moreover, television journalists such as those investigated in the Idée suisse project are accustomed to cameras. Additional recording devices in conference and cutting rooms do not to seem to bother them, especially not after weeks of being in place. Such data collection logistics can be solved with technical and organizational experience.

Legal issues can be more challenging. Preparing for the Idée suisse recordings took a year and started with negotiations with the broadcaster's legal service. The result was contracts specifying, for example, that during the five weeks of recordings, a member of the research team had to be available on-site. Their job was to monitor the automatic recordings from the logging software and video cameras – and to delete whatever the journalists did not want to have included in the research corpus before the data were saved for the project. Every journalist participating in the project had the right to prevent their data from being included in the corpus or being analyzed. Interestingly, only one of the journalists from the three newsrooms investigated ever exercised this right.

How can this be explained? – The long preparation time for the Idée suisse field phase (B|2.0) had been used mainly to build trust between the journalists and the researchers and establish a consensus about shared goals. Both the media managers and the journalists participated in the transdisciplinary process from the beginning (D|3.1|b$_1$). Editors-in-chief, training managers, and representatives from the newsroom staff were able to contribute their ideas during the project planning phase, and every single journalist was invited to discuss the project with the research team before any computer or video recordings were started. Based on his experience with previous similar, albeit smaller research projects, the head of the research team could provide convincing evidence that the journalists involved would benefit from feedback sessions about their individual and organizational practices. This helped to get and keep the journalists on board, even subsequent to the completion of the project when research findings were presented.

E|1.2   Collecting data

Ecological research in the newsroom gathers data at interfaces where they are exchanged in daily routines anyway. At first, this happens at the human-human interface, in sessions with the cutter or editorial conferences. In such settings, the Idée suisse recordings captured spoken language and, depending on the camera position, body language as well (C|1.0|h₃). Data collection at this interface can follow the principles elaborated in research frameworks for the analysis of everyday and workplace talk, such as conversation analysis.

At human-computer interfaces, the research into newswriting can capture activities on keyboards and screens as the main input and output devices. To record screen activity, commercial solutions such as Camtasia software are available (e.g. Degenhardt, 2006). In the Idée suisse project, the on-site researchers in the newsroom used their own computer to record the screen activities of the journalist under investigation each week. In this newsroom, the IT support system allowed for screen signals from one computer to be transmitted to another. As a result, the process of screenrecording could be monitored, the large video files of the screen activities were stored in one place, and only one license for the Camtasia software was needed.

At the input end of the human-computer interface, keyboard activity can be transcribed manually from screen recordings or recorded automatically by keylogging software (e.g. Spelman Miller, 2006; Strömqvist, Holmqvist, Johansson, Karlsson, & Wengelin, 2006). Ecological keylogging in the field requires customized solutions (e.g. Perrin, 2006b); standard applications (e.g. Van Waes, Leijten, & Neuwirth, 2006) do not fit seamlessly into such settings.

As there are no ecologically accessible interfaces for thoughts, data about conceptualizations and intentions have to be generated especially for research purposes, but still as ecologically as possible. Retrospective verbalizations match these needs if they are collected after the journalists have implemented their products. This avoids disturbing the work in the newsroom while it is in process. Subsequent text production, however, may be affected by journalists' self-reflexive processes triggered by the verbalization itself (B|3.3). Therefore, the Idée suisse research design specified only one retrospective verbalization protocol per journalist (B|3.0).

E|1.3 Transforming data

Once collected, the data are processed quantitatively and qualitatively. Newswriting research as presented in previous chapters has developed basic data formats for both approaches: the revision and the proposition. In all our projects, they function as the coding units (B|3.0) for all activities and mental representations. Related to these formats are standardized transformation procedures and notation systems.

In the tradition of computer-based writing research (e.g. Severinson-Eklundh & Sjöholm, 1991), a revision is the minimal procedural unit of writing processes, whereas writing process refers to all activities involved in producing written language within a text production process. This is the activity complex in which a written text is generated in order to meet a particular purpose and to accomplish a task.

Revisions consist of a sequence of operations to either insert a single stretch of characters in a growing text or delete a single stretch of characters from it. All revisions are categorized as either insertions or deletions. An insertion consists of a continous stretch of characters that is added to an existing text anywhere but at the end. A deletion consists of any stretch of characters that is eliminated from a text.

According to this definition, more complex procedures within writing processes, such as the overall process of revising a draft version of a text, are not considered revisions. The product of such a process, a new version of the text, is also not a revision according to this definition.

The sequence of revisions of a writing process is transcribed in S-notation: This transcription standard marks insertions and deletions and indicates their sequence in the writing process (Severinson-Eklundh & Kollberg, 1996). Wherever the writing is interrupted to delete or add something, S-notation inserts the break-character $|_n$ in the text. Deleted passages are in ^{n}[square brackets]^n and insertions in ^{n}{curly braces}^{n}, with the subscript and superscript numbers indicating the order of these steps.

In the following example from the Leba case (A|2.0), the word *express* is deleted first, then the word *tranquille* is inserted. This happens after the first version of this section of text is written, as is evident from the deletion of the *e* further on in the text, which takes place sixteen revisions earlier in the process. The underlining indicates the text that appears in the final version (Ex. 1).

```
par la voie ²⁰[express]²⁰|₂₁²¹{tranquille}²¹ de la Médit⁴[e|₄]⁴érannée
```

Ex. 1   Revisions from the LEBA case
Source: tsr_tj_070214_1245_guillet_libanon_snt_3

On a material level, writing processes can be observed as sequences of revisions, as seen above: as the situated activity of applying stretches of language onto an optically readable medium – or deleting them from it.

On a mental level, however, writing processes include all cognitive activities related to the production of written language. Key elements are thoughts that emerge from the interaction of the authors' psychobiographies with the sources and with the text under construction. On a socio-cognitive level, finally, writing takes place within contextual resources and the related social settings and collaborative practices. Key elements are cultural values and editorial norms constraining or enabling decisions about text production. On these levels removed from sheer physical activity, writing processes are described in a propositional format.

A proposition is the mental reconstruction of a newswriting practice, for example ADJUSTING TEXT TO WHAT PICTURES SHOW. The propositional format is: [to do X]. As abstract units, propositions are not part of the data, but manifest themselves in data such as interviews or segments of verbal protocols. In the retrospective verbal protocol from the LEBA case for example, the proposition ADJUSTING TEXT TO WHAT PICTURES SHOW is expressed in an utterance about the term *express*way not being a good idea, given the speed of the boats in the pictures (Ex. 2). Because they are inferred from the data, propositions are represented by open codes in the Grounded Theory framework $(D|2.2|c_3)$.

```
0181   express quand on voit la vitesse des bateaux
0182   ce n'est pas une bonne idée
0183   donc je vais changer
```

Ex. 2   Verbal protocol from the LEBA case
Source: tsr_tj_070214_1230_guillet_libanon_verbal

E|1.4   Annotating data

Obtaining multi-perspective data unobtrusively is challenging for all parties involved. As a consequence, ecological research prepares the data for multiple use across data corpora, research projects, and domains. This requires reflected and consistent annotation on two levels: providing site context and providing corpus context.

- Providing site context means adding the information needed to reconstruct, in later analyses, the conditions under which a writing process was realized. The ethnographically-based multimethod approach of the Idée suisse project (B|3.0) ensures rich context information, as the case stories illustrate (A|2.0). From a data management perspective, it is difficult to maintain an overview of such corpora, with their numerous cases and various types of data. Therefore, we provide basic context information in the filenames in a logical, consistent, and transparent way in all our projects and corpora. This principle of combining annotation and nomenclature facilitates searches in large corpora. It is illustrated for the Idée suisse corpus in E|1.5, Fig. 2.

- Providing corpus context means linking information across the data formats and files of a corpus. An example is the code list, where every code name is annotated with a code description, an exemplary excerpt from verbal data, a list of concepts and categories with which the code is associated, and a list of cases in which it appears (Fig. 1).

Code name	Adjusting text to what pictures show
Description	Making sure that the text says something that fits the pictures.
Differentiation	In this code, the emphasis is on the necessity that the text as a whole has to be compatible with the pictures shown. In contrast, the code Adjusting text to Picture rhythm means structuring the text in a way that the words and sentences will be spoken just as the corresponding pictures appear.
Excerpt	vraiment on façonne le texte en fonction de l'image tsr_tj_070222_1930_kohler_familleirakienne_verbal, line 328
Belongs to concepts and categories	_activity | adjusting > Monitoring _product_property | consistent > Staging the story
Appears in cases	Cabl Elec Fami Gast Leba Mars Olma Ronc Rums Swis Whea Worl Yout

Fig. 1   Excerpt from the annotated code list (www.news-writing.net)

E|1.5 Labeling data

The file nomenclature in the Idée suisse project is consistent with all the related research projects on newswriting: throughout the corpora, the file labels provide the same context information (Fig. 2).

Who?		When/where?		What?		How?	
Company	Newsroom	Date	Time	Author	Topic	Data type	Format
		YYMMDD	hhmm				.xxx
télévision suisse romande	**téléjournal** (5 cases)	**070209** …	**1930** …	**revoin** …	**marslaser**	**verbal** protocol	**.mov**
						review protocol	.txt
						s-notation	.htm
schweizer fernsehen	tagesschau (5 cases)	…	…	…		midfile	.txt
						progressions	.pdf
						text	.doc
						item	.mov
	zehn vor zehn (5 cases)	…	…	…	…	item-context	.txt
						discourse	.mov
						frame	.txt
			1430	editorial		discourse	
		070205	1212	revoin		frame	
		period of time: 061012–070307 (12 Oct. 2006–7 Mar 2007)					
Expert topic		Date		Interviewee		Data type	Format
mandate (20 interviews)		070116		riehl		interview/notes	.wav
							.txt

Fig. 2   Nomenclature of the Idée suisse corpus (E|1.4). Examples of file names in this corpus:

tsr_tj_070209_1930_revoin_marslaser_verbal.mov
refers to the video file of the verbal protocol from the Mars case

tsr_tj_070209_1930_revoin_marslaser_item-context.txt
refers to a file outlining the historical context of the Mars news item

tsr_tj_070209_1430_editorial_discourse.mov
refers to the video file about the newsroom conference before the Mars production

tsr_tj_070205_1212_revoin_frame.mov
refers to the video file with the initial interview with the Mars case journalist

mandate_070116_riehl_interview.txt
refers to the transcript of an interview with media policy makers, managers, or experts

Layering corpora of media text production

In this chapter, I elaborate on building layered corpora of newswriting data. By corpus I mean a defined amount of linguistic data, compiled for empirical investigations of newswriting and for the related knowledge transformation. Data are increasingly integrated and interpreted.

On a zero layer of integration, data are processed from raw recordings into standardized representations for the analysis. Raw data can be computer logfiles or video recordings at workplaces. For basic analyses of local activity, the writing behavior at the computer is coded as revisions and presented in S-notation. Similarly, all socio-cognitive reconstructions, such as cutter talks, verbal protocols, and interviews, are coded as propositions (E|1.3).

Data on a first layer of integration are meaningful aggregates. Here, the sequence of all single revisions in an entire writing session is presented as a progression graph. The propositional codes in a case study or an entire project are integrated into propositional representations of individual and organizational medialinguistic mindsets. Progression scores, finally, combine progression and mindset data in a dynamic representation of activities during one writing session (E|2.1).

Data on a second layer of integration are narrative texts. The prototype result of such an interpretative integration is the case story, the case-related ethnographical narrative. Such standardized narratives facilitate knowledge transformation due to their focus on what is practically relevant: they reduce complexity to key relations between situated activity and context around critical situations. Combined across single cases and research projects, they allow for narrative typologies (E|2.2).

Data on a third layer of integration are good practice models, based on the case studies and developed for knowledge transformation. An example is writing techniques. Similarly to the categories in Grounded Theory, such models represent highly interpretative but yet empirically-grounded abstractions and can be related to each other in mid-range theories. In contrast to the GT categories, however, they are oriented towards practitioners only. The core example in this book is the writing helix toolbox (E|2.3).

E|2.1   Integrating progression graphs for the first layer of corpora

On a first layer, data have been aggregated: The propositional codes in a case study or an entire project are integrated into propositional representations of individual and organizational medialinguistic mindsets (Part C). The sequence of all single revisions (E|1.3) in an entire writing session is presented as a progression graph. Progression scores combine the propositional codes with progression data. They show the sequence of diverse activities throughout a writing session.

A progression graph is a figure that relates the sequence of revisions in the writing process with the sequence of revisions in the text product (Perrin, 2003). In doing so, it indicates how the writer moved with the cursor from revision to revision through the developing text. These cursor movements are interpreted as the writer's shifts in focus. The revisions in the process over time, from beginning to end, are represented on the horizontal axis. The revisions in the text product can be seen on the vertical axis, representing where the revisions occur in the final text.

In a linear progression graph, showing a straight line from the upper left to the lower right, the order of revisions indicates that the journalist wrote from top to bottom. Most progression graphs, however, show some jumping back and forth. In addition to the sequence of revisions, spatial and temporal segments can be indicated in the progression graph (Fig. 3).
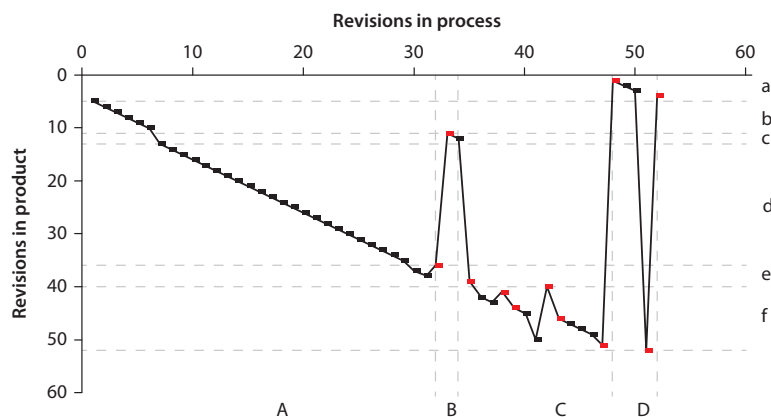
Fig. 3   Progression graph from the FAMI cutting room session (D|5.0|h9)
Source: tsr_tj_070222_ 1930_ kohler_familleirakienne_progress_2

The spatial segments in progression graphs represent text parts of the final product. They are marked with horizontal divisions (Fig. 3, a to f). In the above progression graph, these parts are dramaturgical units of information and quotes: the anchor's introduction and the stage directions (Section a); the introduction of the news item itself containing recent information (b); a first block of quotes (c); background information (d); a second block of quotes (e); and the conclusion (f).

The temporal segments in progression graphs are writing phases. By writing phase, I refer to a segment of writing processes that is dominated by a particular writing activity, and is, in consequence, delimited by changes in dominant revision behavior, for example by a shift from linear to nonlinear, fragmented writing (D|5.2). Such phases are indicated by vertical divisions of the progression graph. In the above graph, the phases are: revising (Phase A), moving a quote from the second to the first block (B), revising the conclusion (C), and cleaning up – adding stage directions on top and deleting notes at the end of the item text (D).

However, writing phases can be visualized in more detail. A progression score is a figure that relates the sequence of revisions to the activity fields of the medialinguistic mindset (C|4.2), as verbalized in the retrospective verbal protocols. Just like staves in a musical score, which carry information for different orchestra instruments, each row of the progression score carries information about the activity in one field.

Progression scores trace which activity a writer mentions during certain sections of the retrospective verbal protocol (RVP). A measurement is made of the position of the first and the last character of an RVP segment that has been encoded as matching a particular activity field. The scale at the bottom represents, in terms of characters, the linear position in the RVP transcription.

The below score (Fig. 4) shows, for example, that the journalist was engaged in GOAL SETTING and PLANNING activities at the beginning of the workplace session. This is represented in propositions at the start of the RVP (characters 375–2522). GOAL SETTING then happens again at the beginning of the cutting room session (14548–14880).
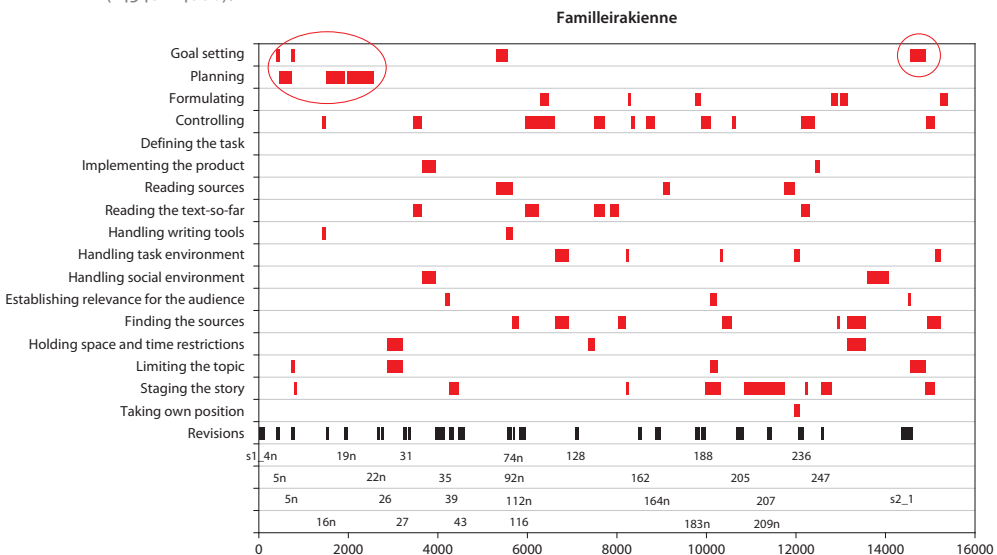
Fig. 4   Progression score from the FAMI workplace and cutting room session (D|4.0|h7)

As a qualitative complement, the progression score can be aligned with temporal, quantitative data: The lines with numbers at the bottom of the score (under the line labeled *revisions*) indicate which revisions in the writing process the journalist referred to at that point in his RVP. In the above score, the bottom lines indicate that the journalist verbalized the GOAL SETTING and PLANNING activities at the beginning of the RVP, when he observed and referred to his first few revisions of the workplace session (S1, revsions 4–22), and then again when he observed the first revision of the workplace session (S2, revision 1).

As the RVP is cued primarily by the playback of the video showing the text production process, the progression score shows the temporal sequence of the activities the author verbalized. However, writers sometimes talk about writing without reacting to particular cues on the screen when producing their RVPs. This mainly happens at the beginning and at the end of RVPs and results in score segments unlinked to any particular revisions.

E|2.2   Composing typologies for the second layer of corpora

Data on a second layer of integration are narrative texts such as case stories: case-related, standardized ethnographical narratives (D|1.1|e$_2$). Case stories reduce complexity to key relations between situated activity and context and draw on familiar dramaturgical patterns (A|2). Condensed and abstracted case portraits can be systematized across single cases and research projects. The resulting typologies allow researchers and practitioners to locate new cases within a realm of conceivable options.

An example of a narrative pattern is applied throughout the IDÉE SUISSE case stories in this book (A|2.0; C|1.0; C|2.0; C|3.0; D|1.0–5.0) and in the corpus in general. The pattern starts with professional and institutional contexts, as seen by the journalist under investigation. Then, it tells about the task at hand, about the writing process, and about the resulting product as an attempt to fulfil the task. Afterwards, it zooms into ethnographical rich points (D|1.1|e$_2$) in order to discuss in detail conflicts and solutions found. Finally, critical situations and good practices are considered in the light of the public mandate and the potential knowledge transformation to all stakeholders involved in the project.

Thus, the case story takes the reader from context to situated activity and back to context. More precisely, it connects psychobiography with social settings, situated activity, and, finally, contextual resources. In doing so, it corresponds with recent conceptualizations of functional narratives (A|2.0; e.g. Ryan, 2006) and follows a classical pattern of suspense dynamics (Fig. 5).

Journalist
    Newsroom
        Production patterns
            Collaboration patterns
              New assignment
                  Process and conflicts
                      Product as final solution
                          Analysis of activity at rich points
                              Lessons learned for knowledge transformation

               Complication
Exposition
                          Resolution
                               Coda
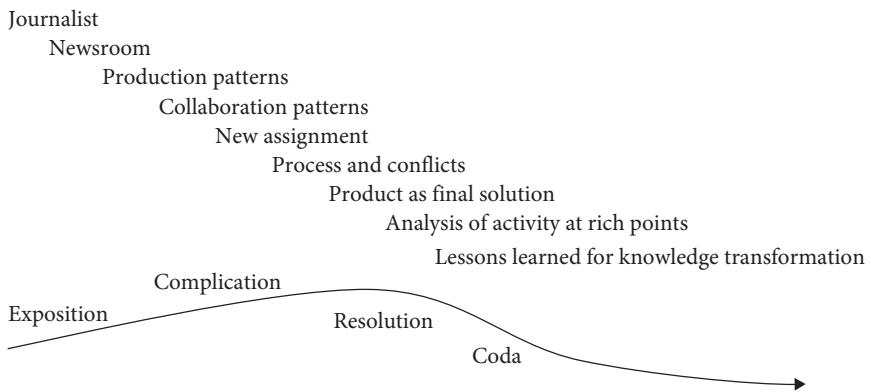
Fig. 5   The dramaturgical pattern of the IDÉE SUISSE case story showing
the suspense dynamics

An example of portrait typologies is the typology of amusement. It was developed as a Grounded Theory product in the OFCOM project (D|2.2) and focuses on those aspects in journalists' medialinguistic mindsets that are geared towards spicing news with humor. The typology stylizes five types of complex writing activity related to amusement: observer, trickster, sales, withholder, and storyteller types (Box 1).

> **Observer types** derive humor from current reality, recognizing what is special, unique, pleasing, or perhaps unintentionally funny about everyday events. Observers include humor in their news items as its own level of dramaturgy, thereby setting a counterpoint to the earnestness of the topic. They stage their story by shifting between levels and directing their audience's attention to certain aspects. They make use of a flexible repertoire and a refined feeling for stakeholders in the communicative setting and their sensitivities, effectively combining authenticity and amusement. Observers never talk about anything that wasn't experienced in the excerpt of reality they are conveying.
>
> **Trickster types** provide their protagonists with a platform to make fools of themselves. Anybody trying to get into public view via the media is well appreciated but badly treated by tricksters. They are very subtle and cannot be accused of doing anything legally questionable when they set their source's comments in stark juxtaposition to their audience's expectations or when they highlight contradictions or present gaffes. In doing so, they exploit an elaborated repertoire of conveying speech and a fine sensitivity to what their audience will smirk at. What is in their texts actually took place but what is emphasized is not the way anyone else saw it, least of all the protagonist.

Sales types say the most brilliant and entertaining things exactly where and when their audience is most likely to look or listen. They think entertaining their audience is their journalistic responsibility and always find a couple of amusing points that they sell in a prominent position. Their surprises, plays on words, and emotion elicitors are put at the beginning of the item to grab the audience's attention and make them think: This should be funny. To be sure that the text is not a big disappointment, they keep an ace or two up their sleeves to play later or compensate with a running gag. Their repertoires are solid, and the arbiter of the amusement often themselves. Their jokes are authentic but not necessarily relevant.

Withholder types leave out anything contrary to creating amusement and entertainment. There is no room in their texts for anything that might bore their listeners or irritate their readers. If withholders encounter anything they're not sure of, they don't hesitate for long: They omit it and get on with their job. Reviewing or rewriting things just wastes time. Withholders have a repertoire focused on presenting easily accessible bits of information as entertaining facts. The final arbiter for them is their perception of their audience or a rather non-specific idea of what their job is. Authenticity? Saying something that is not true is unacceptable. But leaving something out that doesn't quite fit is not the same as lying.

Storyteller types compose and compile with a view to optimizing their dramaturgy of amusement. The story has to work – as a story, as a dramaturgical construct. Plausibility is important: The story could have happened the way storytellers describe. And much of it really did happen, maybe earlier, maybe later, maybe somewhere else – who knows. The thrust of the story seems to work and is new; no one else has ever done it that way. Storytellers exploit a wide repertoire of dramaturgical staging, a precise conception of their audience, and artistic freedom from the constraints of authenticity.

Box 1   Example of an empirically-grounded typology of complex writing activity

E|2.3   Developing toolboxes for the third layer of corpora

On a third level, good practice models are developed for knowledge transformation. An example is writing techniques. Similarly to the categories in Grounded Theory (D|2.1|c$_4$), such models represent interpretative, yet empirically-grounded abstractions and can be related to each other in mid-range theories. In contrast to the GT categories, however, writing techniques are aimed at practitioners only. Therefore, they are formulated as contextualized guidelines, advising writers about what works for whom under which conditions. A lead paragraph briefly relates the instruction to the condition at hand, and three paragraphs in the body text explain what works, what doesn't, and why (Box 2).

The Appetizers technique

Relish things twice. If you have enough time, create some "appetizer texts" about specific details before you really start to write.

You were on the scene, met the heroes, and you can still hear their voices. Make an immediate record of what you can remember. Make notes at midnight, right after doing the research: anything curious, unique, the few clear pictures in the hazy film of memory. The significance and sequence of these short texts do not matter at the moment. Then, the next day, before you start to write, put the scenes in order and get your story straight.

Don't focus too much on the individual pictures. Now that you have slept on it and gained a certain distance from events, discard whatever could distract the reader from the flow of your article or news item. In the end, not every scene will fit into the text. The point of the appetizers was just to get you writing.

Why do appetizers help the writing process, even if they are omitted in the end? These bits of text capture and trigger emotions: shortly after experiencing something, you can easily remember details of the scenes that moved you. However, these scenes can obstruct your view of the whole at first. With time, most of the details blur in a general picture of what was experienced. You can remind yourself of the whole vivid picture when you later reread some emotionally charged details. Now start working on your text and use both: the overview and the emotional proximity.

Box 2   Example of a writing technique to find a key message from a distance, in peace and quiet

Like all the writing techniques, the Appetizers technique draws on data on journalists' medialinguistic mindsets from the Idée suisse and similar projects. In the Fami case for example, the journalist applies elements of this technique when he realizes his flexible master plan, picks pictures and quotes from sources, identifies and visualizes key situations, and starts with "a strong picture, a strong sequence" (D|1.0|c_1). Such activities are coded, for example, as Writing down associations to source pictures or as Using notes as cues to trigger memories while writing one's text (C|3.5.1).

As with the case stories, writing techniques can be systematized in typologies. For exclusively practice-oriented typologies I use the term *toolbox*. The core example is the writing helix toolbox introduced above (D|3.0). The basic idea of the writing helix is to see writing as a recursive and incremental process of four phases at a given workplace: goal setting, planning, formulating, and controlling (Box 3).

Organizing workplace and workflow: Tune into the writing mood and get yourself organized for writing. Before and while writing, use the writing techniques that allow you to deal with the right people, exploit your tools, and handle other jobs in a way that helps you to understand the new writing task, realize it, and implement the product: for example, the DESKTOP TECHNIQUE (Box 4).

Goal setting: Organize your scattered thoughts and identify the main theme of your text: What do you want to accomplish with your text and what should it ultimately say? What is its point, its perspective? During goal-setting phases, use the writing techniques that provide you with an overview and that allow you to break free from the countless details gathered during research: for example, the MUGGING TEST (Box 5) or the APPETIZERS TECHNIQUE (Box 2).

Planning the text: Plan the organization of the text with the objectives in mind, set some intermediate goals, and sketch out the logic of the more complex passages. What does the main body of the text explain and in what steps? What is consigned to side comments? During planning phases, use the writing techniques that allow you to recognize the essential sections and the relationships between them: for example, the FINGER TECHNIQUE (Box 6).

Controlling the writing flow: Now start writing and write your text continuously: one thought leading to another right up to the end of this section, if possible in one go without constantly jumping back and forth in the text to make corrections. During controlling phases, use the writing techniques that allow you to compose your text cyclically in the direction it will be read: for example the STAGES TECHNIQUE (Box 7).

Revising the text: After going through the other phases, review and reconsider your text or section of text. Are important text levels such as settings and the interplay of text agents consistent? Does the text answer the readers' questions? Do the language details work? During revising phases, use the writing techniques that allow you to free yourself of the text in your mind and to see the text on the computer screen or paper with your readers' eyes: for example, the TYPO TEST (Box 8) or the RE-EXPLAINING TEST (Box 9).

Box 3   The toolbox of writing techniques: from organizing the workplace
              to revising the text

The next boxes present the other writing techniques mentioned above. All these techniques were applied – or could have helped if they had been applied – and are discussed in case stories as presented in this book: for example the ADRENALINE TECHNIQUE in the FAMI case (D|3.0|i$_2$): the MUGGING TEST and the FINGER TECHNIQUE in the GAST case (C|3.0|i$_7$); the STAGES TECHNIQUE in the LEBA case (A|2.0|f and h); and the RE-EXPLAINING TEST in the MARS case (C|2.0|h$_5$–h$_6$).

The DESKTOP TECHNIQUE

Escape from your computer screen, and use your whole desktop as a working surface.

Sort out your source texts and research notes beside your computer on the left. Now you have the most important strands of your research at hand, and while you write you can find what you are looking for at a glance. A notebook and pen should be lying ready on the right side of your computer. This is where you can document the ideas that come to you while writing: for the final twist, for the text box, for a later part of the text. Meanwhile, the screen in the middle is ready for your new text.

No research data piles up in windows behind your text, and no notes clog up the bottom of your text file. While you are writing there is no need to scroll up and down in your text or to switch to other windows. The entire computer screen shows just one file – your new article.

Why, when you write, should every text have a place of its own? Your brain links thoughts to places. When it has to work on more than one text at a time, like research documents, planning notes and a new text, having things in order facilitates switching between them, keeping them apart, and getting back into the new text. After quick glances at the research material or sudden inspirations for other parts of the text, your brain can pick up the thread of your new text more easily if your eyes can return to a familiar place.

Box 4   Example of a writing technique to exploit the desktop beyond the computer screen

The MUGGING TEST

Imagine telling your story to a colleague as she is running to catch a bus that is about to leave.

In a couple of sentences, just by talking for a few seconds, outline the interesting new thing that you have to say and why it is important for your audience right now. Choose someone to mug who doesn't really want to listen to you, hardly has any time for you, and is thinking about something completely different. If your mugging victim stops, listens, and responds to your topic – then you are ready to start writing.

Don't think that your topic is much too complicated to deal with in passing … Sure – any subject can fill up pages and pages, and hours and hours. But you have to make it palatable and sell it to your audience as they rush by, flip pages, or zap through stations, and before they stop paying attention. They'll pause, become involved with your text for a few seconds, and only continue with the text if it promises something of significance.

Why should you check the main theme of your text on a live subject? Even the thought of having to verbally grab someone with your topic puts you under pressure. You mentally test the impression you make, notice that you have not yet found the right angle, change perspective, start a different way, finally risk it … and get to the point of the text more effectively by talking to someone than would ever have been possible by brooding over it alone. The stress of an oral situation opens the floodgates for language flow, similar to a burst of adrenaline just before a deadline. You'll become strong in self-defense, and in retrospect you'll clearly see the best way into the text.

Box 5   Example of a writing technique to set a key message for an item under time pressure

The FINGER TECHNIQUE

Count off the main points of your text on the fingers of one hand. Don't write a single word before you can do this.

A handful of main points, logically connected and dramaturgically arranged, will carry a text. They should be worked out and linked before writing – but in your head, not on paper. Stick to three to five main points – this is the number you can probably remember and so will your audience.

Maybe you have already planned your whole text, point by point and in writing, multi-colored and full length. If so, you'll be carrying too much baggage on your trip through the text. Or maybe you haven't thought of anything yet and start completely unencumbered. If this is the case, your text will easily carry you wherever it pleases.

How can a lean concept in your mind make you flexible yet firm enough at the same time? The life of a text cannot be definitely planned in advance: While writing you'll get new ideas from fragments of sentences on the paper or on your screen. If you have an overall plan, you'll recognize the promising ideas more easily and drop the others more confidently. And if you have the plan firmly in mind and don't have to keep looking elsewhere to check it, you'll be able to link your ideas to what you have already written without interrupting the writing flow.

Box 6 Example of a writing technique to plan an item concisely and flexibly under time pressure

The STAGES TECHNIQUE

Re-read just the last little bit of your text, the last two sentences, in order to get back into the flow of writing after a break.

Suddenly you're stuck and don't know how to proceed. A wasteland stretches out in front of you, not one idea in sight. You have gotten out of the flow of writing and need to get started again. The most resource-effective thing to do at this point is to scroll the text in your editing window back just far enough for you to see the last line or two, the last couple of sentences. Read these to regain your momentum and no more than these.

If you fail to hide the rest of the text, your eyes will inevitably wander up higher towards the top where everything seems so clear and well-written. It feels so good! Down below lie mess and uncertainty, up above shine clarity and confidence. What you are most tempted to do is to go back to your strong beginning and improve it a bit. And you fool yourself into thinking that you will regain your momentum that way and will be able to get back into the flow further down. This is like taking a five-hundred meter approach to a long jump.

How can a shorter run-up get you farther? Your new text has to flow convincingly from the last bit you wrote – it is exactly this bit that you have to reload into your memory before you start writing again. If you jump too far back by scrolling high up on the screen, you risk losing the thread completely. Even worse: you'll be reading the text at the top from the perspective of somebody who already knows the text that follows, and you'll be correcting it in the opposite direction from how it will be read. But to function effectively for its audience, your text has to flow from top to bottom.

Box 7 Example of a writing technique to stay in the flow

The Typo test

Change the appearance of your text before you revise it and you'll finally realize what is really in it.

Change the font type and size, the line spacing and margins: instead of Times 11, make it Arial 15, choose double-spacing instead of the automatic setting, and reduce the full column width to half. Now print your text and go somewhere new to revise it. Your language couldn't seem more different so soon after writing: a different voice speaks from the clear lines of Grotesque font than from the classical Antiqua, quicker line breaks in narrower columns speed up the reading rhythm, typos jump out at you, and logical gaps that you always skipped over before suddenly become obvious.

It is not enough to just print out a text to get a new look at it. Conversely, it is not necessary to put every text aside before revising it; just changing its appearance creates the distance that is needed.

Why do you read your text with other eyes when it is presented differently? To exaggerate a bit, you actually only read it with your eyes when it looks different. In brooding over the text, your brain learned to combine what you meant with the characters on the screen. The intended meaning, the text in your head, is triggered by the familiar characters. It practically overwrites the text on the paper. If something is missing – a letter, a word, a transition – the brain supplies it from the text in your head without your noticing. It's not until the characters and the text look different that the old inner picture of the text fades and you can read what is actually written.

Box 8   Example of a writing technique to check a text under time pressure

The Re-explaining Test

Test how the ideas in your text are understood by letting someone re-explain to you what he or she has read.

Give your text to a non-expert, such as a cutter, and ask him or her to summarize what he or she has read. What do a laser device and the discovery of life on Mars have to do with each other, for example? Abstain from any additional explanations, justifications, or instructions for your text. In the end, your reading audience will only see the words actually written in your text – just as your test reader does.

If he or she understands your text differently from what you expected or intended, explain what you actually meant. During the discussion it will become obvious which part of the text led the reader down the wrong path. The revised text cannot be given to the same person again though – the opportunity that the first reading offered has been exhausted. For the next re-explaining test you will need another impartial reader, who will be seeing your text for the first time.

Why can the re-explaining test really show you what your text explains? First of all, you know your topic and second, you know the old, discarded text versions, the shortened transitions, and the deleted examples. You have to forget about what you already know and the history of your text when you are proofreading it in order to judge the effect of your text when first read. Someone who really *is* reading it for the first time, on the other hand, approaches your text with no preconceptions and is (mis)guided by it alone.

Box 9   Example of a writing technique to check whether a text explains what it should

E|3 Stimulating transformation discourse

In this chapter, I focus on a set of corpus-related transformation practices oriented towards stimulating the transformation discourse in and across applied linguistics, other scientific disciplines involved, and journalism as the application field of the linguistics of newswriting. The transformation practices consist of realizing a series of corpus-related research projects, designing corpus-based materials, developing corpus-based interventions, and integrating research and practice discourse.

First, complex research in new fields such as the linguistics of newswriting needs long-term perspectives. In research practice, this means strategically planning and realizing a series of research projects that build upon each other, as presented in Part D of this book. Such a strategy helps researchers accumulate experience, foster credibility in science and practice, expand networks, and ensure continuity in funding.

Corpus-based research and transformation requires accessible corpora of research data and related materials. In practice, this means designing digital repositories and making them accessible to researchers and practitioners in the field. An example related to this book is www.news-writing.net (E|3.1). In addition to the corpus outlined above (E|2), this repository contains research-based assignments (E|3.2) and is linked to textbooks (E|3.3).

Corpus-based knowledge transformation to practitioners is realized through diagnoses and interventions in formal and informal real-world settings. Teaching (E|3.4), training (E|3.5), and consulting (E|3.6) are the most established among the formal knowledge transformation settings in professional education and organizational development. For all of these settings, interventions have been developed based on IDÉE SUISSE data.

Finally, stimulating transformation discourse culminates in integrating the respective scientific and professional discourses. Repositories containing newswriting corpora and other theoretically and practically relevant materials function as a common ground for integrative attempts. Contributions to any discourse can easily draw on and refer to vivid data to provide evidence of the value that integrative approaches add (E|3.7).

E|3.1 Building digital repositories

Corpus-based research and transformation require accessible corpora of research data and related materials. In practice, this means designing digital repositories and making them accessible to researchers and practitioners in the field. The repository related to this book is www.news-writing.net. It contains the corpus outlined above (E|2), with research data from the Idée suisse and former projects. These data are supplemented by research-based training materials such as assignments and solutions (E|3.2) and is linked with textbooks (E|3.3).

The digital repository www.news-writing.net illustrates the main principle that we follow when designing such tools: stability in motion; or, in other words: continuity despite development. The latest in a series of repositories we have developed for different addressees, www.news-writing.net seamlessly integrates newswriting data from all of our previous repositories, such as the website for German-speaking practitioners, www.medienlinguistik.net. Similarly, it is aligned with initiatives concerning meta repositories, such as www.writingpro.eu.

Technically, such stability in motion means being able to integrate new standards of web communication and computer databases without having to reformat the research data. The content management systems may change as internet and database technologies evolve, but the research data, once introduced into academic and practitioner discourses, should not. Universal file formats and clear file nomenclature (E|1.5) ensure the longevity of the data.

Dramaturgically, stability in motion means designing the repositories in a modular way: as open systems with clear and robust key elements and flexible relations within the repository and beyond. The *start* page of www.news-writing.net shows the key elements of the repository; dynamic texts throughout the site explain the relations between the elements and help users to navigate through the data (Fig. 6). The elements can be adapted to new features such as context-sensitive search functions.

PUBLICATIONS	SOURCES	DATA	TERMS	ASSIGNMENTS

Fig. 6   The main menu of the www.news-writing.net repository

E|3.2   Designing research-based assignments

To stimulate transformation discourse, www.news-writing.net connects research corpora such as Idée suisse with a collection of assignments and variants of solutions related to the empirical data. They all follow the didactic principle of complex problem solving (E|3.4). One example from a growing collection is called Highlighting expectations (Ex. 3).

> **Highlighting expectations:** what editorial offices want
>
> The editorial teams of Swiss television describe the profiles of their programs in so-called program portraits. Below are excerpts from the portraits of Tagesschau (Ex. 4) and 10 vor 10 (Ex. 5). Tagesschau has been broadcasted several times daily since 1953, and 10 vor 10 from Monday to Friday at 9:50 p.m. since 1990.
>
> ▶ Compare the following excerpts from the program portraits and ▶ describe what is being talked about, ▶ how the portraits differ, ▶ and what differences you expect to find in the programs based on what is in the portraits. Then take a look at all of the excerpts from Tagesschau and 10 vor 10 in the corpus. ▶ Note which features of which excerpts confirm or contradict your expectations.

Ex. 3   Assignment from the www.news-writing.net repository,
including the portrait excerpts below

```
Genre
News program [...]

Aims, requirements, concrete benefit to viewers
Topical information for as many viewers as possible

Program contents
Politics, business, culture, and sports in Switzerland and abroad [...]
```

Ex. 4   Translated excerpt from the Tageschau program portrait
Source: SRG intranet, March 1, 2007

```
Genre
Newsmagazine [...]

Aims, requirements, concrete benefit to viewers
10 vor 10 reports on the most important topics of the day and
the background information, distinguishes itself with background
reportages, does additional research and presents surprising
ideas – 10 vor 10 is a reference point in public debates.

Program contents
Reports, research, reportage, portraits, and live discussions about
the background to topical issues in the areas of politics, business,
science, culture, sports, and society in Switzerland and abroad.
```

Ex. 5   Translated excerpt from the 10 vor 10 program portrait
Source: SRG intranet, March 1, 2007

E|3.3 Writing research-based textbooks

The assignments in the repository supplement this book. They allow the use of the method and framework parts (Parts B and D) as a textbook about applied linguistics in research or in professional communication. Similarly, when combined with practical assignments, the case stories (A|2.0; C|1.0 etc) and the discussions of the medialinguistic mindset (Part B) can function as a theoretically-informed textbook on newswriting skills.

Such modularity marks all dissemination products from the series of projects discussed above. The prototype is the bundle comprised of the German-language textbook MEDIENLINGUISTIK (Perrin, 2006a; Perrin, 2011b) and the repository www.medienlinguistik.net. The contents and functions of the book and website are designed for the media strengths of each component to complement each other (Fig. 7).

Publishing format →		Book	Website
Contents ↓		Offline: updated per edition	Online: updated continously
Didactics	Presentation	linear	+ hypertext, guided tours
		table of contents, indexes	+ menus
		–	individual learning log
		–	contact links
	Topics	explanations	–
		working definitions	+ glossary
	Training	–	+ assignments
			+ solutions, variants
Abstraction	Academic discourse	key projects	+ projects
		key publications	+ publications
		key approaches	+ approaches
	Empirical data	corpora excerpts	+ entire corpora

Fig. 7 Exploiting the newswriting database in multimedia training materials

In sum, the books from our projects offer a linear reading path with explanations, empirical data, and discussion. The websites provide supplementary elements such as the data corpora, assignments and solutions, and links to academic discourse.

E|3.4   Teaching based on research and corpora

Corpus-based knowledge transformation to practitioners is realized through research and interventions in formal and informal real-world settings. Teaching, training, and consulting are the most established among the formal knowledge transformation settings in professional education and organizational development. Assignments, as described above (E|3.3), are core interventions in the teaching setting.

Teaching for professional activities such as newswriting has to prepare people for complexity. Depending on the criteria applied, there are always many ways to succeed or fail in critical situations. This is the key idea behind task-oriented teaching and learning (e.g. Dörig, 2003, 503 ff.). Working with real-world problems, data corpora, case studies, and empirically-grounded mid-range theories helps participants to become familiar with complex tasks and solutions.

In assignments, based on a task description and empirical data, the learners have, first, to define the problems to be solved; second, outline the range of possible solutions; third, identify evaluation criteria for success; fourth, elaborate and evaluate the solution(s) they consider most appropriate; and fifth, explain their decisions (Fig. 8).

Step	Thought process	Examples from assignment E|3.2
1 Problem	For a specific problem	Compare news programs
2 Solutions	there are various solutions.	Use surprise, suspense, entertainment
3 Criteria	Certain criteria should be used to	Appropriate? Risk of over-staging? …
4 Evaluation	evaluate them. This leads to the	Means X is appropriate, Y is not, …
5 Decision	choice of the best solution.	Solution A works best. Does it fit the data?

Fig. 8   Format of assignments oriented to solving complex practical problems

In training and coaching, the interventions of corpus-based teaching are oriented towards developing learners' knowledge, methods, and attitudes in the field of newswriting. In the above example (Ex. 3), learners shape their concept of newsroom policy (knowledge), identify linguistic means to realize target features such as "suspense" (methods), and reflect on their position towards infotainment (attitudes).

E|3.5 Training based on research and corpora

In contrast to teaching, training focuses on practical methods as procedures to perform particular activities according to particular criteria. In writing research and training, such methods are often termed *writing skills*. Sets of criteria for newswriting skills can be derived from the medialinguistic mindset grid as presented in this book (C |4.1).

This is what we have done for the training of reflected writing skills in the context of media convergence (e.g. Brannon, 2008; Quandt & Singer, 2008; Perrin, 2012a). For the sixteen activity fields from the medialinguistic mindset, a catalogue of central questions for self-evaluation was developed. The questions are directed towards the key properties of newswriting in convergent media: More than in traditional settings, such newswriting is open to flexible collaboration, depends on emergent solutions, and exploits various channels' diverse strengths for media dramaturgies (Fig. 9).

	Activity fields …	… and evaluation criteria in convergent media
Environment	Handling social environment	How do I collaborate in multimedia newsrooms?
	Handling tools environment	How do I cope with new, as yet unfamiliar tools?
	Handling task environment	How do I update hot items?
	Comprehending the task	What is my task within the cross-media concerto?
	Implementing the product	How do I implement my product in media clusters?
Function	Finding the sources	Which channels do I use to cover which aspects?
	Limiting the topic	How do I integrate the sources into my own items?
	Taking own positions	How do I achieve a unique selling point across media?
	Staging the story	Which media transformation for which effect?
	Establishing relevance	How do I tune audience design across media?
Structure	Reading sources	How do I gather linkable sources?
	Reading own text	How do I navigate through my product so far?
	Goal setting	How do I split tasks across media?
	Planning	How do I negotiate my workflow?
	Controlling	How can I improve the interplay across media?
	Monitoring	What do I want to achieve across media?

Fig. 9   Set of text production criteria for the self evaluation of newswriting
in convergent media

E|3.6 Consulting based on research and corpora

Consulting, coaching, and organizational development are settings for knowledge transformation in which clients are responsible for the solutions to their problems (e.g. Perrin, 2009), whereas consultants and coaches are seen as the experts in change. Guided by them, the clients first identify discrepancies between perceived and desired states. Then, they heighten their awareness of their repertoires of practices, identify gaps in their methods of handling the critical situations, and develop new functional practices. Finally, they enhance their repertoires and increase their flexibility by learning when the new practices work best.

The TAGES-ANZEIGER project (D|3.2) was marked by coaching and organizational development. In the IDÉE SUISSE project, knowledge transformation occurred in later phases and follow-up projects (e.g. Rocci, Perrin, & Burger, 2011). One field of consulting and organizational development is translation in the newsroom: In spite of the increasing challenges by multilingual newsflows, even well-resourced newsrooms still rely on ad-hoc practices for translating source materials (D|4.2). In transformation projects, activity fields and workflow phases (A|1.4) are identified where repertoires of organizational practices have to be developed (Fig. 10).

E|3.7 Integrating research and practice discourses

Finally, stimulating the transformation discourse culminates in integrating the respective scientific and professional discourses. *Integrating* means discussing practical perspectives in contributions to scientific discourse and, conversely, theoretical perspectives in contributions to professional discourse. In both cases, the other perspective is used to provide evidence for how much value a new dimension adds to one's own view of the object. Such multi-perspective views are easier to establish on the common ground of theoretically-sound empirical data.

In scientific discourse, applied linguistic approaches to writing in the professions are still rare. However, a state-of-the-art overview is provided in a new volume of a leading handbook series in applied linguistics (Jakobs & Perrin, 2013). The handbook focuses on writing processes rather than text products, on professional rather than academic domains, and on integrating traditions and frameworks of empirical research and transformation rather than reproducing the dominance of a single perspective. Three of its 25 chapters explicitly draw on empirical data from the IDÉE SUISSE and similar corpora to illustrate practitioners' perspectives. In doing so, the handbook systematically and prominently features inter- and transdisciplinary approaches.

10 VOR 10 | Story meeting | Airtime

| 09 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | … |

Defining the task

Monitoring competitors
Evaluating last issue
Balancing topics
Organizing production — planning product and process
Producing new item — updating plans and controlling production
Fine-tuning issue — evaluating product

Handling social environment

Chief editor — checking
Inputer — acquiring knowledge on topic
Producer — planning gist, storyline, workflow — updating plans — updating item, checking, finalizing
Dispatcher — booking infrastructure
Text agent — preparing interviews — doing interviews
News editor — planning product and process — writing voiceover
Reporter — getting material in the field
Correspondent — getting material in the field
Information designer — designing infographics
Interpreter, translator — translating on-text
Cutter — editing video
Speaker
Anchor

Handling tools

Workplace — browsing
Field equipment — researching and planning — doing field interviews
Video editing room
Studio — doing studio interviews
Speaker cabin — finalizing
Video direction — directing

News editor — reading

Fig. 10 Workflow in the 10 VOR 10 newsroom with highlighted translation activities and phases

In professional discourse, most publications are addressed to the writers themselves, for example to journalists. More than one hundred articles and books have been published in the last two decades that refer to data from the research projects discussed in this book. They focus on practical problems of newswriting and on the value a theoretical, systematic approach adds to solutions (e.g. Perrin, Rosenberger, Stücheli-Herlach, & Wyss, 2010). Far less frequent are publications explaining the relevance of theory-practice integration to policy makers. An example is the Public Service Review: European Union. According to its declaration of aims and scope, this review supports analyses of "issues that crucially affect the public sector throughout Europe, including health, education, transport, science and the environment". The journal is "distributed by name to individuals within government departments, directorates and agencies in the regional and central governments of the 27 member states" (www. publicservice.co.uk, visited 2011–08–26).

Since 2011, a series of articles in this journal has provided evidence that applied linguistics matters for public discourse and societal integration and that it reaches its goals of analysis and knowledge transformation by systematically relating theory and practice. The article that opened the series (Perrin, 2011c) drew on projects and data discussed in this book, for example Idée suisse and Capturing Translation Processes (D|4.2).

There is, however, a third kind of discourse that always explicitly connects theory with practice: educational discourse. Traditionally, the contributions are about learning programs and environments, such as those in an edited book about "writing programs worldwide", in which one of the chapters focuses on "collaborative writing in journalism education" (Perrin, 2012a). As illustrated above (E|3.5), these contributions draw on empirical data to provide evidence for the appropriateness of educational objectives and measures. Approaches are considered appropriate if they move the learners' medialinguistic mindset further towards the states observed for experienced writers (D|2).

Transdisciplinary discourse, as the fourth variant, transgresses formal settings of knowledge transformation. In natural and environmental sciences, transdisciplinary discourse is well established; in humanities and social sciences it is just emerging. As the first transdisciplinary journal in the field of public communication, the Journal of Applied Journalism and Media Studies combines research and practice beyond educational settings. Launched in 2012, the journal represents an innovative, fundamentally integrative approach (D|3.1) to journalism study and practice. Volume 1, issue 1, starts with a programmatic article about the transdisciplinary research of newswriting (Perrin, 2012b). It is based on the Idée suisse corpus and links to the www.news-writing.net repository. The fact that this paper has been selected to start the new discussion can be seen as evidence of the potential that the linguistics of newswriting offers to both research and practice – and to their systematic interplay.

Summary and conclusion

This book has ended with knowledge transformation through research-based, integrative discourse contributions and educational measures. Using the examples of the www.news-writing.net repository, I have explained the knowledge management principles we have developed in a series of research projects. They are oriented towards processing data ecologically and building up robust multi-perspective knowledge about newswriting as a socially relevant field of language use (Part E).

Depending on the research framework and project design, this knowledge focuses on different aspects of newswriting: dynamics and emergent solutions, social contexts of diverse durability, or organizational learning. Findings are developed and made available for knowledge transformation as grounded mid-range theories or as ethno-graphies: case stories about rich points in organizational and individual practice (Part D).

In any case, knowledge transformation is oriented towards elaborating individuals' and organizations' medialinguistic mindsets of newswriting. As findings suggest, experienced journalists have at their disposal broader, deeper, and more flexible repertoires of activities to handle critical situations. These activities were grouped bottom-up in sixteen fields and systematized top-down as (re-)producing contexts of newswriting by producing language strings for contributions to public discourse (Part C).

Generating such multi-perspective knowledge about the situated activity of newswriting requires a multi-method approach that captures writing activity in its complex context. This is what extended progression analysis enables researchers to do. Based on the coding units of revisions and propositions, it relates writing behavior to writers' psychobiographies, social settings of newsrooms and newsflows, and contextual resources such as a public mandate of promoting public understanding (Part B).

The mandate illustrates the social relevance of newswriting as a driver of discourse and integration. News that reaches diverse audiences simultaneously can promote discourse across social and linguistic boundaries. How to do this was the research question of the Idée suisse project used as an example throughout the book – and is a key question for applied linguistics. It is only by facing such language-related problems that we can add social value and prove that applied linguistics matters (Part A).

List of key terms

List of excerpts

Part D

List of figures

List of boxes

List of references

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The Linguistics of Newswriting focuses on text production in journalistic media as both a socially relevant field of language use and as a strategic field of applied linguistics. The book discusses and paves the way for scientific projects in the emerging field of linguistics of newswriting. From empirical micro and theoretical macro perspectives, strategies and practices of research development and knowledge transformation are discussed. Thus, the book is addressed to researchers, teachers and coaches interested in the linguistics of professional writing in general and newswriting in particular. Together with the training materials provided on the internet www.news-writing.net, the book will also be useful to anyone who wants to become a more "discerning consumer" (Perry, 2005) or a more reflective producer of language in the media.

"Perrin's work is ground-breaking, addressing attested gaps in the field of language and news media, notably in terms of production and process, which are difficult to investigate with existing linguistic tools. Perrin leads with a fresh perspective, well-conceived and tested methods, and thoughtful case studies – opening up the field again. The Linguistics of Newswriting has a broad reach and at the same time nails down the details. A virtuoso accomplishment."

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