

Human Communication. A Publication of the Pacific and Asian Communication Association. Vol. 11, No.1, pp. 197 – 214.

**Celebrities in Action and Other News News Factors of German TV news 1992 - 2004
Results From a Content Analysis**

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Abstract

Based on recent theoretical discussions on the construction of news events using news factors as selection criteria, the current study conducted a quantitative content analysis on a sample of 3,042 news reports from eight German TV stations from the time period between 1992 and 2004. We will show that news factors can be bundled to higher-order dimensions of journalistic selectivity, that most of the extracted dimensions are quite stable over the entire survey period and comparable for both public and private TV stations, and that they have a significant impact on the formal news value of the reports. The criteria celebrities and visualization seem to be crucial for the reporting on international as well as on non-political events

During the past decades intensive research on news gatekeeping has identified several categories of factors which influence journalistic selectivity: individual differences among journalists, newsroom routines, organizational constraints, extra-organizational influences, and social-cultural differences (Shoemaker, 1991, 2006). In reference to newsroom routines, news factors can be seen as a set of selection rules which determine journalistic decisions. This concept has been used in the attempt to explain which particular features, attributed to an event lead journalists to perceive and select contemporary events as news (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). The theory postulates that there is a systematic and stable connection between the characteristics attributable to an event (news factors) and the news value assigned to the respective news item by journalists (Scheufele, 2006).

Theoretical considerations as well as results from empirical analyses have confirmed the usefulness of this theory of news values (Berkowitz, 1991; Chang, Shoemaker, & Brendlinger, 1987; Hester, 1974; Kim, 2002; Schulz, 1982; Schwarz, 2006). Especially in Germany, the concept has achieved theoretical maturity through the replication of studies that have found similar news factors (Eilders & Wirth, 1999; Eilders, 2006). Moreover, recent studies have increased the explanatory value of the news factors. They were not only able to confirm their relevance for the analyzed published or broadcasted contents, but also – as the traditional concept of Galtung and Ruge (1965) postulates – in news recipients' information processing (Eilders, 1997, 2006; Eilders & Wirth, 1999; Knobloch, Zillman, Gibson, & Karrh, 2002; Ruhrmann, Woelke, Maier, & Diehlmann 2003; Scheufele, 2006).

While the classic empirical study by Galtung and Ruge (1965) based on the theory of news values was restricted to the analysis of newspapers and thematically to reporting from foreign countries, beginning with Sande's (1971) study the concept has been applied to television news casts. The fact that the theory can be applied to the medium television and different topical areas makes it a fruitful theoretical approach for the analysis of the development of the dual television system in Germany. In 1984 the German television system was opened to private television channels. They managed to establish themselves quickly on the market beside the two public stations ARD and ZDF. The market shares in the year 2004 clearly show that there is a keen competition between the public and private television channels in Germany.¹ The assumption that the increasing competition among the TV stations for market shares might have an influence on journalistic working methods and also the contents and presentation of news casts (Vettehen, Nuijten & Beentjes, 2005) has been part of heated discussions since the introduction of the dual broadcasting system (e.g., Krüger, 2006, 2008; Maletzke, 1979). The ongoing discussion deals with the principal question: become the public and private television channels more similar to each other with regard to their topics and presentation (Bruns & Marcinkowski, 1996)?² This so-called "convergence" would threaten the existence of public TV in Germany.

¹ The market leader ARD with a market share of 14.0 percent was just barely ahead of ZDF and the largest private TV channel RTL, each with market shares of 13.8 percent. SAT.1 followed with a market share of 10.3 percent.

² For a short characterization of the public and private news formats see Kepplinger & Daschmann (1997, pp. 552–553).

One aspect of this discussion is the claim that journalists deliver unbalanced and/or inaccurate reports on protagonists and topics. Moreover, present TV news would deal with more and more entertaining contents, giving non-political topics too much importance in this respect. Another central point of critique is the overemphasis of negativity (Donsbach, 1997; Kepplinger & Daschmann, 1997; Maurer & Reinemann, 2006; Shoemaker, 2006). These aspects as well as most other issues of the debate can be summarized under the increasing infotainment orientation in the production and content of news (Weiß, 2005). Thus, in connection with the issue of the development of news formats in the dualized German TV system the central and classical question arose again according to which criteria they were selected. This analysis of the development of the major German newscasts on the basis of the concept of news factors as criteria for the selection of news items by journalists shall contribute to answer that question.

The article proceeds with considerations on the development of news factors as indicators for journalistic selectivity and on the possibility of generating higher-order dimensions of news selection as proposed by Schulz (1976). The presentation of the research questions developed on the basis of these thoughts will be followed by the description of the methodological design, the data survey, and the results of the study. Using the most extensive list of news factors established in research until today, it will be analyzed if and to which extent news factors can be assigned to higher-level dimensions of news selection, referring to the topics international politics and nonpolitical events. Moreover, the influence of such dimensions of journalistic selectivity on the degree of attention respectively the news value of broadcasted reports will be described. Finally, the results will be discussed with regard to the hypotheses.

Emerging Dimensions of News Selection

While Oestgaard (1965) specified three news factors simplification, identification, and sensationalism, in their classic study Galtung and Ruge (1965) defined 12 news factors. The critical methodological discussion on the theoretical status of the factors (Schulz, 2002), their completeness, their exclusivity, their independence, their uniqueness, and their unambiguity initiated a number of studies (e.g., Buckalew, 1969; Badii & Ward, 1980). The analyses led to a highly differentiated list of news factors. (Maier, 2003a; Eilders, 2006). This development may have possibly brought forth a multiple measurement of particular criteria of news selection. Schulz (1976) had already systemized his list of news factors by subsuming them under six factor dimensions after carrying out an “analysis of term, meaning, and theoretical statement” (p. 32): (1) time, (2) proximity, (3) status, (4) dynamic, (5) valence, and (6) identification. Schulz argued that all single news factors included in his study could be allocated to these six factor dimensions but did not prove this statement empirically. Staab (1990) conducted a factor analysis in order to check his schedule of news factors for redundancy and to possibly generate such higher-level factor dimensions. However, on the one hand he did not find the yielded solutions formally satisfying because the explanatory power was too low. On the other hand, the dimensions could not be interpreted meaningfully. Thus, Staab (1990) came to the conclusion that “consequently, only with great reservations can one assume that the news factors distinguished here are dependent on each other to any significant extent and can be reduced to higher-order dimensions” (p.137).

Despite the findings of Staab we regard the assumption of Schulz (1976; see also Eilders, 1997) as plausible looking back on the historical development of an increasingly

differentiated list of news factors. We support the idea that it should be possible to find higher-order dimensions of journalistic selectivity on the basis of the established news factors. It is the explicit goal and unique contribution of this paper to identify the dimensions of journalistic selectivity underlying the extensive list of news factors established until today and to demonstrate their development in order to add to the validity of the concept.

In the following analyses the two least similar topical fields of reporting will be contrasted – international politics and non-political events. International news reporting is very often considered to be an indicator for the quality of news casts in general. Whereas the reporting on non-political events is always regarded with scepticism especially by media-political actors (Grabe, Zhou, & Barnett, 2001). International politics is also the field in which the theory of news values was developed and where it has repeatedly shown its theoretical and empirical power. On the other side one could assume that for the selection of non-political news items different criteria should be relevant and that the models developed on the basis of the theory of news values should have lower explanatory power.

One could even go a step further and ask whether non-political news generate a new form of infotainment. Such news in the sense of Shoemaker and Cohen (2006) would show a high level of "deviance" (p. 7) (with operational indicators such as novelty, oddity, or the unusual, conflict, controversy and sensationalism). At the same time the news items would be clearly less distinctive regarding their "social significance" (including importance, impact, consequence, and interest (e.g., Shoemaker & Cohen, 2006, p. 8; Reimann, 2006, p. 178; Ruhrmann & Göbbel, 2007, p. 29). Regarding the impact of infotainment, it's also important to analyze if and to which extent news factors do change and whether they have a significant effect on the formal news value. The considerations presented above lead us to the following research questions:

- RQ1: Do higher-level structures of journalistic selectivity exist which subsume the individual news factors?
- RQ2a: If such higher-level criteria of news selection occur, do they have an impact on the formal news value assigned to the reports by journalists?
- RQ2b: Is the explanatory force of the models relating the formal news value of reports to news factors higher for international politics than for non-political news?

Methods

Sampling Method

To answer these questions, a content analysis was conducted based on the list of 22 news factors. In each of five samples from the years 1992 (June, 1st-7th), 1995 (December, 11th-17th), 1998 (May, 4th-10th), 2001 (November 5th-11th), and 2004 (October 18th-24th), a full week³ of main news casts was analyzed. In the selected

³ As one might imagine that the process of journalistic selection might be related to the specific mixture of topics reported on during the sampling period, sampling on the basis of a natural week might be considered a suboptimal procedure. However, this sampling method was used because it is the standard method applied by the Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Landesmedienanstalten in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (ALM), the network of the institutions in charge of the licensing of private broadcasters in Germany (Weiß,

sampling periods neither elections nor extraordinary non-political events (like the Olympic Games) took place.

Within these survey periods the public channels ARD and ZDF aired 593 news items, 283 referring to international and 310 referring to non-political issues. Within the same time period, the two private TV stations RTL and SAT.1 broadcasted 732 items of which 248 dealt with international and 484 with non-political topics. The total sample consisted of 1,325 news reports, which were the units of analysis in this study. With regards to the aim of this article and its research questions, the design of the study makes it possible -to follow the development of the structure of news factors and their explanatory power for formal news values, -to compare the patterns of news selection between the public and the commercial TV stations in Germany,⁴ and -to analyze the development of the specific news selection in the subject areas of international politics and non-political events.

Measurement

Following the empirical studies of Eilders (1997), Galtung and Ruge (1965), Oestgaard (1965), Sande (1971), Schulz (1976, 1982) as well as Staab (1990), a coding schedule was developed for the recording of 21 news factors; further research, that is interviews with journalists and recipients and theoretical reflections led to the inclusion of one further news factor, “visualization”.⁵ This factor mainly describes the vividness of a sequence and can be distinguished from the bias, stereotypes, valence, as well as emotional content of the visual material (Brosius, 1996; Diehlmann, 2003).

The specification of the news factors as defined in earlier studies had to be significantly modified, because most of them had been developed for print media and therefore were not immediately applicable to television news. In addition, the latest studies based on the concept of news factors (e.g., Staab, 1990; Eilders, 1997) had only focused on political reporting. This made it necessary to adapt the factors to cover the broader range of topics. Regarding the categorization of the news factors, Galtung and Ruge (1965) had suggested a dichotomous operationalization (“criterion applies to the event”/“does not apply” (p. 71)). Schulz (1976) introduced a four-point intensity scale for all factors. While Eilders (1997) departed from using a set number of response categories and instead created a rating scale with a varying number of response categories, depending on the to be rated factor. This approach was also chosen for the study presented here; the number of categories varies between two and four for the 22 factors presented in Table 1 (see also Maier, 2003b; Eilders, 2006).⁶

2005). The aim was to be able to interrelate the results of this study to more general findings of that continuous program analysis.

⁴ The main newscast of the ARD is the “Tagesschau”; in 2004 the average number of viewers was 5.9 million (market share: 21.0 percent). The ZDF newscast “heute” reached 4.6 million Germans (market share: 19.9 percent), “RTL aktuell” on average had 3.7 million viewers, (market share: 17.3) and “SAT.1 News” reached 2.1 million people (market share: 10.6).

⁵ For an extensive description of the operationalization of the specific news factors and their derivation from earlier studies please see Maier (2003b).

⁶ The complete code book including extensive descriptions of the variables is available

Table 1: News Factors Included in the Coding

1. Status of the Event Nation	12. Concreteness of Activity
2. Geographic Proximity	13. Range
3. Political Proximity	14. Surprise
4. Economic Proximity	15. Usefulness/ Success
5. Cultural Proximity	16. Damage/ Failure
6. Status of Location (for events in Germany only)	17. Controversy
7. German Involvement	18. Aggression
8. Establishment of Topics	19. Demonstration
9. Influence	20. Depiction of Emotions
10. Prominence	21. Sexuality / Eroticism
11. Personalization	22. Visualization

In addition to the news factors, some formal characteristics were coded in order to assess the formal news value of news reports. This news value of a news report can be measured by different formal variables, such as placing of report⁷, length of report⁸, and announcement of topic before beginning of the news cast.⁹ With these variables an one-dimensional index¹⁰ (Eilders, 1997; Sande, 1971; Schulz, 1976; Staab, 1990) can be

on request from the authors.

⁷ Reports one, two, and three of every news cast received four points each here (31% of all reports); reports aired as fourth to sixth received three points each (24% of all reports); places seven to nine received two points (22% of all reports); from the tenth place on reports received only one point (23% of all reports).

⁸ Reports shorter than 30 seconds received one point (37%); reports with a duration of 31 to 60 seconds received two points (16%); reports taking from 61 to 90 seconds received three points (16%); and reports longer than 91 seconds received four points (32%).

⁹ If a particular topic was announced before the start of a news cast, all following reports on this topic received four points; this applied to 23% of the reports. For each report the points for the three variables mentioned above were added together and divided by three.

¹⁰ Only in case of the reporting of the private TV stations on non-political topics the placing of the reports appeared as a second dimension. For this subsample, the index was constructed only by the two variables duration and announcement of the contribution.

computed and this index of journalistic attention then is used to distinguish between contributions which attracted relatively little attention by journalists and “top news” (Kierman, 2003; Staab, 1990).¹¹ For the thematic categorization of the individual reports very thorough data was available from the ALM program analysis (Weiß, 2005).

Coding process and reliability The coding process was conducted in two rounds: During the winter 2001/02 the newscasts from the years 1992 to 2001 were coded by seven coders. For the test of reliability, a sample of 161 items was coded by all seven persons involved. For 4,830 coding instances the average inter-rater agreement of all seven coders was 78 percent.¹² The news items from 2004 were coded during the winter 2004/05 by two coders. Here, 49 items were double-coded, the average percentage of agreement was 93 percent. In addition to these two tests of reliability, the agreement between the codings from the years 1992 to 2001 and the year 2004 was examined. Here, agreement reached 94 percent. All values are comparable to the percentages of agreement achieved in earlier studies dealing with news factors and can be considered acceptable (e.g., Eilders, 1997).

Data analysis

The data analysis was conducted in two steps. First, all 22 news factors coded in this study were included in an explorative factor analysis, using varimax rotation and the KaiserGuttman-criterion. As the factor analyses were conducted separately for the two groups of TV channels, the two topical fields, and the five sampling periods, the number of cases included in each analysis was smaller than 300. Because the small number of cases and the application of the Kaiser-Guttman-criterion may have led to an overestimation of the number of relevant factors only such extracted dimensions are considered for the interpretation that fulfill at least one of the following criteria: (1) at least 4 variables show a loading of over 0.6, (2) at least 10 variables show a loading of over 0.4 (did not occur), (3) the factor is replicable (Guaganoli & Velicer, 1988). Due to the limited space in this article, the complete information about the structure of the 112 extracted factor dimensions and the goodness of fit of the models is not presented here but is available on request from the authors. In the following a graphical depiction of the factor structures and their development will be presented.

In a second step the extracted factor dimensions, which are considered higher-order structures of journalistic selectivity comparable to the six dimensions developed by Schulz (1976), were included as independent variables in regression analyses with the goal to explain the variance of the news value of the reports.

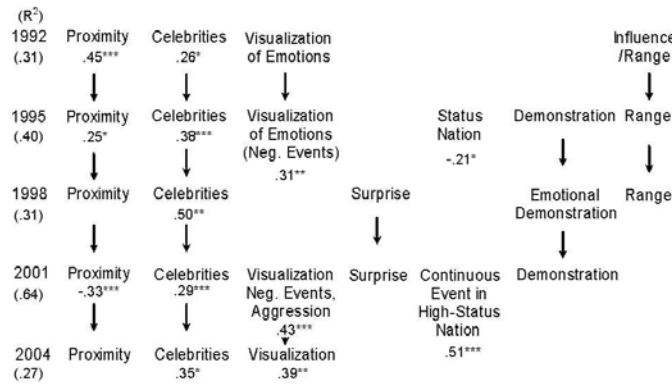
Results

RQ1 asked, whether there exist higher-level structures of journalistic selectivity subsuming single news factors. Figures 1 to 2 present the results of the factor analyses

¹¹ Following an alternative approach Kepplinger et al. (see Kepplinger & Bastian, 2000; Kepplinger & Ehmig, 2006) distinguish between the “news factors of reports” and the “news value of the news factors” in order to predict the length of journalistic reports.

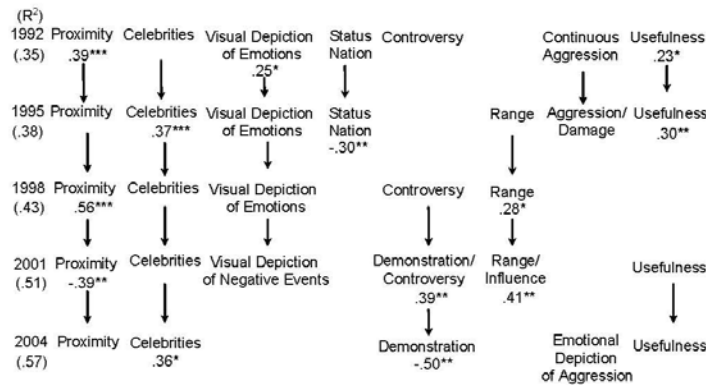
¹² The intercoder-reliability was measured with help of the formula $CR = (2 \cdot \bar{U}) / (C1 + C2)$ as suggested by Grimm (1989). For a comprehensive report on the reliability tests also see Trebbe, Baeve, & Schwotzer (2007).

Figure 1. Structure of News Factors for the Public TV Stations (Relating to International Reporting, 1992-2004)



Notes: The R-squares of the OLS-regression models are printed in parentheses below the dates of sampling; the standardized regression coefficients (betas), and levels of significance are printed below each factor (only for significant betas); levels of significance: *: p<.05, **: p<.01, ***: p<.001.

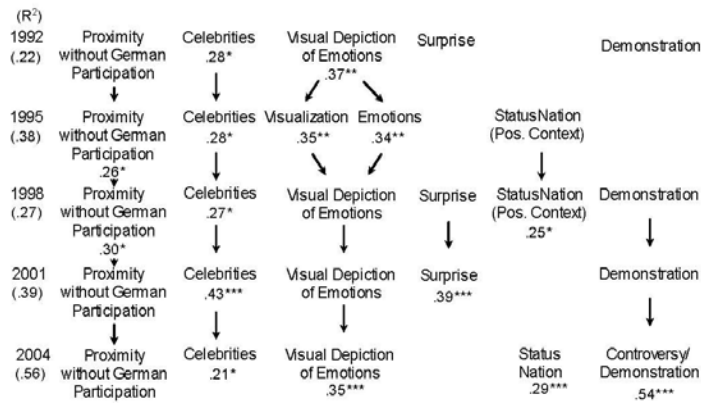
Figure 2. Structure of News Factors for the Private TV Stations (Relating to International Reporting, 1992–2004)



Notes: The R-squares of the OLS-regression models are printed in parentheses below the dates of sampling; the standardized regression coefficients (betas), and levels of significance are printed below each factor (only for significant betas); levels of significance: *: p<.05, **: p<.01, ***: p<.001.

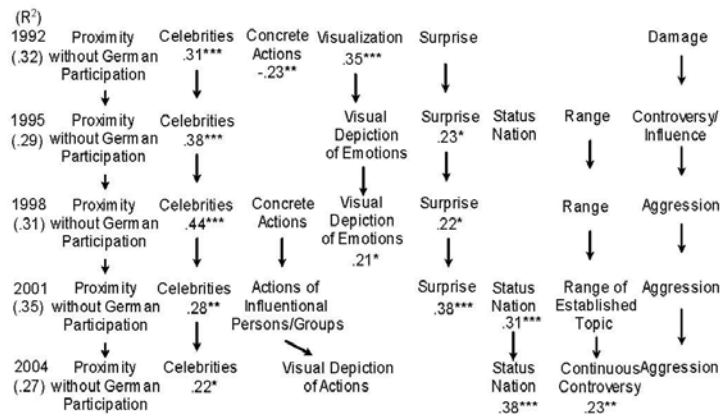
conducted on the basis of the 22 news factors for the reporting on international politics on public as well as on private TV channels in Germany. Figures 3 and 4 refer to the reporting on non-political topics. The depicted higher-order dimensions are each named descriptively according to the factor loadings. The graphs show the development of these structures for the five cross sections between 1992 and 2004 included in this study.

Figure 3. Structure of News Factors for the Public TV Stations (Relating to Non-Political Reporting, 1992–2004)



Notes: The R-squares of the OLS-regression models are printed in parentheses below the dates of sampling; the standardized regression coefficients (betas), and levels of significance are printed below each factor (only for significant betas); levels of significance: *; p<.05, **; p<.01, ***; p<.001.

Figure 4. Structure of News Factors for the Private TV Stations (Relating to Non-Political Reporting, 1992–2004)



Notes: The R-squares of the OLS-regression models are printed in parentheses below the dates of sampling; the standardized regression coefficients (betas), and levels of significance are printed below each factor (only for significant betas); levels of significance: *; p<.05, **; p<.01, ***; p<.001.

The graphs show that it is possible to extract a limited number of higher-level dimensions of journalistic selectivity from the 22 single news factors for both thematic fields as well as for the two groups of German TV broadcasters. A remarkable number of these dimensions seem to be fairly stable over time, indicated in the graphs by the arrows connecting similar constructs at the different sampling periods. At the same time certain higher-level criteria of journalistic selectivity can be extracted for both topic areas, both groups of TV stations, and most of the sampling periods. These dimensions can be

described by the following key factors: proximity, celebrities, and visualization. In addition, the dimensions surprise, status of nation, controversy/demonstration, and range can each be reproduced for several topics, groups of channels, and periods of observation. Only two factors appear only for one channel group and one topic but also show a high stability over time: The perceptible usefulness of events is extracted as a higher-level factor of selectivity for the reporting on international politics of private TV stations, whereas damage/aggression seems to be a stable criterion for the private stations' reporting on non-political topics.

According to RQ2a these higher-level criteria of news selection should have an impact on the formal "news value" assigned to the reports by journalists, which is measured here with the help of the index of journalistic attention we described earlier in the text. That index was set in relation to the news characteristics of the events assigned to the same reports by conducting an OLS-regression analysis including the higher-order dimensions of news selection generated specifically for the two groups of channels and the two topic areas. The results of these regression analyses are also documented in Figures 1 to 4. The R-squares (printed in parentheses below the dates of sampling) specify the goodness of fit of the regression models; the standardized regression coefficients (betas), and levels of significance are printed below each factor. In addition, RQ2b asked, whether the explanatory power was higher for the reporting on international events than for non-political news items.

In reference to the reporting of public TV stations on international events the explanatory force of the models varies around 30 percent and was especially high in 2001 (64 percent), going back to 27 percent in 2004. The goodness of fit of the models for the private channels increases during the survey period and tends to be higher than for the public channels, explaining 57 percent of the variance of the valence-index in 2004.

For the public TV stations the featuring of celebrities has a stable systematic influence on the news value of the reports (β between .26* and .50**), which is the case for the private channels only in 1995 ($\beta = .37^{**}$) and 2004 ($\beta = .36^{**}$). Moreover, the public TV stations pay more attention to reports which offer the possibility to visualize the events reported on, in other words reports showing filmed material, rather than to merely read reports to the audience (β between .31** and .43***). This impact is only significant for the private stations' news reporting in 1992 ($\beta = .25^*$).

The proximity of the countries in which the events take place to Germany had a more or less stable positive effect on the formal value of the news reports for public as well as private stations until 1998 (public: β between .25* and .45***; private: β between .39*** and .56***), an effect which turned significantly negative in 2001 (public: $\beta = -.33^{***}$; private: $\beta = -.39^{***}$). This means that in 2001 reports on events in countries without cultural, economic, political, and geographical closeness to Germany received great attention. The factor did not have any significant impact anymore in 2004. For the other dimensions of journalistic selectivity extracted from the original news factors a stable effect on the formal news value was not found, but significant effects did occur at several times of sampling.

The reduction of variance accounted for by the solutions of the regression models for non-political reporting of the public TV stations rises between 1992 and 2004 and – with regard to RQ2b – at the end of the observed period is surprisingly high with 56 percent compared to the reporting on international news. For the private channels the

goodness of fit varies around 30 percent and does not increase over the years. For the private programs it is lower than the explanatory force of the models for international politics.

With regard to the reporting on non-political news, again for both groups of channels the appearance of celebrities has a significant impact on the formal presentation of the news in all samples (public: β between .21* and .43***; private: β between .22* and .44***). The visual depiction of emotions is a significant dimension of selection on public TV (β between .34* and .37**), but only has a significant impact for private channels until 1998 ($\beta = .21^*$). The element of surprise seems to gain importance until 2001 (public: $\beta = .39^{***}$ in 2001; private: β between .23* and .38***), but has no significant influence anymore in 2004. The status of the nations involved raises the formal attention given to an event for both public as well as private broadcasters (public: β between .25* and .29***; private: β between .31*** and .38***); this is also true for the connection with social controversies for the year 2004 (public: $\beta = .54^{***}$; private: $\beta = .23^{**}$).

Discussion

In contrast to earlier research findings (Staab, 1990), in the framework of this study evidence for the existence of higher-order dimensions of journalistic selectivity was again found in particular for TV news casts, which have been surveyed rarely in Germany and other countries in the world, as the study of Shoemaker and Cohen (2006) demonstrates. Most of the extracted dimensions remain quite stable over the entire survey period and are comparable for both public and private TV stations. According to our findings, in the dualized German TV system, first and foremost the criteria celebrities and visualization are stable criteria of journalistic selectivity for both groups of TV broadcasters and for the reporting on international as well as on non-political events. The dimension proximity also used to be an important predictor for the formal presentation of news items. But since 2001 that perspective has changed significantly and in the meantime events in less familiar regions of the world may also reach the status of top news, for example in the context of international crises and terrorism. In addition, the factor dimensions surprise, status of nation, controversy/demonstration, and range can also be reproduced for the different topic areas and groups of TV channels at several time periods. Evidently, the differentiation of the schedule of news factors has led to a multiple measurement of the actual selection criteria, which are to be understood as latent constructs. Consequently, the 22 original news factors can be seen as indicators. With regard to media contents, this means that in their news casts the German public as well as private broadcasting channels predominantly report about events in which prominent persons are involved and which can be depicted with the support of filmed material (Maurer, 2005; Maurer & Reinemann, 2006; Weiß, 2005).

Furthermore, the higher-order structures of journalistic selectivity extracted in this empirical study show a high level of concordance with the six factor dimensions described by Schulz (1976). The criteria (1) proximity, (2) celebrities, (2) status of nation, (3) surprise, (3) visualization, (4) controversy, and (5) range are obviously comparable with Schulz' dimensions proximity, (2) status, (3) dynamic, (4) valence, and (5) identification. Only for one of Schulz' factors, namely duration, it was not possible to provide any evidence. This is not astonishing considering the differentiation of the German TV system which has led to an increased competition for the latest news instead

of following up on long-established events. regarding the reduction of variance of the regression models developed on the basis of the theory of news factors in order to explain the formal value of the news items, the models can generally be described as good to excellent. Even if it is not possible to show a significant influence on the formal news value for every extracted structure, the amount of variance explained by the models once again reconfirms the power of the theory of news values as well as the validity of the extracted superordinate dimensions of news selection. Nevertheless, the explanatory potential of the models generated here varies for public and private TV stations for both political and non-political topics. It is interesting to note that for private TV stations' reporting on international politics and, on the other side, for public TV reporting on non-political events, the model adjustment increases significantly over time. This development of the explanatory potential might be an indication that the private TV stations increasingly orientate themselves by traditional journalistic criteria as far as the selection of international events for news reports is concerned, while at the same time this holds true for the reporting on nonpolitical topics in public television news casts. In both cases this finding may be interpreted as a sign of increasing professionalization of news selection (Schwotzer & Weiß, 2005).

Looking at the results of this study from the perspective of whether or not the German public and private TV programs converge regarding the presentation of news items, it can be stated that in general the four – according to their market shares – most important German television stations evidently apply very similar selection criteria for their major news casts. These criteria are quite stable over the survey period from 1992 to 2004; moreover, they are largely the same for the reporting on international politics as well as non-political events. In this context the increasing and exceptional significance of the criteria celebrities and visualization has to be stressed for both groups of channels and all subject areas.

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