10 The Distinction Between News and Reportage in the Brazilian Journalistic Context: A Matter of Degree

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INTRODUCTION

In my previous researches on news and reportage (Bonini, 2003a, 2003b, 2006; Kindermann & Bonini, 2006) I have found it increasingly difficult to distinguish between exemplars of these two genres and in finding consistent and clear definitions for them in the literature, even though they are treated as distinct genres within Brazilian journalistic culture. Instead I have found that there is a continuum of genres with purer forms of news to reportage at the poles, with mixed forms in between.

This work is based on the new rhetoric approach to genre studies, more specifically on the view of genre as a social action as proposed by Miller (1984), and later developed by Swales (1990) and Bazerman (1994, 2004). The exemplars of news and reportage considered here were published in the Brazilian newspaper *Jornal do Brasil*, and therefore belong to a specific journalistic culture. Yet, even though focusing on a specific cultural environment, the research findings about the genres and practices focused here may lead to reflections on other journalistic contexts. Additionally, it allows us to think about the relation between genre and environment (systems, ecology) and between genre and practice.

In the following sections I present a brief explanation of the new rhetoric approach to genre studies; an analysis of the definitions of news and reportage currently available in the literature (considering especially technical, but also academic texts); the research methodology; and the results.

THE NEW RHETORIC APPROACH TO GENRE STUDIES

Miller (1984) proposes that a genre should be seen as a rhetorical action which recurs in a given social environment. She defines recurrence not as a material but as an intersubjective process, since it depends on the participants' interpretations and on the consequent sharing of these interpretations. This process of recurrent sharing of socially interpreted and signified situations establishes the types (of situations and actions), which serves as the common knowledge basis required for communication. Swales (1990), in the same way as Miller, developed a concept of *genre* as a communicative event guided by purpose(s) and which occurs within a *discourse community* (a specific group, interested in certain activities and subjects). It was based on these two concepts that he developed his CARS (create a research space) model to explain research article introductions, through which he has proposed the rhetorical move analysis as a way to study genres. Regarding the organization of the research article, his study reveals the presence of movements, such as "establishing a territory," and steps that perform those movements, like "reviewing items of previous research" (p. 141).

Bazerman (1994), on the other hand, developed the concept of system of genres, defining it as "interrelated genres that interact with each other in specific settings" (p. 97). Within a system, a specific genre creates conditions and establishes requirements for the realization of a following genre. The systems of genres, in turn, operate within activities systems (Bazerman, 2004).

In the research I am reporting here I used Swales' (1990) rhetorical move analysis, so there is an implicit acceptance of his concepts of genre and discourse community. The hypothesis of a continuum between news and reportage, however, has been inspired by the idea of genres and activities systems (Bazerman, 1994, 2004), since the unclear border between both genres results, I believe, from the fact that they are part of the same newspaper activities system (an issue I will discuss in more detail at the end the article).

To review the definitions of news and reportage as they are presented in the literature on the subject, I considered four aspects: (1) the purpose; (2) aspects of the production, the reading and of the social roles involved; (3) the rhetorical organization; and (4) the nomenclature of these genres. The first and last criteria come from the Swales' (1990) concept of genre, the second and third, from the genre study methodology developed by Paré and Smart (1994). In their article, these last two authors tried to answer an intriguing question: "When conceived as social action, what, in addition to texts, are the observable constituent elements of a genre?" In this sense, they focus on four aspects: (1) textual features; (2) social roles; (3) the processes of composition; and (4) the practices of reading.

When trying to establish a critique of the existing definitions of news and reportage, I was faced by the same question raised by Paré and Smart (1994), because many aspects of Swales' (1990) genre concept, such as prototypicality, are not enough to achieve the objectives aimed here. Thus, I decided to combine Paré/Smart and Swales' explanations. Moreover, the choice of grouping several genre characteristics in the third item of my analytical categories is due to the fact that such aspects had been little explored in the literature on the genres considered here. Many of the thoughts developed in this chapter depart from a project entitled "Newspaper Genres," which my advisees and I have been developing since 2003, following the new rhetoric approach. This project has resulted, so far, in seven MA dissertations: Figueiredo (2003), Kindermann (2003), Simoni (2004), Innocente (2005), Cassarotti (2006), Borba (2007) and Caldeira (2007). What I am doing in this article, more specifically, is a review, and therefore a re-discussion, of two works we have done on the genre reportage: Kindermann (2003) and Kindermann and Bonini (2006).

NEWS AND REPORTAGE

In general terms, the literature from the area of journalism in Brazil makes it very hard to understand journalistic genres. This is due to two reasons: first, most of these works were produced prior to the debate on genre; second, such works lack linguistic theories that could allow us to determine which aspects are central to the definition of a genre.

In most cases genre definitions (coming up from the journalistic practice itself) are little theorized or linked to old and already crystallized debates. Even the authors who attempt to determine criteria to characterize a specific genre are hindered by this lack of a theoretical basis. To define the news Lage (1979), for example, claims that "The answer depends on a definition that could cover the appearance, aspect or form of the news in contemporary journalism, paving the way for a more rigorous approach to its content." His work, however, does not sufficiently justify why it would be important to focus on such characteristics. In relation to this literature, we must stress, however, that the definition of a specific genre is not an easy matter, even for those who have delved exclusively into this topic.

News as a genre

The definitions of news¹ are, in general, countless, inconsistent among themselves and very superficial, as pointed out by Lage (1979, p. 52). This does not seem to be at all a peculiarity of the Brazilian context since journalism in this country was early influenced by American manuals like Bond (1954). In addition to that, in Portugal, Cascais (2001, p. 140) makes similar claims to Lage's about the news definitions there.

This proliferation of superficial and inconsistent definitions may be related to the ambiguity of the word "news," as pointed out by Van Dijk (1988, pp. 3-4). The author states that "news may be understood as new information or as a news article but also as a TV program in which news is presented . . ." Considering Van Dijk's statement, I think it's possible to conclude that discerning news-fact from news-genre (the latter being the focus of this work) is perhaps the most productive way to build a consistent definition for that term.

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Regarding the material consulted, I tried to center on those definitions which, in some way, focused on news as text. The quotes below, therefore, are organized in order of the least to the most consistent in terms of a definition based on the notion of genre, and say that news are:

- Report of facts or current events of interest and importance to the community, and capable of being understood by the audience. (Rabaça & Barbosa, 1978, p. 513)
- (2) Pure recording of facts, without opinion. (Folha de S. Paulo, 1998, p. 157)
- (3) ... A report of a series of facts departing from the most important one, and then from its most important aspect. Thus, we reduce the field of discussion to what would be *important*, a word which summarizes abstract concepts such as *truth* or *human interest*. This allows us to regard the news as something which consists of two basic components: (a) a relatively stable organization, or the logical component; and (b) elements which are organized in the news, chosen according to essentially variable value criteria—the ideological component. (Lage, 1979, p. 54)

These definitions are very fragile from a logical point of view, because most of the features identified, in addition to being too general, apply to many other journalistic genres. The first of them, for example, is very fuzzy, characterizing the news as a report "of interest and importance to the community, and capable of being understood by the audience." It is difficult to understand such elements as defining aspects of the news because, in fact, they are present in virtually all written journalistic production. This particular definition also lacks scientific grounding, since the importance of information to the community, for example, is not something obvious. At the very least it is necessary to define what "important" means in this case. Moreover, we have here an acritical definition, one which focuses on the naturalized image of the press as a public service, capable of bringing to the reader the so-called "important" information.

In general, definitions like that are not helpful to the understanding of what constitutes the news as a journalistic genre. They do not tell us very much about the central aspects necessary to a genre based definition. Regarding the points which I tried to capture in this definition (the purpose of the genre; aspects of the production, the reading, and of the social roles involved; the rhetorical organization; and the nomenclature), almost nothing can be concluded about them. The last explanation is the only one that focuses, in a more consistent manner, on the generic elements of the news (aspects of the organization and production processes), although it also lacks theoretical grounding.

Reportage as a genre

Similarly to the news, reportage is also an ambiguous term in Brazilian journalistic literature, because at the same time that it names a genre it represents the work of information gathering which serves as a basis for several journalistic genres. This ambiguity is pointed out by Lage (1979, p. 51), but also by Sousa (2005, p. 188) in the Portuguese context. Often, the Brazilian definitions of reportage stops at this second aspect, as shown in the style guide of the newspaper *Folha de S. Paulo* (1998, p. 42), and in Rabaça and Barbosa's (1978) dictionary of communication. In the latter, the authors define the reportage as "A set of measures which is necessary to manufacture a journalistic news: coverage, investigation, data selection, interpretation and treatment, within certain techniques and requirements to articulate the informational journalistic text" (p. 638).

In the case of the reportage, on the whole it is very difficult to say, from the majority of the definitions found in the Brazilian literature, what characterizes this genre. Here again I present some definitions of reportage ranging from the less to the more coherent one in terms of a definition based on the concept of genre:

- (1) The reportage can be considered the very essence of a newspaper, and differs from the news in the content, scope and depth. . . . Thus, it investigates not only the origins of the fact, but its reasons and effects. (*O Estado de S. Paulo*, 1990, p. 67)
- (2) The reportage is the representation of a fact or event enriched by the author's intellectual capacity, careful observation, sensitivity, creativity, and fluent narrative. (Amaral, 1982, p. 133)
- (3) [The reportage] ranges from a simple news complement—an expansion that contextualizes the fact in its more obvious relations with other preceding, succeeding and correlated facts—to an essay able to reveal, from the historical practice, contents of permanent interest, as it happens in Euclides da Cunha's report on the Canudos campaign (in his book *Rebellion in the Backlands*). (Lage, 1979, p. 115)
- (4) The reportage is not directed at the coverage of a fact or a series of facts, but at the exploration of a subject from a pre-established angle. News deals with a government which has been deposed; regarding the same issue, reportages deal with the political-institutional, economic, and social crisis, with the configuration of international relations determined by the replacement of this government, with the conspiracy that led to the coup, with one or more characters involved in the episode, etc. (Lage, 1985, pp. 46-47)

Discarding the definitions which explain the reportage term only as journalistic activity, as reporting work, the four explanations above display two conceptions

about the this genre, as pointed out by Kindermann (2003), and Kinderman and Bonini (2006). The reportage is conceived as an extension or deepening of the news in the first and second definitions, and as an independent genre in the last one. The third definition, however, consists of a mixed explanation.

In terms of the features considered here (the purpose of the genre; aspects of the production, the reading and of the social roles involved; the rhetorical organization; and the nomenclature) little can be raised from these definitions. Considering the whole explanation (and not only the definitions), the literature on the subject offers some details, but the interesting and relevant point to the issue discussed here is the nomenclature aspect.

In relation to the nomenclature for reportage, the Brazilian journalistic literature presents a set of discussions and proposals. I present these classifications below, also trying to display them from the least to the most consistent in terms of how they approximate to the notion of genre.

Sodré and Ferrari (1986) understand that the reportage occurs in three ways:

- Fact-story: "Involves the objective reporting of events, which follows in writing the inverted pyramid form. As in the news, the facts are narrated in sequence, in order of importance" (p. 45);
- Action-story: "It's a more or less stirring report, which always begins with the more attractive fact going down step by step to the exposure of the details. What matters in these reportages is the events being narrated in a personal way, next to the reader, who is involved with the visualization of the scenes, as if in a movie" (p. 52);
- Quote-story: "It is the documented report that presents elements in an objective manner, accompanied by quotations which supplement and clarify the subject. . . . It is expository and similar to a research. Sometimes, it has a denouncing character. But, in most cases, supported by data which grounds it, it acquires a pedagogical status, taking a stand about the subject in question" (p. 64).

It is, however, an explanation that does not distinguish the reportage from the news. It is too general, and does not characterize properly either of these two genres.

Lage (1979, p. 116) classifies the types of reportage according to journalistic paradigms as:

• Research type: "where one departs from one fact to show others more or less hidden facts and, through them, a situation whose profile is of interest to journalism (as in the Watergate case, or in the investigation of the My Lai episode during the Vietnam war)";

- Interpretative type: "where a set of facts is seen from the methodological perspective of certain science (the most common interpretations are sociological and economic)"; and
- New journalism type: "investing exactly on the revelation of a nontheorized human-praxis, tries to capture the phenomenon's essence by using literary techniques to construct the narrated situations and episodes."

This classification also falls short of defining the reportage as a genre, since it overgeneralizes, focusing on journalistic techniques and thus remaining quite distant from the notion of text as social action.

Kindermann (2003) and Kindermann and Bonini (2006), from the analysis of 32 reportages coming from Jornal do Brasil's four sections collected in January 2000, propose a classification in four genres, which are:

- Deepening of the news: focusing on details, new data, and an overview of the newsworthy fact;
- Reportage from interview: focusing on data from interviews with one or more defined themes (often, based on a fact);
- Research reportage: focusing on the investigation of several sources regarding a certain subject;
- Retrospective reportage: focusing on the sequence of facts which gave rise to a particular fact or on the history of a certain issue.

This classification, although built within a genre perspective, presents the problem of not being exhaustive. Few genre occurrences were analyzed, and the newspaper was not considered as whole.

The final classification considered here is that proposed by Chaparro (1998, pp. 94-96), which presents the following reportage genres:

- Profile reportage: it "reveals . . . the notoriety of people, cities, places and institutions";
- Photographic reportage: it reports a fact or subject through photos and captions;
- Retrospective reportage: it has a "differentiated narrative structure to search, in the past, the contextual reasons for today's relevant journalistic events";
- Didactic reportage: it is "triggered by issues or situations which require certain behaviors (disease prevention, the enforcement of

new laws, cooperation with campaigns, etc.) or which arouse the need for certain knowledge ";

- Itinerary reportage—it is "very common in tourism supplements. ... It has a descriptive text, with few citations of sources; it is logically ordered by some chronological, geographical or spatial criterion";
- Market reportage: "It is always related to the consumption of goods and to the consumers' tastes, or to the offer and demand for products, services, technologies and expertise. It is characterized by tone of usefulness and by a light and pleasant narration, in most cases with no critical purpose. But there are critical texts too, reporting on, for example, tests or experiments with products, conducted by the reporters, occasionally with the help of experts²."

This work, though very intuitive and presenting excessively synthetic descriptions, incorporates a genre perspective in the sense of social action. The genres raised by Chaparro (1998) seem to be fairly representative in terms of the reportage practices, and are, to a great extent, sustained by the corpus examined here.

The news to reportage continuum

The news and reportage, instead of two separated genres, seem to function as a continuum, which can serve as an explanation for the great difficulty that the Brazilian journalistic literature shows in trying to define both. This difficulty leads, sometimes, to the use of the word news applying to both genres, evidenced in, for example, the use of labels such as "planned or unexpected news, spontaneous or provoked news" (cited by Rabaça & Barbosa, 1978, p. 513). The same applies to the term reportage. According to the style guide of the newspaper *O Globo* (1999), reportage encompasses ". . . both the coverage of an everyday life's fact which has great impact (rains hitting the whole city, the announcement of a broad economic plan) and the exhaustive approach of a subject without a direct connection to the date of the edition (the state of public education, or the AIDS problem)" (p. 37).

The continuum between news and reportage is visible in the very manner the authors have defined this second genre, because (1) for Rabaça and Barbosa (1978), the reportage does not exist as a genre, only the news; (2) for Amaral (1982), it consists in an in-depth news; and (3) for Lage (1985), the reportage is the opposite of the news, since it covers themes and not facts.

One compelling explanation for this continuum between both genres can be seen in the interest wave theory proposed by Lage (1979). According to this theory, a striking fact firstly generates news and, in the sequence, various reportages which deal with the most diverse topics related to this fact. Some time later, the interest in the fact tends to decrease and, consequently, so does the production of reportages. This author states that the "study of the reportage requires the consideration of what journalistic opportunity is," adding that "opportunity, in this case, refers specifically to an interest-generating fact" (p. 118).

Based on this explanation, the author seeks, therefore, to differentiate both genres. According to him, "the news distinguishes itself with some degree of subtlety from the reportage, which focuses on subjects, not necessarily on new facts; in the latter, what matters are the relations which update the facts, establishing a certain world view. The reportage is planned and follows an editorial line, a focus; the news does not" (Lage, 1979, p. 51). The author also exemplifies, saying that: "Even an unexpected fact (the collapse of a building) can be effectively complemented by some reportage (on building problems), while the journalistic industry develops rather fast techniques and processes for data collection and processing" (Lage, 1979, p. 116).

METHODOLOGY

The analysis reported here, which consisted of two phases, tried to map out reportage occurrences as a genre in all supplements of the newspaper. The news was taken as a departure point, from which the reportage occurrences were compared and allocated in order of distance.

In the first phase, the corpus was composed of 337 texts, corresponding to all news and reportage occurrences in three editions of *Jornal do Brasil*, which circulated on the 10th, 11th and 12th of January 2000. Additionally, as some supplements of this newspaper are published only once a week and others only every fortnight, these three collected editions did not include all of them. To make up for the absence of these supplements, I included copies of them published in other days (the 13th, 15th, 16th, 20th, 22nd, 23rd and 30th) of the same month and year (January 2000) in order to have a more complete view of the newspaper.

To reach this set of 337 texts, a survey was conducted of all genres presented in these three editions, and, after that, only the occurrences of the genres focused on were selected, as already reported in Bonini (2006).

To group these 337 texts in smaller sets, which corresponded to the several reportage manifestations, I used as criteria the text's objective, which could be inferred from the content of each examined text, and its rhetorical organization, viewed still in a superficial way.

In the second research phase, 10 texts were selected from each of the nine

groupings for a more detailed rhetorical move analysis. However, one of these groups (the product reportages) had only four copies. As a consequence, in this phase only 84 texts were analyzed.

To carry out the move survey, I used Swales' (1990) CARS model. In this kind of analysis, the researcher seeks to determine what types of rhetorical action the text producer performs during the writing of a particular genre. In this research, however, I have adapted Swales' model, focusing only on the rhetorical moves, not considering the rhetorical step as an analytical category.

FINDINGS

The results from the analysis are presented here in two parts. The first one concerns a classification of the 337 texts into smaller groups (phase one), and the second presents a survey of the rhetorical organization of each group (phase two).

News and reportage within the newspaper

The classification of the 337 texts revealed nine groups, as can be seen in Table 1, which shows the identified purpose in each genre. According to the continuum hypothesis defended here, the several reportage manifestations are being understood as correlated genres, and not as reportage subgenres, although this does not imply the denial or impossibility of explaining the reportage as a single genre composed of variants.

Following the continuum perspective, the texts were divided into two larger groups, in terms of being close to or distant from newsworthy facts. The factual texts group is composed of either news genre occurrences or reportages occurrences exploiting some news aspect (whether of a fact's history, the reactions to it, its characters, or the sequence of events). It must be emphasized, however, that the opinion and the profile reportages are often produced independently of a news fact, the former getting evidence from an interview with an expert in the theme, and the second, with a famous artist. The coverage reportage, although often confused with the news, has been placed as the last item in that group, since it is not the narration of a spontaneous fact, but the reporting of information constantly and deliberately surveyed.

The second group (the thematic) comprises the genres of more universal themes, therefore less linked to the occurrence of a fact. Nevertheless, the continuum remains, since the product reportage (which usually focuses on the launching of goods) is, for example, more connected with any theme in evidence than the itinerary reportage (which focuses on tour possibilities).

| GROUP | GENRE | PURPOSE |
|----------|-------------------------|--|
| Factual | News | Reporting a fact or an event |
| | Retrospective reportage | Explaining the fact origin |
| | Opinion reportage | Approaching a fact or subject through surveyed opinion(s) |
| | Profile reportage | Describing a person or institution related to a fact, a current theme, socially prestigious or famous theme |
| | Coverage reportage | Reporting the day-to-day of an institution, big event/feast, or a lasting fact |
| Thematic | Product reportage | Describing a new product |
| | Research reportage | Presenting data on the interpreta- tion of a current problem or on social behavior tendency |
| | Didactic reportage | Explaining a subject, troubled situation or service |
| | Itinerary reportage | Presenting tour possibilities |

TABLE 1: NEWS AND REPORTAGE PURPOSES³

A percentage survey of the occurrences of such genres in the corpus was also conducted. The data in Table 2 allows the quite interesting conclusion that the main genre produced in a newspaper is not the news (22.25%), but the reportage (77.75%). The coverage reportage is the most frequent genre in the newspaper (33.23%), which seems natural, since spontaneous facts do not occur in sufficient numbers to fill in the daily editions. Therefore, the newspaper must have observers at strategic social points (Congress and Senate, the stock market, soccer teams, etc.) in order to bring certain events to the category of newsworthy facts, which is done by shedding light on some of them and, consequently, silencing others.

| GROUP | GENRE | N.º | % |
|----------|-------------------------|-----|-------|
| Factual | News | 75 | 22.25 |
| | Retrospective reportage | 11 | 3.26 |
| | Opinion reportage | 34 | 10.08 |
| | Profile reportage | 10 | 2.96 |
| | Coverage reportage | 112 | 33.23 |
| Thematic | Product reportage | 4 | 1.18 |
| | Research reportage | 45 | 13.35 |
| | Didactic reportage | 35 | 10.38 |
| | Itinerary reportage | 11 | 3.26 |
| Total | | 337 | 100 |

TABLE 2: TOTAL NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES IN THE CORPUS

News and reportage rhetorical structures

The survey of each genre's rhetorical organization, based on the analysis of 10 samples from each group, shows the content emphasis taken by each one of them. I will present them one by one, but, given the scope of this chapter, I will exemplify the four genres that seem most revealing both in terms of the continuum between these genres and of the features which distinguish them. The examples come from the news, and the coverage, the didactic and the itinerary reportages.

Van Dijk (1988) pointed out the following components of the news: headline, lead, main event, context, previous events, consequences/reactions, expectation and evaluation. The news rhetorical organization raised here (Table 3), although presented in a different formulation, reaffirms these elements, with the exception of the last two.

The characteristic moves of this organization are (1) the fact summary with a lead form (answering who, what, when, where, how, and why questions) [move 2]; (2) the fact narration, which sometimes is replaced by a detailed description (when the lead has already enough information on the central action, and/or when the fact does not present a newsworthy action sequence) [move 3]; and (3) both the situational contextualization (which complements the narration) and the historical contextualization (mainly in order to show previous facts, which have possibly triggered the current one) [moves 5 and 7]. Example 1 enables the visualization of some of this genre's characteristic movements and serves as a comparison for the next three examples.

| PARTS | MOVES |
|-------------------------|---|
| Title (And subtitle) | 1. Citing the most evident aspect (optionally with comple- mentation or specification of the information) |
| Lead | 2. Summarizing the fact |
| Text's body | 3. Narrating the fact 4. Describing details of the fact 5. Contextualizing in situational terms 6. Pointing out reactions to the fact 7. Contextualizing in historical terms 8. Pointing out related facts |

TABLE 3: THE NEWS RHETORICAL STRUCTURE

| Policemen prevent Banespa's robbery | 1. Citing the most |
|---|-------------------------|
| São Paulo—Three men tried to rob, around 8:30 a.m. | evident aspect |
| yesterday, the Banespa's agency located in the State Fi- nance Department, São Paulo downtown. After exchang- | 2. Summarizing the fact |
| ing shots with policemen who were at the site, Roberto | |
| Rocha dos Santos, Marcos dos Santos Vieira and Edson Felix Macedo escaped to the fourth floor, keeping six | 3. Narrating the fact |
| women as hostages for more than three hours. | |
| The Finance Department building was evacuated and | |
| at 11:15 a.m. only two hostages remained. The rob- | |
| bers agreed to surrender after the arrival of a lawyer and the sister of one of them. Marcos Vieira was a prisoner | 7. Contextualizing |
| serving a semi-closed custody sentence at an agricultural | in historical terms |
| penal facility which he left yesterday morning to rob the bank. | in instorical terms |
| Near the town of Vinhedo, 20 men robbed the Hopi | 8. Pointing out |
| Hari amusement park, on the Bandeirantes Highway ki- | related facts |
| lometer 72. With machine guns, muskets and rifles, they | |
| kept 60 employees in a shed and took RS 500 thousand. | |
| (Jornal do Brasil, 11 Jan. 2000, Brasil, p. 5) | |

EXAMPLE 1

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The retrospective reportage (Table 4) is concerned with building the history of a fact reported in previous editions or in the same newspaper edition. In a certain way, it fulfills the function of contextualizing the news, but in an independent text, no longer in the form of a news text. Its most important moves are "recapping the news fact" and "contextualizing in historical terms."

| PARTS | MOVES |
|-------------------------|--|
| Title (and subtitle) | 1. Citing the most evident aspect (optionally with comple- mentation or specification of the information) |
| Introduction | 2. Recapping the news fact |
| Text's body | Contextualizing in situational terms Contextualizing in historical terms |

TABLE 4: RETROSPECTIVE REPORTAGE RHETORICAL STRUCTURE

The opinion reportage (Table 5), previously called "reportage from interview" by Kindermann (2003) and Kindermann and Bonini (2006), presents the characters' reactions to the fact and, in this sense, includes the voices of social actors who were not directly involved in the triggering of the event. As already mentioned, this kind of reportage can also report comments (from artists and experts) not linked to any current fact. Presenting these two forms of operation, this genre presents, therefore, two alternative introduction modes (recapping the news fact or pointing to a theme under current discussion). Besides the introduction, its main move is to quote the interviewee(s)'s speech.

The profile reportage (Table 6) presents the characterization of a person (artist, person in evidence, etc.) or a social institution (company, club, etc.), although the first case is the most common. One interesting aspect of this genre is its much more complex introduction if compared to the others, which is due to the fact that this part of the text summarizes key aspects of the text body, which has the same moves, but more extended. This introduction may contain one or more of the text body movements, but usually develops only one aspect in the form of an catchy sentence, as shown in the next example, which focuses on the character's way of thinking: "For the psychologist Cristina Versari, to know about sports is not only to know the rules of the game: it is, above all, to understand how athletes think" (Understanding athletes' minds. In *Jornal do Brasil*, 23 Jan. 2000, p. 5).

| PARTS | MOVES |
|-------------------------|---|
| Title (and subtitle) | 1. Citing the most evident aspect (optionally with comple- mentation or specification of the information) |
| Introduction | Recapping the news fact Pointing to a theme under current discussion |
| Text's body | 4. Quoting the interviewee's speech5. Giving extra information on the fact or theme6. Contextualizing in situational terms7. Contextualizing in historical terms |

TABLE 5: OPINION REPORTAGE RHETORICAL STRUCTURE

| PARTS | MOVES |
|-------------------------|---|
| Title (and subtitle) | 1. Citing the most evident aspect (optionally with comple- mentation or specification of the information) |
| Introduction | Presenting the character's way of thinking Presenting the character's way of acting Giving credibility information about the character Pointing out the character's involvement with the news fact Presenting aspects of the character's personal history Citing the character's name |
| Text's body | 8. Presenting the character's professional history 9. Describing the character's noteworthy experiences 10. Presenting the character's life history 11. Pointing out credibility data about the character 12. Presenting the character's everyday life 13. Focusing on the character's personal life 14. Presenting the character's current activities 15. Presenting the character's perspectives on the future |

TABLE 6: PROFILE REPORTAGE RHETORICAL STRUCTURE

| PARTS | MOVES |
|-------------------------|--|
| Title (and subtitle) | 1. Citing the most evident aspect (optionally with comple- mentation or specification of the information) |
| Introduction | Recapping activities in progress Recapping the running (organization) of an event Recapping fact in progress |
| Text's body | 5. Presenting the event's noteworthy aspects 6. Describing the latest activities 7. Describing the foreseen agenda 8. Contextualizing in situational terms 9. Contextualizing in historical terms 10. Presenting perspectives 11. Quoting an expert position |

TABLE 7: COVERAGE REPORTAGE RHETORICAL STRUCTURE

The coverage reportage (Table 7) is one of the most significant in the analyzed corpus, since it is the most commonly mixed up with the news, even though it is quite different, as it reports facts that are searched for and not those which occur spontaneously with obvious news value⁴. It treats constant coverage themes, presenting three possibilities: (1) social environments seen as generators of important journalistic content (such as government departments); (2) large scale events (the Carnival in Rio, for example); and (3) indefinite duration facts (like the Iraq War).

Along with these three possibilities there are also three possible introductory forms: (1) to recap activities in progress (the Senate's latest facts, for example); (2) to recap the running (or organization) of an event (how the organization of the Rio Carnival is progressing, for example); and (3) to recap a fact in progress (the latest developments of the Iraq War, for example). As it consists of a report of facts in their continuity, the following moves in the text body become relevant: "describing the latest activities" and "describing the foreseen agenda."

Example 2 explores a subject of constant coverage, soccer. One can notice that, although its introduction presents some news lead elements (who, what, when), it also signals that uninterrupted coverage with the phrase "today the pre-season activities have already begun," by which it recaps in-progress activities. Another aspect that underlines its difference from the news is that it does not include a fact narration, but rather the team's agenda specifications and an overview of recent events.

Physical trainings

Without Parreira, Flu improves physical conditioning in its pre-season

The Fluminense team reached the city of Vassouras yesterday and today has already begun its pre-season activities. The team will be in that town until the 17th, when it returns to Rio for the Fla-Flu game which opens the soccer season in the state of Rio de Janeiro. The game also will serve to distribute the sashes to the Brazilian Series C and Mercosul Cup champions. Meanwhile, the team works without their coach, Carlos Alberto Parreira, who is still in Rio to solve some personal problems. So, the physical coach, Moraci Santana, is commanding the training, and using that time to improve the players' form. The attacker Roni, who was eliminated from the Under-23 Selection due to a muscle injury in his right thigh, is receiving treatment.

In Rio, the club's president David Fischel has promised reinforcement for the game on the 20th. "Flamengo will have Petkovic and we will also have someone to show. I can't name any names now." Citing the most evident aspect (optionally with complementation or specification of the information)
 Recapping the activities in progress
 Describing the foreseen agenda

6. Describing the latest activities

(Jornal do Brasil, 12 Jan. 2000, p. 25)

EXAMPLE 2

The product reportage (Table 8) is a kind of review of a new or recently launched product. However, as it usually does not present criticism on the product, it is also similar to a profile. The description of the product's aspects and main features is central to this genre's organization. This genre deserves more detailed descriptions, as only 4 occurrences were found in the analyzed corpus.

The research reportage (Table 9) has as its subject a behavior trend (enterprises' investment on the environment, for example) or a current problem (the difficulty of health professionals to deal with generic medicines, for example). The genre organization focuses on the data presentation, and most of the information generally comes from interviews with experts.

| PARTS | MOVES |
|-------------------------|---|
| Title (and subtitle) | 1. Citing the most evident aspect (optionally with comple- mentation or specification of the information) |
| Introduction | 2. Highlighting the central aspect 3. Pointing out the launching of the product |
| Text's body | 4. Describing the product 5. Highlighting aspects of the product 6. Contextualizing in historical terms 7. Pointing out credibility data on the product 8. Comparing it to other products |

TABLE 8: PRODUCT REPORTAGE RHETORICAL STRUCTURE

| PARTS | MOVES |
|-------------------------|--|
| Title (and subtitle) | 1. Citing the most evident aspect (optionally with comple- mentation or specification of the information) |
| Introduction | Pointing out a behavior trend Pointing out a current problem |
| Text's body | 4. Giving evidence on the current problem5. Quoting an expert position6. Giving examples7. Giving guidelines to those interested in the issue |

TABLE 9: RESEARCH REPORTAGE RHETORICAL STRUCTURE

The didactic reportage (Table 10) is quite similar to the one above, since both of them focus on some knowledge object. In the case of the didactic reportage, the explanation, however, rather than bringing to light new knowledge, focuses on the already stabilized knowledge as a background to guidelines and tips (the advising move).

This genre is completely different from the news, as one can see in the third example. A subject with quite distant relations to the facts reported in the newspaper enters into play here. Such reportage, therefore, may sometimes have been waiting in a drawer as a resource for days of little news content.

| PARTS | MOVES |
|-------------------------|--|
| Title (and subtitle) | 1. Citing the most evident aspect (optionally with comple- mentation or specification of the information) |
| Introduction | 2. Pointing out a knowledge object |
| Text's body | Giving an overview of the knowledge object Giving the object definition Describing aspects of the object Giving examples of applied knowledge Advising |

TABLE 10: DIDACTIC REPORTAGE RHETORICAL STRUCTURE

| Attitude is investment | 1. Citing |
|--|--|
| Professional self-development depends on the investment in learning and knowledge updating through courses, lectures, readings. The good relations established in the work environ- | the most evident aspect |
| ment are, in the same way, important. The psychologist and consultant to companies Ricardo Montenegro—who teaches, in the MUDES Foundation, the courses <i>Recruitment and Selection</i> and <i>Leading and Leader-</i> <i>ship</i> —reminds the readers that the organizations are emphasiz- | 2. Point- ing out a knowledge object |
| ing a set of values which needs to be translated into behavior. According to Montenegro, regarding the job market, it is worth always keeping in mind some fundamental points. Here are some tips from the consultant: (1) customers are all those who directly influence your conduct. This means that virtually all the people with whom relations are established (co-workers, bosses, subordinates, workers from other sectors of the company, family, friends, etc.) influence or are influ- enced by your work (5) to innovate, to challenge, to trans- form. To contribute with suggestions and to experiment with new processes. Even if the old method is not outdated, it is a | 3. Giving an overview of the knowl- edge object |
| good idea to learn a new system which benefits your perfor- mance and the organization's. | 7. Advising |
| (Jornal do Brasil, 16 Jan. 2000, p. 2) | |

EXAMPLE 3

The final reportage is the itinerary one (Table 11), which is also similar, in some ways, to the review and profile reportages, since it has the description of a tourist attraction as its central feature. The introduction of this genre also presents a summary nature, recovering one or more aspects that its producer believes to be central or picturesque about that tourist attraction, in terms of the aspects presented in the text body.

| PARTS | MOVES |
|-------------------------|--|
| Title (and subtitle) | 1. Citing the most evident aspect (optionally with comple- mentation or specification of the information) |
| Introduction | 2. Pointing out the central aspect(s) of the tourist attrac- tion |
| Text's body | Presenting an overview of attractive aspects Describing tour possibilities by thematic order Describing tour possibilities by chronological order Describing tour possibilities by visited points Giving guidelines for people interested in that tourist attraction |

TABLE 11: ITINERARY REPORTAGE RHETORICAL STRUCTURE

The text body can be organized in three alternative ways, as its producer decides to describe aspects of the tourist attraction by themes (cooking, shopping, tours, etc.), by chronological order (what can be done firstly and subsequently), or in the order he/she followed him/herself (in this case, in the form of a first person narration).

The fourth example shows one of the itinerary reportage organization forms, and also illustrates the way this genre is distant from the news factuality. At the same time, this example provides a view on how this kind of reportage is distinguished from the previous didactic reportage example. Although both of them have a utilitarian purpose, the itinerary reportage does not centre on a knowledge object that must be learned, but rather on a number of opportunities for action and culture consumption.

It is important to highlight, regarding this set of descriptions, that this is a didactic explanation. Much of the texts' complexity and difficulties in genre distinction is mitigated by this focus on the texts' regularities. The continuum described here is a working hypothesis, which may even show applied didactic value, but which should not be confused with the "truth" about these genres.

What the data show, actually, is that the boundaries between these journalistic genres are quite blurred.

| Friburgo becomes an oasis in the summer | 1. Citing the |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| | most evident |
| Fresh climate, diversified cuisine and good options for | aspect (optionally |
| leisure attract visitors who flee from the suffocating heat | with complemen- |
| heat | tation or speci- fication of the |
| The summer season in Rio does not count only | information) |
| on scorching heat, lots of sunshine, beaches and very | momation |
| cold beer. To escape from overcrowded beaches and | 2. Pointing |
| high temperatures, some people prefer going up to the | out the central |
| mountains, to head to a place of cool climate, diversified | aspect(s) of the |
| cooking and good leisure options. Nova Friburgo, or just | tourist attraction |
| Friburgo to its close friends, attracts weekend tourists | |
| who wish to escape from the suffocating Rio summer. | |
| The beautiful Friburgo has much more than the | 3. Presenting an |
| centenary and picturesque architecture, which recalls a | overview of at- |
| small Swiss town. The charming nature, good restaurants and hotels, and the several options for ecological tour- | tractive aspects |
| ism—such as trekking—turn Friburgo into a place for all | |
| tastes. | 4. Describing |
| Those who are interested in green programs may visit | tour possibili- |
| the waterfalls in the region, such as Poço Feio (Ugly | ties by thematic |
| Well) and Poço Verde (Green Well), between Lumiar and | ordering |
| São Pedro da Serra. The best thing to do is to visit this | |
| part of the city by car, which is half an hour from the | |
| Centre. Another unforgettable tourist point is the Parque | |
| das Furnas do Catete (Catete Cave Park), home to the | |
| famous Sitting Dog Stone The food is well diversified in Friburgo. International | |
| cuisine can be found in the city, in its Swiss, French, | |
| Japanese and even Arab restaurants. Those who enjoy | |
| night life have several options of bars and nightclubs, | |
| where the beer is as cool as in Rio's beaches. | |
| (Jornal do Brasil, 23 Jan. 2000, p. 8) | |

EXAMPLE 4

Apparently, newspaper production is guided by a system of activities which overlaps with a system of genres. Unlike many other social environments (such as the legal one), where the genre system marks the performance of the activities, in the journalistic environment the genre does not assume a guiding role; it is much more a final product, emerging from the activities. In this sense, there seems to be, in this environment, a language production pattern which is peculiar to it: texts are built from the available data and according to current editorial conditions. The blurring of genres can certainly be explained by the social dynamics of the journal istic environment and might be seen even as an ideological mechanism, but I will not explore this type of reflection here.

From the way the genres treated above are organized, there is a repetition among them of many rhetorical moves. The "historical context" move appears, for example, in five of nine genres, and the "situational context" move, in four. This recurrence is a finding that can be taken as evidence, to some extent, of the hypothesis exposed here that the system of activities overlaps that of genres. The obtainment of information is a system of activities which is the basis of many of the genres that make up a newspaper. Often, the journalist does not know beforehand what genre will be produced from the data he/she collected, since it depends on a number of editorial decisions. A face-to-face interview, for example, may become a text of ping-pong or continued interview (Borba, 2007), or it can even serve as a basis for other newspaper genres (Sousa, 2005, p. 169).

In addition to the idea of system of genre, another concept which could be valuable to interpret this continuum between news and reportage is genre ecology, as proposed by Spinuzzi (2003a, 2003b). Genre ecologies tell us about the way people adapt themselves in certain environments through practices they perform and the genres they use; and, as Spinuzzi (2003b) explains: "Genre ecologies highlights idiosyncratic, divergent understandings and uses of artifacts and the practices that surround them as they develop within a given cultural-historical milieu" (p. 99).

From this perspective, we can say that genres exist in a complex ecology of gradual distinctions. Considering that the distinction between news and reportage does not seem to be really evident in the American context—as the Wikipedia's reportage entry allows us to conclude (Reportage, 2008)—we could affirm that there are different journalistic genre ecologies in the world. The fact that different genre names and distinctions are in circulation, however, does not allow us to conclude that genres and practices are in fact different in the Brazilian and the American contexts. This is a topic that needs additional research.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The results presented here enable us to understand the news and reportage

as genres immersed in a continuum. More than this, however, they represent a key for interpreting these genres, which can thus be viewed in terms of more prototypical points within this continuum, and not exactly as discrete units in opposition.

This interpretation, in my opinion, can exercise some role on the teaching of these genres' reading and production, as much in basic education as in journalism schools. Since the existing literature is not at all clear on what characterizes each of these genres, it is not an easy task to teach and learn the reading and writing practices assigned to both of them. In this case, the continuum hypothesis indicates that the intermediary genres (retrospective, opinion, profile and coverage reportage) are a hindrance to the student's development of specific representations of the news and the reportage. Early pedagogical work, in this sense, should focus on the prototypical news (that is, factual) and on the more thematic reportages (i.e., product, research, didactic and itinerary reportages).

NOTES

¹ It's necessary to emphasize that most news and reportage definitions considered here come from dictionaries, guides, and textbooks written for students of journalism and/or for popular audiences. There are only two scholarly works cited here: Lage (1979) and Chaparro (1998). The minor presence of research works is due to my focus on the most used literature in the field, but is also due to the fact that the notion of genre in journalistic academic debates in Brazil is still given little importance. It's also necessary to say that the material quoted here is translated from Portuguese.

² It's important to say that Chaparro was born in Portugal, and that this book was published there. However, although it should be considered as Portuguese journalistic literature, I placed this book among the Brazilian works because this author has been working in Brazil for a long time, and even got his PhD in this country.

³ The photographic reportage was eliminated from this framework for two reasons: firstly, because it requires an exclusive study; secondly, because this genre didn't occur in the editions of Jornal do Brasil considered here.

⁴ According to Galtung and Ruge (1973) it consists of assigning news value to a particular fact, basing it on certain criteria. The more recent or culturally closest to the newspaper region, the greater chance it has of being reported, for example.

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