

In this article a first attempt is made to apply the concepts of "canon" and "canon formation" to television - thereby concentrating on the analysis of the canon of crime series. Based on a theory of action and a systemic concept of television, the analysis starts off with a brief discussion of which persons and institutions are likely to have an impact on canon formation in television. After that, Rosengren's "mention technique", a form of content analysis that was originally designed for the empirical study of the literary canon is modified for our purposes. Assuming that academics in television studies contribute to a considerable extent to canon formation in television, the applicability of this method is tested with a sample consisting of 24 US-American and 22 German academic texts on crime series. The main research interests are *how* academics refer to crime series, *what* crime series they quote and a description of the US-American and German academic canons of crime series and how they differ from each other. The results show that both US-American and German academics mainly refer to protagonists, series titles and people involved in the production process. Germans refer to the same extent to German and to US-American series, whereas American exclusively refer to US-American productions. For both parts of the sample, a canon emerges. To some extent, German and US-American scholars refer to the same series.

Die medienwissenschaftliche Anwendung der literaturwissenschaftlichen Konzepte "Kanon" und "Kanonbildung" auf das Fernsehen - speziell auf Krimiserien - steht im Mittelpunkt dieses Beitrags. Auf der Grundlage eines handlungs- und systemtheoretischen Konzepts von Fernsehen, beginnt der Beitrag mit einer kurzen Diskussion darüber, welche Personen und Institutionen zur Kanonbildung im Fernsehen beitragen. Es folgt eine Modifizierung von Rosengrens "mention technique", einer ursprünglich für die empirische Analyse des literarischen Kanons konzipierten Form der Inhaltsanalyse. Ausgehend davon, daß Medien- und Fernsehwissenschaftler in beträchtlichen Ausmaß zur Kanonbildung im Fernsehen beitragen, wird die Anwendbarkeit dieser Methode mit einem Sample bestehend aus 24 US-amerikanischen und 22 deutschen Wissenschaftstexten zu Krimiserien getestet. Die wichtigsten Forschungsinteressen sind, *wie* Wissenschaftler auf Krimiserien Bezug nehmen, auf *welche* Krimiserien sie sich in dem Zusammenhang beziehen und eine Beschreibung der Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede des US-amerikanischen und des deutschen Kanons der Krimiserien. Die Ergebnisse machen deutlich, daß sich sowohl deutsche als auch US-amerikanische Wissenschaftler vor allem auf Protagonisten, Serientitel und Produktionsbeteiligte beziehen. Während deutsche Wissenschaftler zu gleichen Anteilen auf deutsche und US-amerikanische Serien Bezug nehmen, beziehen sich US-amerikanische Wissenschaftler ausschließlich auf US-amerikanische Produktionen. Für beide Teile des Samples kristallisiert sich ein Kanon heraus. In gewissen Ausmaß beziehen sich deutsche und US-amerikanische Wissenschaftler auf die gleichen Serien.

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Application of the “Canon”-Concept to Television: Approaching a Canon of German and US-American Crime Series^{1 2}

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Aims of the study

If German television viewers are asked what crime series they consider as typical, the results are remarkable congruences on the German shows *Derrick*, *Tatort* and American shows such as *Magnum*, *Miami Vice*.³ This article explores whether it is appropriate to refer to such observations in terms of an audience’s canon of crime series.

With both the re-definition of traditional concepts such as “text“ and “literature“, their opening to the products of other media and the on-going shift from literary studies to media studies quite a number of literary concepts and methods have been transferred to television studies with more or less fruitful and practicable results. At the same time, after 50 years of television, the first histories of television have been published. Whatever “limited field we criticize and theorize about” (Fowler 1979:97), in other words, what underlying canon the depictions are based upon, is a central question. With television, the literary concept of “canon“ has - according to my knowledge - only been explicitly applied to screen adaptations (Netenjakob 1989, Zimmermann 1996) and not to any other genres, for instance, to series.

But why should one study a canon of crime series? From a historiographical perspective one could argue against an application of the “canon“-concept to crime series, since television’s history and that of its teaching are still too short for the existence of a canon. However, the vast amount of simultaneously broadcast new programmes and re-runs in a still ever-increasing number of channels on the one hand, and the fast changes of historical phases on the other hand can no longer adequately be grasped with traditional linear conceptions of history and call for different approaches. From an aesthetic perspective one could also argue that crime series as part of “low“ popular culture in contrast to “high-brow literature“ are not appropriate objects to be canonized. The dominant role of television series in everyday life requires increasing endeavours to teach the use of mass media at school. Accordingly, there is a strong need for a discipline like media studies to reflect its object of study. Finally, one could argue that in contrast to solid books, television products are not suitable for canonization because of their “fleeting“ character: The very next minute after they have been broadcast, they are lost for further reception, unless they have been video-recorded. However, crime series are among those television genres that are likely to penetrate the memory of a culture easily, due to factors such as their weekly or daily occurrence,

¹ The research for this presentation was subsidized by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft in the research-project „Das Kriminalsubjekt im ost-, west- und gesamtdeutschen Fernsehen: Die Programmgeschichte des deutschen Fernsehkrimis“ at the Martin-Luther-University in Halle, Germany. I would particularly like to thank Katja Brombach for her cooperation in the design and implementation of this analysis, and the interpretation of the results. For critical remarks on the research design and the interpretation of the data I would also like to thank Ingrid Brück, Andrea Guder, Eberhard Keller, Andrea Menn and Reinhold Viehoff.

² The term “crime series” is employed here as a collective term for “cop show”, “police show”, “detective show” etc. Semantically, it corresponds to the German terms “Krimiserie”, “Krimireihe” and “Fernsehkrimi”.

³ This question was asked in a questionnaire on television viewing habits with special reference to crime series, which was handed out to German students in summer 1996.

the popularity of certain actors, the continuity of protagonists and their communicative function in everyday discourse.

Consequently, here is a first attempt to apply the canon-concept to crime series. Therefore, a type of quantitative content analysis will be presented which allows us to study canon formation in progress in some more detail. This method will be exemplified with a comparative analysis of the German and US-American academic discourse on crime series in order to prove its applicability and to provide some empirical evidence on how the canon of crime series is structured and made up.

The analysis and the comparison of the discourse of these two cultures - Germany and US-America - has been chosen, because ever since the beginning of German television history German researchers have claimed in several books and numerous articles the “Americanization” of German television and television series, thereby referring not only to the large proportion of US-American shows on German prime-time television but also to the strong influence US-American crime series exert on the making of German crime series (cf. for instance Schneider 1992).

By reconstructing what prototypical programmes German academics reflecting on crime series have in mind, it is my aim to deduce the “frame of reference“ of the German academic discourse on crime series. This will be investigated in order to see whether a canon of crime series emerges and to have an empirical proof as to if and to what extent US-American series have entered the German canon of crime series. I will then analyse the US-American academic discourse on crime series, in order to test to what extent the American scholars frame of reference would be similar. I am particularly interested in the question of how the frames of reference of US-American and German academics overlap and differ from each other.

A systemic model of canon formation

If a canon of crime series is defined as what crime series are worth preserving, questions such as the following arise: What does a canon of crime series consist of and, equally important, which persons and factors contribute to its formation? Whether one presupposes the existence of several canons as opposed to just *one* canon or whether one proposes to study canon formation as a “cumulative process“ (Tötösy 1994), both suggestions are based on the assumption that canonization processes do not result from the inherent qualities of certain programmes but rather from the different interests of all those groups participating in television life.

The theoretical background of this analysis is a systemic model of the “television system” as it has been proposed by Siegfried J. Schmidt (1994). Based on a general theory of action, a theory of communicative action and a theory of aesthetic communicative action, Schmidt designs a model of the television system that is defined in terms of communicative relations between the text (here: the television programme) and its various actants that act in four different action roles: “production”, “processing”, “reception” and “post-production processing”. Working with the concept of a “television system” is a chance to describe systematically and in a structured way which individuals, groups and institutions in the North-American and German television system are likely to exert an influence on canon formation of crime series.

Here, only a rough sketch can be provided of which participants in the German and US-American television systems⁴ will probably have an impact on canon formation: With regard to the “production” of a crime series, it is the creator who is in charge for fundamental aesthetic decisions such as the conception of a series, its setting, the shaping of the characters and possibly also the basic storylines. The executive producers predominantly administer the financial and legal aspects of production and the casting of a series, but they also control whether the other production personnel adhere to the pre-established formula of the series. All the decisions made are directed towards the anticipated needs of a desired audience. With time and money being valuable, the creator and the executive producer employ cognitive schemes for the decision-making-process, for instance, what kind of character constellations would have worked in previous shows, what leading actor would attract large audiences and to what extent experiments could be ventured. Canonization with respect to the action role “production” concerns mainly the adherence to certain aesthetic and stylistic norms that are likely to win the audience.

With regards to the “processing”⁵ of a crime series, it is the representatives of the networks who hold the significant gatekeeper’s position by deciding which pilots are bought, their consent to finance a series after the transmission of the pilot, its temporal placing and on the re-runs of programmes. By employing certain programming strategies, certain target groups from the audience are favoured, others are excluded. Canonization with the action role “processing” can be described in terms of a selection of media offers to be broadcast and quasi-selection of potential groups.

Regarding the “reception” of a crime series, the audience rewards a good programme by staying tuned and by also switching on the next episode. It should be made clear, that “audience” is not understood as a unified whole, but that it is divided in many sub-groups who can be differentiated according to socio-demographical variables such as age, gender, education etc. with differing preferences. As it is well known, the actual or the anticipated ratings of a particular series decide not only about its time slot but about the life and death of a series. However, it is not only the large number of viewers that make a show memorable: The interesting argument has been made that “a series ‘will last longer with low ratings than a show without quality’” (Williams 1994:141). With increasing competition among channels and decreasing audiences it is both the commercial industry’s and the network’s aim to no longer attract a mass audience, but rather to carry out “narrow-marketing” (Williams 1994:152), that is to reach smaller, but attractive sections of the audience such as young, urban consumers.

Considerable significance for canonization can be assigned to all those who participate in “post-production processing”; that is, all communicative actions that follow the reception of a programme, such as a critic writing a review, a television scholar writing an article, etc. By discussing, praising or condemning some series and ignoring others - are actants acting in post-

⁴ For the purpose of this article differences between the US-American and the German television system will be neglected.

⁵ The theory of action roles was originally established for the “literary system” (cf. for instance Schmidt 1980, Schmidt/Hauptmeier 1985). Whereas in the “literary system” the action roles of production and processing are quite clear-cut, in the television system they cannot be strictly separated for several reasons: The production of programmes depend on the technical prerequisites available (which is a processing aspect). Also, production and processing actions take place in the same institution and are being implemented by the same persons. Cf. Schmidt (1994: 20-1).

production processing to a considerable extent in charge of the selection of material to be remembered, and thus contribute to the maintenance of television heritage.⁶

It is a delicate and sophisticated task to find out how the acting patterns of the various actants involved in the collective processes of production, processing, reception and post-production-processing of television products work together, how they influence each other, and how their preferences and value systems overlap and coincide, and to discern the intricate relations between them as they all contribute to the process whether a programme becomes memorable or not. Even this is only the tip of the iceberg: Other contexts within and beyond the television system have to be taken into account as well - for instance, aspects of general television history⁷ or marketing⁸.

To study canon formation in television means having to face similar problems as when writing a general history of television: A great variety of different areas and aspects have to be integrated.

Focussing on television scholars, it will be investigated in this article, whether any canonization processes on the post-processing-level can be observed. Similar to literary criticism, the role of television scholars was further above described as being gatekeepers for the canon by paying attention to some shows and by neglecting others. However, contrary to the literary system, in the television system there is no established canon to start with: Due to the short history of the television system a canon or several canons are just being established. It follows that studying canon formation in television means studying canon formation processes at quite an early stage.

Method and procedure

My analysis is based on a methodological framework for the study of literary canon developed by the Swedish sociologist Karl Erik Rosengren. Within the context of an interdisciplinary research programme describing cultural indicators in different domains of society Rosengren analyzed different aspects of the Swedish "literary milieu".

Based on the assumption that it is one of the main functions of literary criticism to decide who is included and who is excluded in the literary system, Rosengren applied a very simple form of quantitative content analysis to literary reviews: He counted so-called "mentions", that is all instances that "reviewers refer to or allude to other writers than the one under review" (Rosengren 1983:36). The number of mentions a writer obtains, can be interpreted as an indicator of the "topicality" of that writer.

If the mention technique⁹ is applied to different periods in time, continuity and change in the literary system can be observed. If the mention technique is applied to different cultures at the same point in time, it may be used as a basis for comparison.

The mention technique was applied to a sample consisting of twenty-five German academic essays and twenty-two US-American academic essays with crime series as their main subject. For pragmatic reasons the texts chosen were to be no longer than thirty-five pages. All essays were

⁶ Viehoff (1988:83) argues for the literary system that a certain text has to pass all three subsequent types of post-production-processes (daily, monthly and academic criticism) before it can penetrate the canon and remain in it.

⁷ For instance, the contemporary competition between several dozen programmes at a time is likely to have it made more difficult for individual programmes to be remembered.

⁸ Some movies and television series such as the dinosaur movie *Jurassic Park* or the crime series *Kommissar Rex* were accompanied by a flood of products such as toys, books, calendars etc. This raises the question whether the chicken or the egg comes first, namely, whether it is the popularity of a film with large numbers of viewers or the merchandizing strategies of the industry that promote its popularity.

⁹ For a critical discussion of applicability of the mention technique in literary studies cf. also Gaiser (1983).

published in books or academic journals. Since that text type contains the most recent academic discourse, it can be assumed to contribute to canon formation processes. The relevant material¹⁰ was arranged in decades and used in the proportion of 1:2. Accordingly, the structure of the sample reflects the increasing academic interest in television: For instance, in the German text-group there is only one text from the 1960s, but seven texts from the 1970s and sixteen texts from the 1980s.

Initial browsing through the material quickly manifested the impression that academic writers reflecting on crime series employ a wide range of references. While in the literary system reference can mainly be characterized in terms of references to authors and their *oeuvres*, these reference points are insufficient to describe the references to the crime series on television and its context. Explicit reference on the crime series ranges from series titles, episode titles, fictional characters such as officers and detectives, minor characters, predecessors of the genre, other media to people involved in the production process, for instance, script writers, directors, producers, actors etc. Consequently, I widened Rosengren's definition of "mention" for my purposes to all instances that academics refer to or allude to proper names in order to include the aforementioned such as series titles, names of characters etc.

Because of this inductive approach it was possible to regard a larger section of the frame of reference of individual authors and to detect other forms of reference. Both in English and in German proper names are spelled with capital letters. They can be easily traced by scanning the texts and editing them with the help of computers. Consequently, this modified version of the mention technique also allows for easy implementation.

First of all, we carried out a random sample survey. Five coders were given the task to find out all mentions in two texts and to categorize them according to content-related and functional criteria. After discussing their results, the coders established categories and arranged them in more general spheres. A second random sample survey was then carried out in order to test the applicability of the categories. At this stage, the categories were still modified several times. This resulted in the final distribution of the categories as follows:

SERIES¹¹

GERMAN SERIES TITLES
 US-AMERICAN SERIES TITLES
 BRITISH SERIES TITLES
 SERIES TITLES FROM OTHER COUNTRIES
 EPISODE TITLES
 OTHER TV GENRES

OTHER MEDIA OFFERS

RADIO PLAY
 FILM
 PRINT LITERATURE

PRODUCTION

ACTOR
 DIRECTOR/ PRODUCER
 SCRIPT WRITER

¹⁰ The source for the analysis is a bibliography on the German and US-American discourse on crime series. The bibliography of the German discourse on crime series is published in Brück (1996).

¹¹ Originally, this sphere was named TELEVISION PRODUCTS. Due to the insignificant role of OTHER TV GENRES it was renamed in SERIES.

PRINT AUTHOR
FICTIONAL CHARACTERS
 PROTAGONIST
 MINOR CHARACTER
POST-PRODUCTION (ACADEMICS)
REST

After that, all German and all US-American texts of the sample were coded and classified.¹² All occurrences of proper names and their frequency were counted, however, personal pronouns and other cohesive devices were not considered. The so-found mentions were collected in a German and an US-American file and arranged in two different ways: First, all different mentions of each text were counted as one occurrence. If *Columbo* was mentioned twenty times in *one* text, it was nevertheless counted only once so that individual style and focus in theme would not falsify the result. However, if *Columbo* was mentioned in three different texts it would count as three, no matter how often it was quoted. This was the basis for setting up the top ten of the most frequently quoted mentions for both the German and US-American sample, for instance, the most frequently quoted films and series, writers etc. I was led by the assumption that the more frequently a certain mention *x* in a given number of (different) texts is quoted, the stronger it is canonized.

Secondly, all mentions were measured regarding their frequency: If *Columbo* was mentioned twenty times in one text and three times in another, it would be counted twenty-three times. This resulted in pie charts illustrating the distribution of the various categories in both the German and US-American sample. The pie charts and the top ten for the US-American and German text groups were then compared with each other regarding parallels and differences.

Results and discussion

In the following, the most important results will be presented. The focus will be on *how* academics refer to crime series and which other spheres they use as reference points in this context. This will be complemented by *what* crime series US-American and German academics quote. It will be interesting to see whether canons of crime series emerges from each of the two text groups, what they consist of and how they compare.

The pie charts (cf. appendix 1 and 2) illustrate that both German and US-American academics mainly refer to crime series by quoting the spheres of FICTIONAL CHARACTERS, SERIES TITLES and PRODUCTION in declining order. The similar distribution of these spheres in both samples indicate that crime series are canonized through these aspects. OTHER MEDIA OFFERS does not play a significant role for the frame of reference. The quite large share of references to POST-PRODUCTION (ACADEMICS) will be neglected here since they are rather a consequence of the conventions of the text type “academic texts“¹³ than an actual constituent of the frame of

¹² Usually, the context of the mention would provide the necessary information about to which category a certain mention would belong or in which function a certain mention occurred, for example, whether *Kojak* was quoted as a character or as a series title. Television guides such as Brooks/Marsh (1995) for US-American television and the publications by the Deutsche Rundfunkarchiv (1984, 1991a, 1991b, 1992, 1993,1994) on German television and handbooks on crime series such as Tibbals (1992) were a useful help, if a name of, for instance a script-writer, was not familiar. Thus, - with the exception of two occurrences - all names could be traced down.

¹³ Academics quote other academics for various reasons, e.g. to support or contradict arguments, to show their adherence to a certain school of thought etc.

reference. The small share of the sphere REST (US: 2.3%; GE:3.2 %) - which will also be ignored here - confirms that the categories were chosen adequately to cover all fields.

With more than a third of the mentions in both the German and the US-American textgroup, FICTIONAL CHARACTERS, especially PROTAGONISTS, seem to embody a major potential for identification and reference (US:35.5%; GE:36.9%). The cited protagonists are officers and detectives (see also below). German scholars quote the detectives *Schimanski* (quoted in nine texts), *Kressin* (eight texts) and *Haferkamp* (six texts) from the long-standing crime series *Tatort*, they also quote the US-American detectives *Kojak* (eight texts) and *Columbo* (five texts) and the literary figures *Sherlock Holmes* (seven texts) and *Maigret* (five texts). US-American scholars quote quite a number of characters from *Hill Street Blues* in top positions, e.g. *Frank Furillo*, *Philip Esterhaus* (see also appendix 4). The larger share of the category MINOR CHARACTERS (US:4.5.%; GE:13.3%) with German scholars might be interpreted as an indicator that Germans scholars talk more about individual episodes than US-American scholars.

References to the sphere FICTIONAL CHARACTERS in both the German and the US-American textgroup are followed by references to the sphere SERIES. US-American academics refer almost exclusively to US-AMERICAN SERIES TITLES, which is not surprising, because with the exception of English speaking shows, foreign television series are usually not shown in the US. Contrastingly, German academics refer to almost equal shares to GERMAN SERIES TITLES (11.8%) and to US-AMERICAN SERIES TITLES (10.1%). They also refer to a small extent to BRITISH SERIES TITLES (1.3%), thus reflecting the large share of foreign series on German television. The category OTHER TELEVISION GENRES has absolutely no significance. The high share of references to the category US-AMERICAN SERIES TITLES is a clear indicator for the important role German scholars ascribe to US-American series on television and it may be interpreted as an empirical proof that US-American series have entered the German canon.

What series do academics quote? Talking about German crime series, German academics refer mostly to long-standing West German crime series that were running in the 1970s such as *Der Kommissar*¹⁴ (quoted in eleven texts) or that have been running since then such as *Tatort* (seventeen texts), the favourite with the Germans, and *Derrick* (thirteen texts). The most frequently mentioned US-American crime series are *Columbo* (seven texts), *The Streets of San Francisco* (six texts) and *Mannix* (six texts) and *Kojak* (five texts). However, although Germans refer - in terms of percentage - to the same extent to US-American series as to German ones, there is considerably less concentration on individual programmes. This suggests that US-American shows in general are clearly perceived as part of the German canon of crime series, but also that it becomes somewhat more blurry, when it comes to concrete examples.

US-American academics canonize both early forms of the genre such as the early realistic series *Dragnet* from the 1950s (quoted in nine texts), episodic shows that were launched in the late 1960s and 1970s such as *Columbo* (ten texts), *Kojak* (nine texts), *Hawaii-Five-0* and *Mc Millan & Wife* (eight texts), *Mc Cloud* and *Ironside* (seven texts) but the most emphasis is put on more recent and innovative programmes such as the open-ended serial *Hill Street Blues* (fourteen texts), the most popular show with American scholars, and the semi-documentary *Police Story* (eleven texts).

Thus, there is both partial congruence and also partial incongruity between the most popular programmes quoted by German and US-American scholars. Overlappings in the canon can be

¹⁴ All frequently quoted mentions can be checked in the Top Ten of German academics (cf. appendix 5) and in the Top Ten of the US-American academics (cf. appendix 6).

found with US-American shows such as *Columbo* and *Kojak*, but it is interesting to see that the two, in the US-American textgroup most frequently cited US-American series *Hill Street Blues* (quoted in fourteen texts) and *Police Story* (quoted in eleven texts) are not part of the German canon at all. Neither of these shows is mentioned once. The absence of *Police Story* is easily explained, as it was never shown on German television. *Hill Street Blues*, however, was shown on prime time.¹⁵

The identical number of references to the various categories of the sphere PRODUCTION (US: 20.4%; GE: 20.4%) reflect that both German and US-American academics conceive crime series on television as collectively produced products. However, the different distributions of the categories indicate that German and US-American scholars emphasize different action roles in the production process. US-American academics seem to ascribe a much more central role to DIRECTORS/PRODUCERS than do German academics (US: 9.2%; German: 3.2%). However, it is interesting here, that the US-American film director *Hitchcock* is the most frequently quoted director with the Germans (in seven texts), but is not quoted at all in the US-American texts. ACTORS score high with both US-Americans and Germans, which has probably got to do with their potential for identification. The actors mentioned here correspond closely to the most frequently quoted protagonists (cf. also appendix 4).

Two interpretations can be offered for the relatively high share of the category PRINT AUTHOR in the German texts (6.4%), which is not paralleled by the US-American texts (2.2.%): Firstly, German writers seem to regard print authors (and their *oeuvres*) as forebearers of crime series. Secondly, it might also be rooted in German academic history: In Germany, a considerable branch of media studies derived from literary studies. With respect to the category PRINT AUTHOR both German and US-American academics refer to representatives of the Hard-Boiled tradition such as *Dashiell Hammett*, *Raymond Chandler*, *Joseph Wambaugh*, *Mickey Spillane*. Whereas US-American scholars refer exclusively to this tradition, German academics also refer to the tradition of the classic detective story represented by writers such as *Poe*, *Conan Doyle*, *Agatha Christie*.

With respect to the category SCRIPT-WRITER an interesting observation can be made: Although this category scores in both text groups altogether considerably less than the category PRINT AUTHOR, it is interesting to note that *Herbert Reinecker*, the script-writer of all episodes of the German series *Derrick* and *Der Kommissar*, is mentioned in twelve of the German texts!

None of the three categories in the sphere OTHER MEDIA OFFERS is very significant. RADIO PLAYS (US:0.8%; GE:0.1%) are negligible, PRINT LITERATURE scores only somewhat higher (US:0.8%; GE:1.6%). It is interesting that references to the category FILM are only of minor importance, too (US:1.7%; GE:2.3%). It could have been assumed that film as the more 'artistic' audio-visual medium had been considered more often as frame of reference when dealing with television. There is also no congruity on individual films.

The observation made above that crime series are mainly referred to by quoting the spheres PROTAGONISTS, SERIES and PRODUCTION is further validated by the fact that in the Top Ten of both text groups the most frequently quoted crime series correspond to the most frequently mentioned protagonists, actors, script writers and producers/directors (cf. appendix 4 for an illustration with the American scholar's most prominent crime series *Hill Street Blues*).

¹⁵ Of course, it has to be taken into account that US-American shows are usually broadcast in Germany at a much later date. For example, *Hill Street Blues* was launched in the US in 1981 (Brooks/Marsh 1995:463) and it was not until 1985 that it was shown in Germany by the public channel ZDF (cf. Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv 1991b:287). Nevertheless, there have also been several re-runs of *Hill Street Blues* by both public and commercial channels, so that it could have been mentioned in a number of articles that are investigated here.

Conclusion

The application of the mention technique provides some quantitative evidence that there is a canon of crime series for German and US-American academics and how it is made up. The similar distributions of the spheres in the German and US-American sample reveal that academics canonize not only titles of crime series but protagonists, producers and actors. Referential differences between the US-American and the German texts occur predominantly on the level of individual categories, most notably, the stronger position of literary authors with the German scholars and the more dominant position of directors/producers with the US-American scholars. Moreover, for the German texts, the application of the mention technique provides an empirical proof that US-American series have entered the German canon. Interestingly, to some extent the US-American series quoted do not correspond to the ones mentioned in the US-American texts. But it is merely a starting-point for further analysis of the academic discourse. By expanding sample of texts and analysing it temporally the historical change of the canon of television series could be pointed out. More important, the mention technique tells you *what* is canonized at a certain time, but it does not tell you *why*. It does not provide any reasons as to why scholars canonize certain series whether this is because they are typical, innovative or long-lasting.

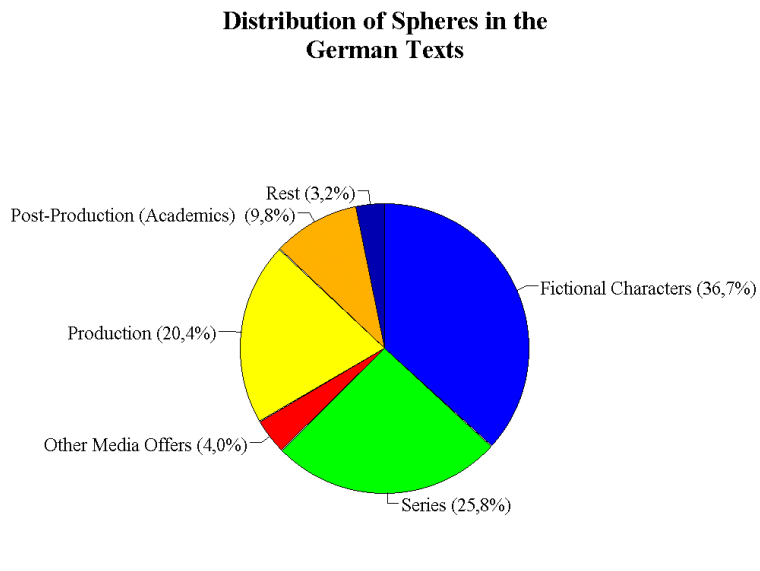
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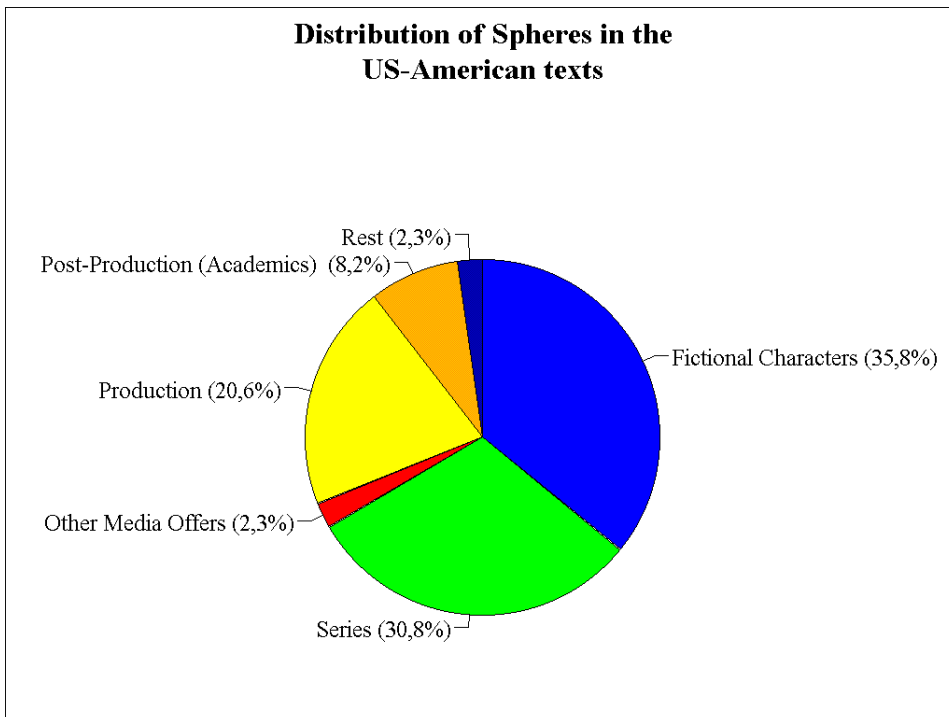
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Appendices

Appendix 1

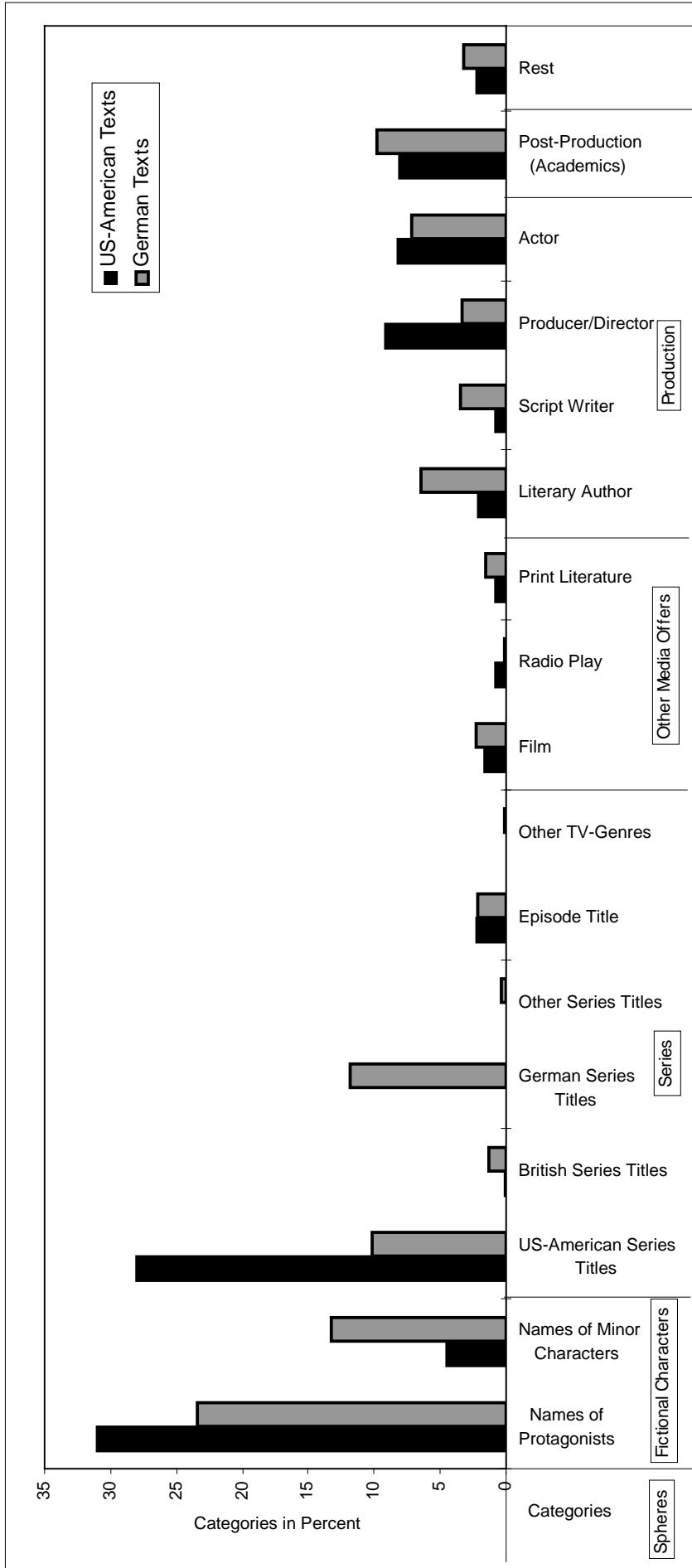


Appendix 2



Appendix 3

Distribution of Categories



Appendix 4

Series titles	*	Protagonist	*	Actor	*	Script Writer	*	Producer	*
<i>Hill Street Blues</i>	1	<i>Frank Furillo</i>	9	<i>Daniel J. Travanti</i>	5	<i>Steven Bochco</i>	4	<i>Steven Bochco</i>	5
	4	<i>Phil Esterhaus</i>	7	<i>Michael Conrad</i>	4	<i>Michael Kozoll</i>	3		
		<i>Joyce Davenport</i>	6	<i>Veronica Hamel</i>	4				
		<i>Henry Goldblume</i>	5	<i>Ed Marinaro</i>	4				
		<i>Bobby Hill</i>	5	<i>Taureau Blacque</i>	3				
		<i>Renko</i>	5	<i>Barbara Bosson</i>	3				
		<i>Mick Belker</i>	4	<i>Buddy Ebsen</i>	3				

* quoted in x different texts

Appendix 5

Top Ten of German academics on crime series

Print Author	Script Writer	Director	Actor
<i>Edgar Allan Poe</i> (7)	<i>Herbert Reinecker</i> (12)	<i>Hitchcock</i> (7)	<i>Erik Ode</i> (8)
<i>Raymond Chandler</i> (6)	<i>Friedhelm Werremeier</i> (4)	<i>Jürgen Roland</i> (4)	<i>Horst Tappert</i> (6)
<i>Sir Arthur Conan Doyle</i> (5)	<i>Karl-Heinz Willschrei</i> (4)	<i>Damiano Damiani</i> (3)	<i>Hansjörg Felmy</i> (5)
<i>Edgar Wallace</i> (4)	<i>Francis Durbridge</i> (3)	<i>Cayatte</i> (2)	<i>Siegfried Lowitz</i> (4)
<i>Agatha Christie</i> (4)	<i>Herbert Lichtenfeld</i> (3)	<i>Rüdiger Humpert</i> (2)	<i>Götz George</i> (3)
<i>Dashiell Hammett</i> (3)	<i>Wolfgang Staudte</i> (2)	<i>Wolfgang Petersen</i> (2)	
<i>Francis Durbridge</i> (3)	<i>Oliver Storz</i> (2)	<i>Peter Schulze-Rohr</i> (2)	
<i>Schiller</i> (3)	<i>Peter Stripp</i> (2)	<i>Gunter Witte</i> (2)	
	<i>Volker Vogeler</i> (2)		

Protagonist	US-Series-Title	German Series Title
<i>Schimanski</i> (9)	<i>Columbo</i> (7)	<i>Der Alte</i> (8)
<i>Kommissar Keller</i> (7)	<i>Straßen von San Francisco</i>	<i>Das Kriminalmuseum erzählt</i> (5)
<i>Sherlock Holmes</i> (7)	<i>Mannix</i> (6)	<i>Ein Fall für zwei</i> (5)
<i>Kommissar Haferkamp</i> (6)	<i>Einsatz in Manhattan</i> (5)	<i>Aktenzeichen xy</i> (4)
<i>Columbo</i> (5)	<i>77-Sunset Strip</i> (4)	<i>Stahlnetz</i> (4)
<i>Maigret</i> (5)	<i>Dallas</i> (4)	
<i>Kommissar Veigl</i> (5)		
<i>Trimmel</i> (4)		
<i>Philip Marlowe</i> (4)		
<i>Erwin Köster</i> (4)		
<i>Derrick</i> (4)		
<i>Kommissar Finke</i> (4)		

Appendix 6**Top Ten of US-American academics on crime series****Print author**

Dashiell Hammett (5)
Raymond Chandler (4)
Joseph Wambaugh (4)
Mickey Spillane (4)
Ernest Hemingway (3)

Script writer

Steven Bochco (4)
Michael Kozoll (3)
Joseph Wambaugh (2)

Producer/Director

Fred Silverman (7)
Steven Bochco (5)
Tinker Grant (4)
Jack Webb (4)
Aaron Spelling (3)
Martin Quinn (3)

Actor

Daniel J. Travanti (5)
Michael Conrad (4)
Michael Warren (4)
Raymond Burr (4)
Ed Marinaro (4)
David Janssen (4)
Veronica Hamel (4)

Protagonist

Frank Furillo (9)
Phil Esterhaus (7)
Joyce Davenport (6)
Columbo (6)
Bobby Hill (5)
Henry Goldblume (5)
Ironside (5)
Renko (5)
Mick Belker (4)
Joe Coffey (4)
Frank Cannon (4)
Sonny Crockett (4)
Joe Friday (4)
Mike Hammer (4)
Kojak (4)
Sherlock Holmes (4)
Howard Hunter (4)
Barnaby Jones (4)
Martin Kane (4)
Steve McGarrett (4)
Sam Spade (4)
Ricardo Tubbs (4)
Efrem Zimbalist Jr. (4)

Titles of US-series

Hill Street Blues (14)
Police Story (11)
Columbo (10)
Kojak (9)
Dragnet (9)
Hawaii-Five-0 (8)
McMillan and Wife (8)
McCloud (7)
The Streets of San Francisco (7)
Ironside (7)
Miami Vice (6)
The Blue Knight (6)
Police Woman (6)
Naked City (6)
Perry Mason (6)
*M*A*S*H (6)*
Dallas (6)
Cagney and Lacey (6)
Barney Miller (6)
Magnum (5)
Quincy (5)
St. Elsewhere (5)
77 Sunset Strip (5)