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Kommunikation in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart

Theme:
**What is
Communication History?
European Answers I**

The Rise of a New Field

**From Press History to the
History of Journalism**

**Structures of European
Communication History**

**Guest Editors:
Susanne Kinnebrock
Christian Schwarzenegger
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European Communication History:

An Introduction

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This two-part special issue[1] on "European Communication History" involves authors from a variety of linguistic traditions in a journal usually appearing in German. While *Medien & Zeit* has published in English before, we note that authors find themselves leaving behind their primary linguistic homes. The act is a move beyond borders even when indigenous materials of historical research may defy the linguistic inflection. This is not to say that a decidedly "European history" is embraced by all authors in this volume. Ambivalence in suggesting commonalities across multiple cultures and nationalities has both academic and societal precedence. Moreover, historical research offers its analyses while political and economic circumstances chart directions and erect barriers between cultural groups and nation-states. In the midst of struggles to keep transnational dimensions afloat, harder lines shape EU nations as conservative movements display an ironic transnationalism through diffuse but recognizably cautious orientations vis-à-vis many faces of diversity and economic similarities. Research offers its claims on whether "Europe" can be a baseline category for communication history while European identity confronts pulls from two opposed directions: familiar lands of the past and uncertain globalization going forward. "Europe," "history," and, here, "communication" each lean into contemporary debates as soon as their respective definitions and elaborations appear. "History" refers to indigenous but also mutually defining cultures. "Communication" means struggles for solidarity or the means of transmission and influence, welcome or otherwise. This range of problematic definitions and situations produces replies as this journal asks, "What is European Communication History?"

Add to this question the predicament of the historian locked into the present to reconstruct earlier human experience, perhaps through media content, its channels, or national and regional communication policies. As "facts" of history meet the historian's acts of interpretation per the hermeneutic traditions, that which survives for the historical narrative depends on the narrative as much as the facts to shed light on what to consider "European" and "communication."

Research assembled here nevertheless presses on with the idea that knowledge of communication and media helps assess where societies have been and where they might be going. Armed with historical case studies and theories of history, each author announces decisions about historical records that one can examine. Each author adopts or proposes a position on the question, "Which artifacts qualify to be of communication or of media?" Some address journalism, journalistic traditions, and the lack of them. Others look to growing public experiences with media linked to media competition for public attention, suggesting economic history of media as an important window on European communication history. Others see structural changes in public communication through attention to theoretical work capturing threads from case to case.

Part I begins with cases within borders of many kinds. Geographies and cultures are delineated, to offer frameworks, sometimes as categories that imply a systematic history. Some note concrete trends in historical artifacts, which, as bases for factual claims, offer narratives that shed light on parts of the European-historical record. This first of the two-volume special issue on European

communication history begins with the record, and moves into the 2nd volume for the frameworks, the theories of European history.

The nation and the trans-nation thus receive the historian's treatment as both factual and theoretical. For some, historical research begins to look like attempts to note histories yet to fully emerge in some countries, suggesting an uneven landscape across the European Union with possible importance even today. A European communication history is of course born of diverse nations, while global communications and media systems revolutionize not just Europe, but the entire planet. How did we get here? These two issues cannot offer an answer to such a question, but the papers here attempt to shed some light. Understanding global and regional conflict today may require the work of those communication historians whose comparative work extends beyond national borders, as an important dimension of the question, "What is Europe?" We hope that this special issue encourages others to join the work in the debates on the horizons of communication and media historians in Europe.

Where some see a systematic European history promising and realizable, others insist, then, that surely someone would have demonstrated or at least signaled progress in top-tier international journals.[2] We still await that demonstration. This special issue aims to offer more than a signal that the problem of a European communication/media history can be unpacked. The three articles in this first of two volumes begin that task. They carry, implicitly or explicitly, both metatheoretical and evidence-based claims.

Barriers to a European communication history include what Ribeiro describes as a situation without the historical material available even for national communication histories. Due to the dictatorships on the Iberian Peninsula, a communication historiography that might have re-

vealed the connections between the media and political powers could not develop. The fact that a country's historiography has not yet dealt with media freedom or professional standards profoundly offers a warning that other fields, especially social scientific accounts, might prevail as they do in other countries. Ribeiro suggests that only a communication field unto itself stands the chance of developing a national communication history for Portugal. Otherwise, communication and media history may be misdirected through a-historical tendencies in the social sciences that often capture communication and media analysis from indigenous but sedimented practices of the humanities. Communication historians need to incorporate awareness of an uncritical social scientific analysis of communication histories, so that their narratives of communication history are not simply describing prevailing economic and political power that restrain the writing of media histories. Were national communication histories to follow effects models in the social sciences to write "official" histories or other histories determined by the present, the humanities risk writing textual analyses cut off from society. Neither alternative is desirable for doing communication history — the case of Portugal underscores such concerns. A European communication history would better interrogate, then, the organization of research in relation to national policies for its research foci and content. Spain, according to Ribeiro, offers material in recent communication history, including the record of media freed from government control. This decoupling of state and media also, Ribeiro argues, contributes conditions for communication and media history to flourish. Universities and their research require breaking free of compromised versions of the humanities and the social sciences, by bridging both via an independent field of communication and media history. How a separate field does not repeat the mistakes of other fields or locations for inquiry is a discussion the essay aims to provoke. Ribeiro's claim that allowing communication history to

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[2]   At the 2011 ICA conference in Boston, Christian Schwarzenegger, Maria Löblich and Susann Trabert presented an analysis of articles on topics of historical communication research that were published in 32 international journals within the last two decades. They aimed to discover whether there was a specifically European way, style or approach of doing communication history to be identified in these journals in comparison to the works done in the USA. Their basic assumption was that scientific journals are to be considered part of the "nervous system" of academic disciplines and that the published articles bundle the current state of research. At the same time, due to peer-reviewing cultures they promise a certain consensus that the articles meet

quality standards and are fit to become part of the output of a research community. But they did not discover something distinctively European in the research by European scholars. Although there was some variety in topics as well as in countries involved in the research interests of European or US scholars, yet they approached their interest according to partly mono-cultural international standards. Paradigms, ideas and methodologies that were traced in the journal articles did not display the signature of a European way of historical communication research. The question, "What is European about European communication history?" remained without a clear-cut answer.

other social sciences appears to have its basis in nation-specific, but also European — indeed, the globalization of — academic communication and media research. The problem of communication history, then, appears as the problem of academic-intellectual migrations overriding both national and transnational efforts to create as well as maintain communication histories within Europe.

Broersma's essay agrees that national/cultural history needs a thorough enough national or regional articulation for any meaningful analysis. Even when plenty of material is available to historians, care must be exercised before leaping to the level of European history. His essay links already established journalistic forms to the Dutch "history of national identity-formation." Indigenous journalistic forms, Broersma suggests, reveal national and regional orientations beyond professional practices reflected in media. Media styles of presentation reflect cultural practices in Dutch society. Thus the author suggests that historians link categories of communication and media, on the one hand, to the cultural orientations of the people, on the other. Moving from a reading of media content and forms to a reading of a people is an agenda item this essay presents for additional interrogations of communication history in Europe.

While one, Ribeiro's, is the case of communication history in waiting and at risk of eclipse by other fields, the other, Broersma's, is the case of a robust history illuminating the distinctiveness of culturally localized histories, understood through stylistic analyses. Whether either approach is sufficient to defend for or against a European communication history is largely a matter of borders other than national or regional borders. The case study leaves open the broader question of the nature and possibility of a European communication history.

From perhaps an unexpected direction, Bogen suggests that the basis for a European communication history extends across cultures at least into the 1700s. Bogen uses the case of health communication to describe not only that focus, but also more general structures of European communication history. Bogen sees society-altering shifts throughout transformations in media, the continuity of European melancholy as a theme of media exploitation. Bogen suggests that connec-

ting widespread experience, such as melancholy, to its reflections in media offers an extended case study of experiences of the people across cultures. The analysis also describes media content of the period as something of a marketing campaign to secure loyalties to media outlets, a precursor of sorts to contemporary public relations work designed to enhance profit. While the piece is about the dissemination of information about health, it is also a description of a pathway beyond national and cultural borders. Following melancholy throughout several lands is to follow the history of media that persists in spite of cultural differences. Attention-getting as a media practice, it turns out by this analysis, predates modern communication and media competition for audiences by more than two centuries.

Each case begs questions, however, of an explicit theory of European communication history, largely due to what otherwise are the benefits of close attention to historical cases.

These articles shed various lights on the journal theme of an uncovered European history for communication and media research. Questions linger. How might the pursuit of forms and styles address national and cultural parochialism? What might research practices and organizations reserved for European communication and media history become, if freed from a rigidifying humanities and culture-leveling versions of the social sciences? Why should we think that international journals could be a source for understanding European history in the face of now-globalized, industry-influenced research? How would we imagine a more systematic history that is at the same time critical of culturally insensitive intellectual expansion? "Why history?", however, and "Why European history?" are questions addressed by each article for the study of communication. In an age of present-mindedness, these and other questions point to traceable European identities by focusing on communication as windows on the human experience. Remaining blind spots call out for the continuation of such historical analyses. Meanwhile, concepts, methods, and subject matters of media and communication history may be indistinguishable across borders, intellectually incestuous, or altogether stuck in some location of the past that fails to connect history to the evolution of human societies. Thus even broader questions insert themselves.

The question of a European communication history appears not as a fully open vista, but as itself historically situated. History, too, lives beyond the period of research interests. The range between history as periods if not stages of societal evolution, on the one hand, and moments of ruptures with the past, on the other, stand as a call for theories of communication history that help make sense of the cases historians pursue. In the process, history as the history of human aspiration through communication requires attention to the history of the counterfactual, as Bogen may be suggesting. But as Ribeiro and Broersma appear to suggest, getting to such a conversation among communication historians in Europe may not be so easy.

Europe is the birthplace of the idea that history is the history of domination, a perspective familiar to communication historians. The theme of suppression moves through historical narratives and explanations, recommending the exploration of national and cultural experiences with domination and power at the centers and peripheries of historical work. A European communication and media history that offers such connections recommends — by its arguments, analyses, and choices of focus — ways to do history and ways not to do history. In any event, trans-bordered ways for uncovering European communication history beckons, even in calls to achieve more textured analyses of the local. Together, these articles pose the requirement to diagnose the situation of the age for any region that comes into focus with a call from past to globalized present.

What remains open is less what European communication and media history has and has not been, but what European communication history must become.

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The Rise of a New Field:

Researching Communication History in the Iberian Countries

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Abstract

The article demonstrates how Communication History developed in Portugal and Spain demonstrating that, despite the fact both countries were ruled by dictatorships between the 1930s and the 1970s, the field of media studies in general received totally different treatment from the two authoritarian regimes. Moreover, it also demonstrates that after the implementation of democracy Communication History continued mostly on two different paths in the Iberian countries due to the distinct ways in which media studies were integrated in the academia. The different stages of development achieved by the field in the two countries are also explained. Nevertheless, despite all the differences, the author points out common themes that have been researched on both sides of the Iberian border and demonstrates that, despite media history being mostly dominated by nation-bound approaches, today there are common patterns on how it is produced in Portugal and Spain with clear similarities to the work also being carried out in other European countries.

This article aims to present an overview of the development of Communication History in the Iberian countries, focusing on how the field emerged in both Portugal and Spain. It will demonstrate that the development of media studies in general, and Communication History in particular, followed two different paths in the two countries, which explains the fact that, even today, one cannot speak of a common Iberian tradition of research. In order to achieve its goal, the article relies on historical research highlighting the main landmarks of the development of Communication History in both countries. Since the aim is not to present an updated state of the art, most of the sources that support the article were produced during the emerging period of this new field.

Iberian Media Policies under the Dictatorships

To understand the peculiar emergence of media studies in the Iberian Peninsula, one most have in mind that Portugal and Spain were both ruled by dictatorships from the 1930s to the mid-1970s. Led by Salazar and Franco respectively, the two regimes suppressed press freedom and controlled the media, not only through repression and cen-

sorship, but also through the control of ownership. The most important newspapers and radio stations were owned by the State, the Catholic Church, or by families that had close connections to the regimes in power. Later on, television appeared to be placed under the direct control of the government, although in Portugal, the State only owned one-third of RTP's (public service television) capital, while the other two thirds belonged to private radio stations and financial institutions (Carvalho, 2009, p. 36). Nevertheless, the regime interfered directly in the station's output.

This tight control of the flow of information helps to explain why Communication History is still a new field of research in the two Iberian countries. Before the implementation of democracy, not only were the media submitted to censorship, but it was also difficult to conduct objective research on Communication History so as not to reveal the connections between the media and the political powers. Moreover, the teaching of journalism and communication at a university level only became relevant in the 1980s in Spain, and in the 1990s in Portugal, despite the existence of official journalism schools under Franco's regime and the emergence of a university institute dedicated to the subject in the late 1950s.

In fact, the two Iberian dictatorships had totally different approaches for the teaching of journalism. Following in the footsteps of Mussolini, who, in 1928, created the official *Scuola di Giornalismo da Federazione della Stampa* in Rome, the Franquist regime, in 1941, created the *Escuela Oficial de Periodismo* (Official School of Journalism) in Madrid (Correia, 2007, p. 30). This would become the school for many of those who would work as journalists during the dictatorship.[1] Similar schools would follow, dedicated to cinema, advertising, and radio & television.[2] These official schools, which primarily offered a practical approach to the professions, teaching students how to use technical equipment, would remain the only schools providing an education in the field of communication until 1958. Then, for the first time, the teaching of journalism reached the academy with the creation of the *Instituto de Periodismo* (Institute of Journalism) at the University of Navarra, (a Catholic church-run institution). Later on, the first communication and information departments would be created in 1971, mostly inspired by the American model of journalism instruction. The new courses would then offer "practical training in the techniques and skills necessary for future practitioners, along with liberal arts and humanities subjects" (Barrera del Barrio, 2011).

While Franco created official schools for those who intended to work in the media and advertising business that later allowed the emergence of communication departments, the scenario was quite different in Portugal. Despite the ideological connections between the two dictators, Salazar never supported the teaching of journalism, or other areas within the media. In fact, it was not until 1979, after Portugal was already a democracy, when the first degree in Communication Sciences was offered at the Nova University of Lisbon. The first degree specifically in journalism would be created much later, in 1993, at the University of Coimbra.

These two different histories in neighbouring countries were a consequence of different media policies implemented by the two dictatorships. Franco used the media to mobilize the masses to support his regime, even before his rise to power. During the Spanish Civil War, he created the *Delegación para Prensa y Propaganda* (Delegation for Press and Propaganda) in January 1937, with a specific mission: to use the press, radio, and all other media to „disclose the nature of the National Movement" (Sinova, 2006, p. 96). In order to accomplish this mission, the organization's function was "to guide the press, coordinate radio services, define the rules to be followed by censorship and direct propaganda through film, radio, newspapers, pamphlets and conferences" (Ibidem: 97).

In Portugal, Salazar considered the continuation of his regime more dependent on the elites than the masses. The Portuguese Head of Government distanced itself from the masses-orientated visions of other contemporary authoritarian regimes. This explains the low level of investment from the Estado Novo dictatorship in broadcasting from the 1930s through the 1950s (Ribeiro, 2011, p. 128). In fact, it was only after the outbreak of the colonial wars that the Portuguese government started to invest more intensively in shortwave broadcasts to the colonies, which had not previously been considered a priority investment.

This background is important in order to understand why, unlike Spain and Italy, (and despite several attempts by the Journalists' National Union), no schools of journalism were created until the end of the 1970s. Nonetheless, a few training courses were offered during the 1960s, though held inconsistently, by the *Instituto Superior de Estudos Ultramarinos* (Institute of Overseas Studies) and the *Diário Popular* newspaper.

Despite the historically different approaches to the teaching of communication by the two Iberian dictatorships, both countries acquired university level research only after the implementation of democracy. However, interest in research in the field existed in the first decades of the 20th century, prior to the establishment of communication studies as a field. In Portugal and Spain, we find studies on newspaper history dating back to the 1800s, this being one of the main areas of research within the field of communication history.

[1] This was not the first journalism school to appear in Spain. The pioneer had been the *Escuela de Periodismo* (Journalism School) founded by the newspaper *El Debate* in 1926 (Cf. Vigil y Vázquez, 1987; Cf. Tapia López, 2001).

[2] The Official School of Cinema was established in 1947 under the name *Instituto de Investigaciones y Experiencias Cinematográficas* (Institute of Cinematographic Experiences and Investigation). Later on in 1962 it would change its name to *Escuela Oficial de Cinematografía* (Official School of Cinematography). *Escuela Oficial de Publicidad* (Official School of Advertising) was created in 1962 and *Escuela Oficial de Radiodifusión y Televisión* (Official School of Radio and Television Broadcasting) in 1967.

The Origins of Journalism and Press History

The liberal and nationalist ideas that spread throughout Europe during the 1800s coincided with a strong development of the press that, by the end of the century, had acquired a massive transnational audience in Northern countries. This led to the emergence of the first studies on the history of journalism, based on a positivist methodology, which extolled the press at a national level. Alexander Andrews' *History of the British Press*, and Eugène Hatin's *Histoire Politique et Littéraire de la Presse en France* (Political and Literary History of the Press in France) were two of the most influential works in the field published in the mid-1800s, both of which became references for those in Portugal and Spain who were interested in the history of the press.

In Southern Europe, despite the fact that newspapers were far from achieving a mass audience, interest in journalism and press history also dates from the mid-19th century. In 1857, Tito de Noronha published *Ensaios Sobre a História da Imprensa* (Essays on the History of the Press) (Sousa, 2008), which was the first book to be printed on the history of the press in Portugal. Nevertheless, it would not be until the 1890s that more publications appeared, coinciding with the discussions of journalism at the 1898 International Press Conference held in Lisbon.

In conjunction with the interest gained in Portugal, several articles and books were written in Spain about the history of the press. Those publications included the Boletin of Madrid University, which published, in 1869, a text by Professor Pascual Gayangos entitled „Del origen del Periodismo español" (The Origins of Spanish Journalism), and, in 1894, Eugenio Hartzenbusch, best known for his literary work, *Apuntes para un Catálogo de Periódicos Mardileños*. Hartzenbusch produced a catalogue of all newspaper titles printed in Madrid from 1661 to 1870 (Checa Godoy, 2008, p. 72). In 1885, journalism was also the theme of Eugenio Selles's speech, an attempt to gain membership in the Spanish Royal Academy (Altabella, 1988, p. 17). Most of these pioneering works, published mainly in Spain and Portugal, presented an inventory of newspaper titles and descriptions of anecdotal facts, focusing neither on content nor on reception.

Despite the interest that existed, writing about the press was not easy under the dictatorships. In addition to the political restraints, the non-existence of Communication History at a university level could not guide the development of new approaches and research methods, and, consequently, the published works continued to present only newspaper inventories and stories about the emergence and daily life of the different newspapers. It would not be until the late 1960s that a new form of research would emerge. It was then that French historiography would significantly influence the development of a scientific approach to the history of the press. This was inspired by works from authors such as "Jean-Michael Desvois, author of an in-depth interpretative analysis of the Spanish press in the first three decades of the 20th century" (Yanes Mesa, 2003, p. 245)[3], and the contribution of Spanish researchers exiled in France. Both played a relevant role in the methodological renaissance that primarily occurred during this period, and would be more visible after the establishment of democracy, when issues like censorship and political control over the media became topics that could be addressed.

Although it would develop more rapidly when the authoritarian regimes ended, the transition to a more scientific approach to the history of media began during the last decade of the Iberian dictatorships. This is illustrated in José Manuel Tengarrinha's book published in 1965, a book that remains a reference work for those interested in studying journalism during the period of the Monarchy. Entitled *História da Imprensa Periódica Portuguesa* (History of the Portuguese Periodical Press), it addresses the history of the press from the 1620s until the end of the Monarchy in 1910, although the last chapter contains references to the First Republic and the Estado Novo dictatorship:

> *In contrast to the relative ease with which a newspaper used to be founded, it now requires, among other conditions, heavy capital investments that then have to be defended. That fact and the legal obstacles (...) (which include, in particular, prior censorship, difficulties in obtaining permits and the accuracy in recognising the „intellectual and moral propriety of those responsible for the publication") thus reducing the freedom of movement of our current press to a very narrow range (Tengarrinha, 1965, p. 248)*

was the history „of the oscillations between strict controls, rigorously applied, and libertine freedom" (Schulte, 1966, p. 2).

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[3] Other foreign researchers had previously been interested in the history of the press in Spain, namely Henry Frank Schulte who considered that the history of the Spanish press

For Tengarrinha, who was persecuted by the political police, the history of the media should not be reduced to a mere inventory of titles. On the contrary, he explained in the introduction to his book, one must avoid the "trap of making an overly long list of periodicals (a temptation that is sometimes difficult to avoid in this field), which seems to be (...) a dominant feature of the work published so far" (Tengarrinha, 1965, p. 24). The history of the press could only be written by taking into consideration its context, in the sense that the media were a product of the culture in which they emerged:

> *Unless all they want to do is mere journalistic reviews or collections of anecdotal facts, the history of the Portuguese press may not be seen as an isolated and sui generis phenomenon, but as an aspect - perhaps one of the most lively and expressive - of the history of our culture. (Tengarrinha, 1965: 248)*

This need to contextualize the press in the culture from which it is produced (which Tengarrinha defended in the 1960s) seems in accord with Raymond William's alert: that it is misleading to try understanding a technology separated from the cultural forms in which it originated and is employed (Williams, 1976). Michael Schudson also underlined how important it is for those who engage in Communication History research to understand the media in the context of cultural, political and social history. It is this approach to research, defined by Schudson as "history proper", which enables us to answer the question: "how do changes in communication influence and how are they influenced by other aspects of social change?" (Schudson, 1991, p. 177). Nevertheless, this approach still tends not to be present in many recent studies that are published on the history of the media.

Tengarrinha's perspective was, in fact, innovative at the time, and his *História da Imprensa Periódica Portuguesa* (History of the Portuguese Periodical Press) became a seminal book that would be considered, to the present day, a reference for all those who study the history of Portuguese journalism. The same cannot be said of *Historia del Periodismo Español* (History of Spanish Journalism) written by Pedro Gómez Aparicio, which also appeared

in the latter days of the Iberian dictatorships. It was published in four volumes, between 1967 and 1981. Not only is it mostly a compilation of stories, something Tengarrinha criticized, but Gómez Aparicio's ideological connections with Franco makes his work less objective when analyzing Spanish journalism between the 1930s and the 1970s. For this reason, while Tengarrinha's book remains a reference today, it is not until the 1980s when we find a classic handbook on the history of Spanish journalism: Historia del Periodismo en España (History of Journalism in Spain), published in three volumes by María Cruz Seone and María Dolores Saíz. The first two volumes, published in 1983, deal with the 18th and 19th century respectively, while volume three, published in 1996, covers the period from 1898 to the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936. Furthermore, it would take until the end of the 1980s for new handbooks to appear covering the period of Franco's dictatorship.[4]

In Portugal and Spain, journalism and the press have been the main objects of research for those interested in the History of Communication for 20 years. Julio Montero Díaz and José Carlos Rueda Laffond observed in their *Introducción a la História de la Comunicacíon Social* (Introduction to the History of Social Communication):

> *For a long time, the only means of social communication in the West, where it existed, was the mass media. It is not, therefore, so strange that communication history was initially the history of the press (Montero Díaz & Rueda Laffond, 2001, p. 18-19).[5]*

Although Communication History paid more attention to the press than to other media, in the Iberian countries it was not until the second half of the 20th century that newspapers reached a mass audience. This was mainly due to the high level of illiteracy (Candeias & Simões, 1999; Pizarroso Quintero, 1996, p. 305), and to the fact that newspapers were targeting an educated elite, interested in politics (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 95). Contrary to that which happened in Northern Europe where a stratified press market emerged, in Southern Europe, "the roots of journalism lay more strongly in a literary public sphere, dominated by aristocratic interests, rather

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[4] Two of these handbooks were published by Jesús Timoteo Álvarez (1989) and José Javier Sánchez Aranda and Carlos Barrera del Barrio (1992).
[5] A similar idea is expressed by Carlos Barrera del Barrio who considers that the interest for Communication History

became a reality during the 20th century "firstly in relation to the press – the doyen and veteran par excellence, then followed by radio and television, and finally all media that can be seen as forms of public communication" (Barrera del Barrio, 1996, p. 15).

than the bourgeoisie" (Hardy, 2008, p. 36). The fact that newspapers were written to the few, and not to the masses, made them interesting objects of research for their "elitist bias against studying the mass media" (Douglas, 2008, p. 67), a bias that existed within the humanities until the late 1970s.

Dominique Wolton's description of how the French academy and elites first reacted to television, considering it mostly negative and responsible for the proliferation of low culture (Wolton, 2006, pp. 54-55), can also be applied to Iberian countries. Despite the huge importance and impact that broadcasting had from the 1930s, it would take several decades for the academy to start studying both radio and television. On the contrary, newspapers, particularly those that gave particular attention to political discussions, would continue to be, until the last two decades, the main objects of research in Media History in both countries. Moreover, when considering radio and television as objects of research, most studies, even today, still focus on news or political control – normally considered serious research topics – and not on entertainment.

Communication History in the Academic Sphere

Although historical analysis of the press was a founding discipline of communication studies, Communication History is still very recent in the academic world of the Iberian countries. Moreover, the way the discipline was incorporated was totally different in Portugal versus Spain. Different strategies were adopted by universities in the 1970s, when teaching programs were defined for the communication field. While departments of communication or information were created in Spain, in Portugal the new communication courses were placed within the humanities and social sciences faculties. In addition to the different ways in which universities dealt with communication, the development of media systems also followed two different paths in Portugal and Spain in the 1960s, as well as in the years that followed the collapse of the dictatorships.

In Spain, the last decade of Franco's regime brought a new press law "that formally abolished censorship but maintained control of the media in other, more subtle ways" (Arboledas, 2010, p. 148). In Portugal, control over the media would

continue as ferociously as in the past. Not only did Salazar's successor, Marcello Caetano, not open up the regime, but he had to deal with the colonial wars, which created extra concern with content published in the press or read on the air, for both radio and television. Furthermore, as described by Luis Arboledas, after the implementation of democracy in 1974 and 1975, the two countries would follow two different policies concerning the media.

In Portugal, the majority of the newspapers and radio stations were nationalized, meaning that, in the years that followed the implementation of democracy, the State directly owned a larger number of media companies than it had during the Estado Novo. At the same time, "in Spain a communication system was built, based around a reduction of State interference, (...) private sector expansion in the radio and the press and the appearance of the first media groups (Arboledas, 2010, p. 154). In practical terms, the Spanish media system would follow the pattern of most European countries, with deregulation and commercialisation becoming dominant. This would only become a reality in Portugal in the early 1990s, when several newspapers and radio stations were privatized and private television channels were launched.

Anticipating the market's need for a new type of communication professional, in Spain, the first communication or information faculties were created in 1971, in Madrid, Barcelona and Navarra. Other departments would follow, and, consequently, there were more researchers focused on the communication field in Spanish universities, as well as a swifter and more widespread specialization of academic work, with university staff focusing on the field of Communication History, in particular. This created the necessary conditions for the historiography of communication to undergo "not only unquestionable expansion but also relentless methodological renewal" (Yanes Mesa, 2003, p. 243).

Journalism History or Communication History were taught mostly by History professors during the initial years of these new faculties, who saw the media as historical sources and not as objects of study (Román Portas, 2000, p. 126). Gradually, an evolution would take place with the emergence of new types of research, in particular, some that did not focus on a specific medium, but went beyond, addressing the impact of mediated com-

munication on society. Moreover, instead of focusing only on production and the message, some research projects also paid particular attention to the history of reception, which, as pointed out by Michael Schudson, has been "by far the most elusive" of the research areas within Communication History (Schudson, 1991, p. 176).

Other impacts arising from the creation of the new faculties were the organisation of several congresses intended to discuss new historiographical perspectives, and the publication of the book, *Historia de los Medios de Comunicación en España. Periodismo, imagen y publicidad* (1900-1990) (History of the Media in Spain. Journalism, picture and advertising), coordinated by Jesús Timoteo Álvarez. Published in 1989, it presents a synthesis of the history of communication during the 20th century in Spain, and it resulted from several doctoral theses and research projects conducted within the new faculties of information and communication (Álvarez, 1989). This functioned as proof that the field not only existed, but had the ability to produce knowledge in a period when the media were already considered an essential component of contemporary societies, and not just perceived as sources for historical analysis.

Another important characteristic of the development of Communication History in Spain was the production, initiated in the 1960s, of continuous research on local and regional press. Inspired by the Italian micro-history approach, histories of the press in the different autonomous communities were published mostly in the 1970s and 1980s. Local histories of the cinema, radio, and television have also been published in the last two decades. Although this provides a large number of studies concerning local and regional media markets, it is also true that some of these works lack methodology and are motivated by the authors' passion on the subject, which means that their main focus is the promotion of local media, and not the development of scientific knowledge:

> *Micro-histories normally flow from love for the source, the love of mother. The spontaneous micro-historian works towards the certainly morbid objective of returning time gone by, to the roots, the illusory Eden, the enclosure within the womb" (González, 1991).*

In the last two decades, the growing development of faculties of communication, which started in the 1970s, has made the Communication History research landscape richer and more multi-faceted than ever before. In fact, after these new faculties achieved stability, they became responsible for the proliferation of handbooks, monographs, articles and research projects in Communication History, enabling the field to achieve academic recognition.

A completely different reality is found across the border in Portugal, where the field of communication has never emancipated from the Humanities and Social Sciences faculties. This has led to a much slower development of Communication Studies in general, and Communication History in particular. Hence, a substantial portion of the literature has been produced by historians, and not by communication scholars, despite the fact that today there is clearly a mix of backgrounds of researchers in the field. In fact, as in most countries, the number of researchers from the communication field engaging in Communication History analysis is increasing, despite the fact that „the mainstream of communication research relates hesitantly to history" (Zelizer, 2008, p. 5).

When looking at the volume of Portuguese production on the history of communication, it is much smaller compared to Spanish production. Despite the publication of a few books in the final years of the Estado Novo which addressed censorship and its history,[6] it was not until the 1990s that scientific research in the field flourished. The first PhD thesis of Communication History was defended in 1993, and published a few years later. It analyses the news broadcast of the public service television station (RTP) under the Estado Novo dictatorship between 1957 (year of the inauguration of RTP) and 1974. In his introduction, the author, Rui Cádima, defines himself as a historian (Cádima, 1996), which also reflects the lack, at the time, of a concept of communication historiography similar to the one that had been adopted by several Spanish researchers. In 1995, Josep Gómez Mompart had distinguished historians of communication by their focus on communication as the fundamental object of study (Checa Godoy, 2008, p. 11).

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[6] In 1971, Alberto Arons de Carvalho and António Monteiro Cardoso published Da Liberdade de Imprensa (Press Freedom). The former would publish two years later A Censura e as Leis da Imprensa (Censorship and Press Laws).

Such differentiation has only recently started to be discussed in Portugal, with the emergence of a few research projects in the last two decades. The majority focus on specific media and specific time periods belonging to what Michael Schudson defines as institutional history (Schudson, 1991, pp. 178-179). Despite a significant increase in the number of monographs and articles produced in the last decade, a lack of handbooks continues to exist, and, still today, there is no general history of Portuguese media available. Accordingly, the periodization of the different phases of Communication History in Portugal is still to be defined. It is clear that in the last few decades the field is still emerging in Portugal, while it has been developing swiftly in Spain. Additional proof of this is the fact that, while the Spanish created the Association of Communication Historians in 1991, the Portuguese Association of Communication Studies (SOPCOM) was created later in 1998, and still does not have an interest group in Communication History.

Conclusion

The different paths of development that Communication History has taken in the Iberian academic world, combined with the dominant nation-bound approach, explains why there seems to be a complete absence of research adopting an Iberian perspective. Despite some Spanish books that focus on the international level, the nation-bound approach is still dominant, which, as in other regions, explains the lack of transnational research in the field, making it more difficult to compete with "techno-histories that soar across territorial frontiers" (Curran, 2008, p. 48). In the case of Iberia, common research projects would certainly enlighten similarities and differences in the development of media systems.

Despite these different paths, on both sides of the border, the common experience of living under dictatorships suggests common themes that attract the attention of researchers in the field of Communication History. Such themes most notably include the propaganda strategies implemented by the dictators, the relationship between the media and the political sphere, and the role of national and international broadcasting in undermining the Franquist regime and the Estado Novo. These studies have been conducted by authors who have diverging backgrounds for both history and communication studies. While

the historians tend to approach the media as one more element of society, communication studies scholars tend to "emphasize the role of communication as a social articulator" (Yanes Mesa, 2003, p. 242). The combination of these two perspectives might help advance the understanding of the role of the media in society since, according to Juan Antonio Garcia Galindo, it is „the explanatory convergence of social communication with the general progress of historiography that permits the history of communication to be contextualized as part of the general historical process" (Garcia Galindo, 1996, p. 37).

The mixed background of those who conduct research in the field seems to be a common pattern in Europe. Furthermore, going beyond the scope of this article, one can find other similarities of the development of the field on the continent, starting with the fact that Communication History – namely the history of journalism and the press – was the founding discipline of media studies in most countries. It seems to be the recent trend in Europe, including the Iberian Peninsula, that studies in communication history emphasize the impact, effects, and reception of communication rather than just narrating stories of national media development. Additionally, research that looks at media and technology in the context of the cultural forms in which they are produced is emerging all over Europa and has enabled Communication History to further distance itself from such technologically deterministic approaches.

While one must acknowledge the lack of a single European perspective on Communication History, it is also true that the research conducted in several countries has been influenced by the work produced in other European regions. Taking the case of the Iberian Peninsula as an example, one can speak of the influence by French historiography during the 1970s and 1980s, as well as of British (and also American) influence in the last two decades, especially the focus on reception and the cultural history of the media.

Although the distinct political situations that existed in Europe during the 20th century, as well as the different ways media systems have developed, led to the emergence of nation-bound approaches, today Communication History seems to be sharing an increasing number of research questions and concerns. This can lead to an increase in the volume of studies with a European perspective, a

perspective that sheds light on common patterns and peculiarities that exist in different regions. Such work should in turn produce transnatio- nal handbooks with a European perspective on Communication History.

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From Press History to the History of Journalism

National and Transnational Features of Dutch Scholarship

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Abstract

In this essay the historiography on journalism in the Netherlands is critically examined. Three stages are distinguished in scholarship, moving from press history, i.e. mapping the institutional history of the press, to journalism history to the history of journalism. The latter indicates a shift from history focused on news production and professionalization to an approach that also includes the content, form and style of news coverage. It is argued that this pattern is not necessarily unique to the Dutch case and might be present in other European countries as well. Furthermore, following in the footsteps of Carey and Curran it is contended that a transnational grand narrative of journalism is implicitly in evidence in European historiography. This narrative is a story of continuous progress in which the development of journalism is interpreted as a long road from a partisan press to press freedom, including the establishment of an autonomous profession independent of political and economic powers that obeys more or less the objectivity regime and the practices and formal conventions resulting from it. This article concludes with a plea for a more nuanced history of journalism that takes reflective styles of journalism seriously and demonstrates the interplay between national specificities and transnational universals.

In retrospect, the year 1972 can be regarded as a watershed in Dutch journalism and press history. H. J. A. Hofland, just sacked at the bleeding liberal daily *Algemeen Handelsblad*, published a volume of essays that soon achieved an iconic status. In *Lifting Paving Stones, Or True Stories about the Authorities in the Country of Faits Accomplis*, Hofland criticized Dutch politics and its cup-bearer: journalism.[1] He argued that Dutch journalism was subservient to politics and the authorities. Hofland believed news was suppressed rather than revealed, which he saw as deceiving the public. His critique echoed the words of political scientist Hans Daalder, who characterized the Dutch press as 'an iceberg that has to keep more under the water line than it can show' (Daalder, 1964, pp. 32-33) in his 1964 inaugural lecture. Two decades later, Hofland (1988) elegantly summarized his critique in the title of a public lecture, 'Submissiveness is Worse than Censorship'. If the press were a dog, it would look the other way and never bark.

To understand Hofland's argument and the development of Dutch journalism history, it is essential to know that until the 1970s, the Dutch press favored a reflective style of journalism. One aim of the news media was to educate, instruct and influence readers to accept certain political or socio-cultural positions. So the media preferred opinions and analyses to news and reporting. Journalists subjectively interpreted the news for their readers, and many of the media were openly partisan (Broersma, 1999, 2007; Wijfjes, 2004). The press and broadcasters were largely incorporated into the socio-political system. Starting in the late nineteenth century, Dutch society was 'pillarized' along religious and political lines. The distinctive Catholic, Protestant and Socialist communities each had their own political parties, labour unions, churches, schools, universities, social welfare organizations, athletic clubs and so on, which were subsidized in part by the state (Lijphart, 1968; Blom & Talsma, 2000). The leading principle was that every religious or social community should have the right to organize its members' societal lives with as little state interference as possible and should be able to freely do so.

The country's newspapers, magazines and broadcasters were closely aligned to these distinctive 'pillars' that were part and parcel of its national

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[1] Dutch title: *Tegels lichten. Of ware verhalen uit het land van de voldongen feiten.* Reprinted six times, the last time in 1996, the book has never been translated.

unity. To a large extent, they were instruments to voice the opinions of the various communities and promote their interests. They also established a sense of belonging and discipline among their own ranks. Some of the media were owned by political parties, labour unions or other interest groups, but most of them were private enterprises that supported a political point of view because they genuinely believed in it or simply for commercial reasons. In addition to the pillarized media, there was a strong Liberal press, Liberal in the British sense of the word. Other media, mainly focused on local or regional markets, characterized themselves as neutral (Wijfjes, 2004).

In *Lifting Paving Stones*, Hofland characterized Dutch journalists as lackeys of the authorities. They nod respectfully when politicians speak to them and never question their statements. More a pamphlet than a solid analysis, the volume set the standard for evaluating pre-1970 Dutch journalism as backward, anachronistic and something for reporters and historians to be ashamed of. Although there is an element of truth here, for the sake of argument Hofland exaggerated the obedience of Dutch journalists in well-phrased hyperboles (cf. Koedijk, 1997). This rhetorical strategy turned out to be successful. By diminishing the profession as *non-journalistic*, he set the standard for a new journalism independent of politics and more oriented towards critically judging the authorities and their political decisions. In doing so, he simultaneously earned a reputation as a critical intellectual and a proponent of a more Anglo-American conception of the journalist as the watchdog of democracy.

Hofland certainly hit a nerve with his book. In the last quarter of the twentieth century, the media loosened the ties with their pillarized communities and indeed the whole pillarization system started to crumble as a result of the social emancipation launched in the 1960s. Newspaper circulation rose quickly, and so did the number of journalists and the level of professionalization. Newly established journalism schools at the college level emphasized the autonomous role of professional journalism and its democratic function. Hofland's book became a landmark for new generations of journalists. It is an inspiring critique that finally set the course for critical journalism and became a frightening reminder of the old times, when the press and politics were intertwined. Other prominent journalists presented similar images of the past (for example Blokker, 1992, 2010; Schoo,

2009), but none were as well timed and persuasive as Hofland's account. *Lifting Paving Stones* helped motivate his peers to elect him Dutch Journalist of the Twentieth Century in 1999. Furthermore, in 2007 a major journalistic award in The Netherlands was called the Paving Stone (*De Tegel*) as a tribute to Hofland and the term he coined in the title of his book.

Scholars of Dutch press history cannot avoid Hofland's legacy either. In studies since the 1980s, when media history burgeoned as a field in Dutch academia, the notion of professionalization is dominant. The development of journalism is depicted as a tale of oppression and limited professional autonomy before the last quarter of the twentieth century, when emancipation and professionalization take off. In this essay I critically examine this historiography and argue that this interpretation of Dutch journalism history, dominant in the professional discourse as well as academic scholarship, fits into a transnational grand narrative of journalism. I conclude with a plea for a more nuanced history of journalism that takes reflective styles of journalism seriously and demonstrates the interplay between national specificities and transnational universals.

From press history to journalism history to the history of journalism

Media and journalism history has long been a strange bedfellow in Dutch academia. Long abandoned to dabblers and former journalists, it only managed to secure a position at Dutch universities after World War Two. The number of scholars in this field has remained relatively small, however, and many do not devote all their research time to media and journalism history. The rise of journalism education at Dutch universities since the 1990s has created an institutional foundation that stimulated scholarship but also caused a shift to journalism studies more focused on contemporary topics. However, the origins of Dutch press history go back to the 1860s as an activity for individuals with a fierce interest in the press and its history.

I distinguish three stages in the historiography on journalism, moving from press history, i.e. mapping the institutional history of the press, to journalism history to the history of journalism. At first glance, the move from journalism history to the history of journalism might seem like little

more than a play on words, but it indicates a shift from history focused on news production and professionalization to an approach that also includes the content, form and style of news coverage. Needless to say, there is no clear temporal demarcation between the stages; instead, new methodological approaches, theoretical viewpoints and topics complement earlier ones. I neither want to suggest that one approach is superior to another. The existing narratives are merely complemented and challenged by alternative ones. Lastly, this historiographic pattern is not necessarily unique to the Dutch case and might even relate to the development of history as a discipline. When a field of study emerges, it usually starts by researching and outlining structures and institutions as the basis of the field. Once the contours are marked, in this case of the media landscape, it is possible to move on to media performance and content.

The press became a subject of study in the Netherlands in the second part of the nineteenth century thanks to the work of one scholar, W. P. Sautijn Kluit (1838-1894). Trained as a lawyer, he was triggered by the works of the famous French press historian Eugène Hatin, who visited the Low Countries in the 1860s. Kluit had to start from scratch and trace archival sources and copies of newspapers at a time when libraries and archives were just getting set up. At this early stage of accumulating collections, newspapers and magazines were certainly not regarded as the most important material to collect. The microscopic-bibliographical studies Kluit successively wrote are exploratory. He mapped the early institutional history of a few newspapers and magazines and the press policy of the provincial and national governments (Hemels, 1993, pp. 48-53, 63).

Kluit's efforts are a prime example of the first period in historiography, i.e. press history. Scholars like R. van der Meulen, H. J. Scheffer, Maarten Schneider and Joan Hemels followed in his footsteps. Until the 1980s the study of the press was largely still a matter of individual scholars collecting and exploring sources and back issues of newspapers. They wrote institutional histories based on the collected material, often quoting it at length. At this stage, presenting factual infor-

> As in other countries, Dutch press history unfolded in splendid isolation. It focused almost exclusively on Dutch topics without taking international developments or influences into account.

mation seemed more important than analysing it and presenting the results in comprehensive narratives. Moreover, they treated the press as a separate category that can be more or less isolated from the society it is part of.

In 1978, Schneider and Hemels published the fourth edition of *The Dutch Newspaper* summarizing earlier research findings in an almost encyclopedic collection of facts. It provides a useful overview of the institutional development of the Dutch press, but lacks an organizing narrative and is thus still of a random nature. Descriptive histories focused on biographies of well-known publishers and journalists (for example Scheffer. 1976; Peijnenburg, 1976), the institutional development of newspapers, magazines and the press in general (for example Van der Meulen, 1885; Hemels, 1969, 1981; Scheffer, 1981), as well as the political context of the press (for example Cramer, 1958). Other studies are devoted to the coverage of important historical events such as the Russian Revolution or the Nazi regime in Germany (Stoelinga, 1976; Van Vree, 1989).

As in other countries, Dutch press history unfolded in splendid isolation. It focused almost exclusively on Dutch topics without taking international developments or influences into account. Every now and then, studies referred to journalism in France, Germany, the US or the UK, but merely to emphasize the specific Dutch nature of the press. In particular, news-centered and sensation-loving Anglo-American journalism served as an awkward counterpoint. Newspapers that focused on a mass market and appealed to people's emotions were generally frowned upon in the Netherlands (Broersma, 1999; Wolf, 2010). It was everything bourgeois enlightened Dutch journalism did not want to be. In studies on the Catholic press, of course the relationship with the Vatican was an issue. But other than that, press history remained confined to the Netherlands and, to a large extent, it still is. The fact that press history is closely connected to the nation state does not come as a surprise though, since media systems were and still are nationally confined as well (cf. Broersma, 2010b).

A peculiarity of Dutch press history, however, is

that it was largely confined to the same pillarized structures as the media. Catholic scholars wrote studies on Catholic publishers, journalists and media at Catholic universities. Catholic amateur historians and journalists mainly interested in the media they worked for also published studies. Protestant, Socialist and Liberal media were mainly studied by authors of the same ideological affiliation as well. This has lead to committed press histories, which some would call biased, but at any rate they were hardly detached or scholarly. Authors identified with the subjects they were studying. Many works were written to add luster to anniversaries or other special occasions and are merely anecdotal. Nostalgia and pride colour these accounts of the illustrious past of their own media and heroes. What journalism is or how it functions in society in various periods were not the issues at hand. It was taken for granted that periodicals and broadcasting networks were instruments to support the political, social and cultural emancipation of the various pillars.

In the 1990s the focus shifted from press history to journalism history. The institutional approach dominating the first century of media research in the Netherlands laid the empirical foundation, making a shift to a broader, cultural framework possible. A new generation of historians built upon the work of their predecessors. Most of them were university educated and worked in an academic setting. Press history lost its popularity at social science faculties, which did not continue chairs in this field, but the establishment of journalism schools at Dutch universities and the rise of cultural and media studies at Liberal Arts or Humanities faculties made journalism and media studies more fashionable. The new generation was interested in international scholarship, mainly from the US and the UK, and was more oriented towards theoretical debates, paradigms and approaches. As a result, they were more accepted in academia. This lead for example to the founding of a Committee for the Advancement of Media Historical Research (1989-1995) at the Royal Academy of Sciences, which sketched research perspectives for the field and advocated an improvement of the research infrastructure (Wijfjes & Blom, 1995).

Newcomers in the field tended to criticize the dominant one-sided focus on institutional history. In a review dated 1992 Frank van Vree, the leading scholar of this generation, noted the lack of diachronic studies conducted on topics like 'chang-

ing styles or subcultures and image transformations' and 'comprehensive studies of the significance of the media for culture and society'. He concluded that 'These are major deficiencies, for they are after all the heart of the matter' (Van Vree, 1992, p. 100; cf. Wijfjes, 1999). His argument echoed a well-known quotation from renowned US journalism scholar James Carey, who stated in 1974 that journalism history was still 'something of an embarrassment'. He advocated a cultural approach to shed light on journalism, journalists and news processes. Studying the history of the reporting, journalistic practices and forms aiming to represent social reality at a given moment could offer fresh perspectives on old grounds and show how journalism constructs social reality (Carey, 1974, p. 86). Michael Schudson's *Discovering the News* (1978) was also a major influence. Schudson did what Carey preached and wrote a history of journalism exploring the development of reporting and professional norms and relating it to changes in politics and society.

Two decades later, Carey's challenge was taken up by Dutch press scholars. Scholarly attention drawing upon concepts from sociology and cultural studies focused on the newsroom and the norms and practices of the weird species inhabiting it. In 1996 Van Vree himself published a monograph on *de Volkskrant*, a newspaper transformed in the 1970s from a partisan medium owned by the Catholic Labour Union to a high-circulation quality paper. He analysed how this metamorphosis occurred and why it was so successful. The interplay between an editorial staff looking for new reporting techniques to grasp rapid social change and a potential reading audience looking for a newspaper that recognizes and voices its mentality, lifestyle and opinions was concisely examined. Editorial policies, newsroom organization, styles of reporting and the rephrasing of professional norms were topics introduced in this successful effort to write true journalism history. Other scholars followed the lead, analysing journalistic routines and norms based on interviews and research in newspaper archives. In a 1999 review, media historian Huub Wijfjes even spoke of a revolution.

By the time these studies were written, the view on press history voiced by practitioners like Hofland had been widely accepted. In *Lifting Paving Stones* the Greet Hofmans affair served as a metaphor for the submissive attitude of the press (cf. Wijfjes, 2007). The ingredients of this tragedy at

the Dutch royal court included a pacifist queen, her pro-NATO husband and a faith healer (Greet Hofmans) who lived at the palace to cure their almost blind daughter, as was revealed by the foreign press. The Dutch newspapermen who knew about the crisis in the royal marriage and the supposed influence of the prophet on the queen all held their tongue. In almost every press history published since Lifting Paving Stones, the Greet Hofmans affair is a compulsory paragraph. It is used to illustrate the lack of press autonomy in the 1950s and how journalists supported the status quo in society (e.g. Mulder & Koedijk, pp. 307-336; Wijfjes, 2004, pp. 298-306; Koole 2002, p. 101).

Earlier press historians took it for granted that journalism was part of the pillarized system and this was even a source of pride. In the 1990s however, it was usually a given that in the Netherlands *real* journalism, as opposed to the lip service of the past, only dated back to around 1970. Ample attention was devoted to analysing this professional discourse of change that clearly served the personal strategies of a new generation of journalists challenging the status quo in the field. Although some distinctions were drawn, especially regarding relations between the press and politics, the core of all the narratives is that the late 1960s and 1970s are indeed a watershed. By then a process of professionalization is believed to have started, leading to real journalism as opposed to the servile role prevalent in earlier decades. The pattern is recognizable because the same can be said of the field of history in general. Historians no longer considered themselves representatives of a specific community or pillar, writing history to serve its interests, but professionals who worked at a national level and could focus on whatever they wished.

Professionalization as the engine behind modernization thus came to be the dominant framework for journalism history. Van Vree (1996) framed the metamorphosis of *de Volkskrant* in these terms. In his narrative, the paper and its staff liberated themselves from the galling stranglehold of pillarized politics and achieved the autonomous position needed to be successful in a society in

> Historians no longer considered themselves representatives of a specific community or pillar, writing history to serve its interests, but professionals who worked at a national level and could focus on whatever they wished.

transformation. It is argued that reporting, investigative journalism and a new role conception as a watchdog for democracy have resulted from this process of professionalization. Though less explicitly, Wijfjes (2004) applied the same framework in his erudite monograph on the cultural history of Dutch journalism between 1850 and 2000. He contends that journalism always presented itself more as an attitude and a vocation than as a strict profession, but he nonetheless observes a trend towards organization and professionalization.

Journalism history built upon earlier institutional histories. The available knowledge about the press system made it possible to take the next step and study the production of news. By doing so, it added a valuable layer to the existing scholarship. However, what was written in the papers or broadcasted, the news itself, remained underexposed. Wijfjes (2004) had to contend with the fact that timewise, he could not conduct research into news content himself and there was no secondary literature on this topic. For his comprehensive overview of 150 years of journalism history, this is why he merely relied upon memoirs, autobio-graphies and other books by journalists, the records of various pillarized trade unions and discussions in the trade press. And this is why his study is more about the collective self-image of journalism – what it wanted to be and the picture it painted of itself in retrospect – than a record of whether and how these ideals and good intentions were actually expressed in the content of the news. The same thing can be said of a recent study on the largest popular daily in the Netherlands *De Telegraaf* (Wolf, 2010). It is a strong example of journalism history that focuses on newsroom culture and colourful journalists, though what actually attracts the readers – its content and style – remains a mystery. This results in only half a history of reporting, which also gives a rather romantic impression of the journalist as an adventurous bon vivant.

A third more recent shift is from journalism history to the history of journalism. This approach aspires to a more integrated form of history by systematically analysing the content of news and integrating it in the institutional and journalistic production context. It distinguishes itself from

studies that reconstruct the coverage of certain themes or events by examining form and style conventions that allude to journalistic norms and broader cultural discourses and determine how news is structured and how social reality is organized (Broersma, 2007). The power of journalism mainly lies in its ability to provide the forms in which things are declared to be true, as Schudson argues. The content of news changes every day, but form and style conventions assure the ritual function of news. They thus determine how we experience the world. Schudson (1995) speaks in this respect of the politics of narrative form, and Barnhurst and Nerone (2001) contend in their seminal study on the form of news that 'form embodies the imagined relationship of a medium to its society and polity'.

Historians have long despised content analysis because they tend to distrust the random sampling of material, which is a necessity if a daily newspaper is researched over a long period of time, and social science methodology in general. They argue that history is too personal and messy to fit into the structures and theories of social science. This sentiment is perhaps most aptly voiced by Robert Darnton (1990, p. 60) who suspects that social scientists 'live in a world beyond the reach of ordinary mortals, a world organized in perfect patterns of behaviour, peopled by ideal types, and governed by correlation coefficients that exclude everything but the most standard of deviations'. Furthermore, content analysis is either quantitative or qualitative, a labour-intensive methodology that many researchers resist. Wolf (2009, p. 17) even calls it, and not without good reason, 'sheer torture for every newspaper lover'.

Even today, the content of newspapers is still largely overlooked in media history, and not just in the Netherlands but in other European countries as well, except for important and inspiring works like Jürgen Wilke's *Nachrichtenauswahl und Medienrealität in vier Jahrhunderten* (1984). The analysis of news content is still mainly left to the social sciences and barely applied to historical periods. However, in the near future when newspapers are increasingly digital and easily searchable, arguments related to availability and time will be countered, at least in part. This will make the combination of content analysis and historical research more doable. But even so, analysing content in such a way that it generates valid results will still be time-consuming and give rise to all kinds of new methodological challenges. Media

historians, traditionally accustomed to dealing with scarcity and limited access to sources, need to develop new research strategies to anticipate the current trend towards a profusion of sources, especially media content.

The advantage of systematically examining media content is, however, that it demonstrates how news media represent social reality and structure the world for their audiences. It makes it possible to ask new questions and provide new answers to old ones. Stereotypes about pillarized journalism can be verified and changes occurring in the media as a result of professionalization are far easier to analyse. In my study of the regional newspaper *Leeuwarder Courant* (1752-2002), for example, a content analysis shows how the scope of the newspaper and its readers broaden in 250 years. The speed and geography of news changes, textual genres and new topics like sports and national politics are introduced while older genres and topics fade, and the order and design of the paper reflect transformations in the professional ideology and tone of writing. In other words, the toolkit of journalism changed, which affected how social reality was represented and how the newspaper attributed meaning to it for its readers (Broersma, 2002).

Rutger de Graaf's (2010) thesis about local media in two Dutch cities in the nineteenth century almost exclusively focuses on their content. The institutional and journalistic history of the newspapers and pamphlets he examines remain vague. So there is no context in which news is produced historically, which makes it hard to evaluate transformations in the content of news. De Graaf does nevertheless shed new light on the media interplay as regards such functions as presenting news and offering a platform for discussion. He also analyses how new genres and reporting techniques entered the paper. By comparing his results with those on the *Leeuwarder Courant*, as is possible after a systematic content analysis has been conducted, a more valid picture is depicted. In *Reporting at the Boundaries of the Public Sphere: Form, Style and Strategy of European Journalism, 1880-2005*, the research project currently being conducted at the University of Groningen, an international comparison is drawn. The content of news is largely linked to national boundaries, but the form and style of news are concepts that transcend borders and allow for comparative research. Three types of newspapers (popular, quality and partisan papers) in three media systems (France, UK and the Netherlands) are examined

in a large-scale quantitative content analysis and compared at the national and transnational level. This makes it possible to verify old hypotheses and address new research questions. The initial outcomes show that reporting routines associated with New Journalism are introduced in the UK and the Netherlands far later than is assumed in the literature. Furthermore, the Dutch papers look far more alike than their British counterparts, which is probably a result of the more competitive press market in the UK (Harbers & Den Herder, 2010).

In recent decades, research on the Dutch press and journalism has made huge advances. Table 1 summarizes the shift from press history to journalism history to the history of journalism and its effects on scholarship. The attention now devoted to the production and content of news, professional

A transnational grand narrative of journalism history

The three kinds of journalism histories I distinguish above are in evidence in other European countries as well. In most countries, the first stage of institutional history, sketching the structure and organization of the media landscape, is fully explored. This is not the place for an extensive literature review, but in countries like the UK (Griffiths, 2006; Williams, 2009), France (Bellanger et al., 1969-1976), Sweden (Gustafsson & Rydén, 2010) or Belgium (De Bens & Raeymaeckers, 2007), comprehensive studies are published giving a factual overview of the historical development of the national media landscapes. Histories of many influential media organizations as well as biographies of important journalists and publishers are also written. So the corner-

Table 1. Dutch Historiography

	Press History	*Journalism History*	*History of Journalism*
Period	1865 >	1990s >	2000s >
Institutional	Pillarized histories by scholars and journalists within the pillar	Closely linked to rise of journalism programs, and media and journalism studies at universities	
Framework	Emancipation of ideological groups	Professionalization of journalism	Representation of social reality
Focus	Institutional histories focused on newspapers as organizations and political context	Focus on newsroom organization, practices and professional norms	Focus on form, style and function
Character	Descriptive	Analytical, critical	

norms and meaning-making by newspapers offers valuable new insights into the historical development and social and cultural functions of journalism. Compared to the numerous institutional histories still being published, mainly by journalists who usually write the history of the medium they worked for, studies on reporting and, to a larger extent, news coverage are still scarce. A great deal of work remains to be done in this respect. Another issue is the international orientation of scholarship. Although new generations of historians are definitely more aware of international scholarship and theoretical approaches, when it comes to media, topics and events, the study of journalism history is still primarily confined to national boundaries (cf. Broersma, 2010b).

stones for a 'history of reporting' (Carey, 1974) have been laid. However, the second and third stages of research into journalism are less widely explored. Although more detailed studies, usually in the form of chapters or journal articles, are published on the transformation of norms, routines and practices of news production, the structural examination of news content still seems to be virgin territory.

Moreover, a nation state framework still dominates the history of journalism. Even two volumes that explore the diffusion of the news paradigm (Høyer & Pöttker, 2005) and changes in the form and style of newspapers (Broersma, 2007) across Europe consist of individual chapters presenting

national case studies. Barely any comparative, let alone transnational research is conducted into the history of journalism. This raises the question of whether there is indeed an encompassing scholarly framework that could be used to study journalism in Europe, and if so, whether it would make sense in view of the national nature of the press. I argue though that to a growing extent, a transnational grand narrative of journalism is implicitly in evidence in Dutch historiography and in other European countries as well. This narrative is a story of continuous progress that links up well with Hofland's account of the emancipation of journalism and the scholarly framework of professionalization and modernization. In the transnational grand narrative James Carey (1997) calls the 'Whig interpretation of journalism history' and James Curran (2002, 2009) the 'liberal narrative', the development of journalism since the nineteenth century is interpreted as a long road from a partisan press to press freedom, including the establishment of an autonomous profession independent of political and economic powers that obeys more or less the objectivity regime and the practices and formal conventions resulting from it (cf. Broersma 2007, 2010b).

> Unfortunately, the question of what journalism is and how this concept has been discussed and attributed with new meanings over time and in different national settings has barely been addressed in the scholarly works on journalism history. Journalism seems to be a more or less fixed category that hardly needs to be conceptualized or historicized.

Rooted in Anglo-American journalism and scholarship, this narrative is predetermined by predominantly Anglo-American perspectives on what journalism is or should be. In an article comparing France with the UK, Jean Chalaby (1996) even calls journalism itself an Anglo-American invention because the discursive norms, practices and strategies thought to characterize the profession emerged in the US and the UK. News and not views, neutrality and not partisanship, independence and not involvement are its slogans. In various national historiographies (cf. Høyer & Pöttker, 2005; Broersma, 2007) this is turned into an almost universal pattern of journalism development whenever and wherever it takes place. Most northern European countries seem to more or less fit into this pattern. In southern Europe, where politics, power and the press are still more intertwined, it functions as a counterpoint for critique on what is often framed as the regrettable

immaturity of the profession. As a fixed template for national journalism histories, this grand narrative goes beyond European national boundaries and offers a comprehensive framework for comparative or transnational journalism history.

However, the problem with this dominant, almost inescapable narrative is that it is normative, teleological and anachronistic. Firstly, it is normative because it treats journalism as a one-dimensional activity, a watchdog or trustee of the public, which is there to serve one important function, i.e. a democratic one. Journalism is despised as bad, not real or half-baked if it does not control power to an extent that satisfies the normative ideal. So what to do with journalism that mainly aspires to entertain, opinionate, satirize, promote specific interests or strengthen communities? Are Hofland's 'collaborators in half truths' (Koedijk, 1997, p. 211) actually journalists and can their 'servile silence' (Hofland, 1972, p. 127) be regarded as journalism? In short, if a normative perspective is applied, much of what contemporaries perceived as journalism is not taken seriously.

Secondly, it is anachronistic because it examines journalism history from the perspective of present-day norms. It diminishes the existence and influence of other journalistic styles, which do not centre around news facts and objectivity, but around literature, reflection and opinions, and have long been a vital part of European journalism (Broersma, 2007, p. xi). Henry Faas, longtime political reporter at the Catholic Volkskrant, concluded in retrospect that he and other journalists have not been critical enough of politicians. However, this is not because they were cowards, he states, but because they agreed with their political leaders and felt at ease in the Catholic community (Faas, 1986, p. 220). In short, it is hard to determine in retrospect when journalism reaches a stage of autonomy. A more nuanced approach is needed than an assessment in terms of living up to the ideal standard of what journalism should be. However, although considerations like Faas' are well-documented in Dutch journalism history and not by any means obscure, they are still hard to fit into the grand narrative.

Lastly, this narrative is teleological because it backs a foregone conclusion. It analyses and evaluates the pace of journalistic development according to the extent to which the desired outcome is reached. Wijfjes (2007) speaks in this respect of a 'belated take-off' and Van Vree notes that it is not until the 1960s that journalism reached a final stage of development. Only by then it was a 'mature profession' (Van Vree, p. 164). Although a narrative in which journalism achieves greater autonomy vis-à-vis politics and develops into a recognizable profession obviously makes sense, this might nonetheless lead to a unidirectional and static interpretation of journalism history. A more dynamic approach might be offered by Bourdieu's field theory, which does not think in terms of linear progress, as connoted by modernization or professionalization, but argues in favour of something relational. Different agents in the journalistic field use different strategies, discursive forms and styles to distinguish themselves and stand out in the field. It emphasizes heterogeneity and struggle instead of homogenization. Moreover, it offers an opportunity to unite institutional, sociological and textual approaches to journalism history. Agents like media organizations and individual journalists do after all position themselves in the field through their practices and performance, professional discourse and news coverage (cf. Benson, 1999; Chalaby, 1998).

Unfortunately, the question of what journalism is and how this concept has been discussed and attributed with new meanings over time and in different national settings has barely been addressed in the scholarly works on journalism history. Journalism seems to be a more or less fixed category that hardly needs to be conceptualized or historicized. This has been an obstacle to the serious analysis of other styles and forms as interesting in themselves since they do not belong to the domain of journalism. They are treated like the odd man out and are too often interpreted as a disruption or a necessary stage in the development of journalism as an independent profession, as merely a step towards modernisation. A more nuanced approach acknowledging how media construct meaning in different ways, articulate social worlds and build communities, and how societies are shaped by different representations of social reality through various journalistic media would be more than welcome.

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Structures of European Communication History

The Case of Health Communication

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Abstract

This paper presents a comparison of health discourse in times of different media revolutions, focusing in particular on the rise of the "typographeum" during the 18th century, with the emergence of the digital revolution today. Three structures of media evolution are identified in the discourses of professionals and medical laymen over these three centuries, i.e., the communicative structure of contradiction, of sensationalism, and of self-reference. Focusing on melancholy, a main topic in health communication in various countries of Western Europe during the age of enlightenment, and depression in the present, it is argued that the presentation of medical information is probably determined more by media processes and media strategies of attracting the public's attention, rather than by the increasing knowledge of medical science. Thus it is suggested that when it comes to the analysis of developments within European communication history, evolutional, transnational, and actor-oriented perspectives have to be taken into account.

Introduction

A person in search of medical information in the mass media will, on the one hand, come across technical medical terms and professional information regarding the symptoms or treatment of an illness that, however, might appear or be contradictory. On the other hand, he or she will also find personalized information, such as stories of miracle healing, tales of woe, and personal case histories. Additionally, the seeker will be confronted with a range of dubious products and medical services on offer, sensationalist style proclamations, and advertisements. Which kind of information can be trusted? Which kind of information is accurate and appropriate? Normally, the health-interested person would be lost in a jungle of information. Competence in the use of media is essential. Without some related knowledge of how media communication works, and without the guiding hand of medical publicists as experts, there will probably be no way out of the jungle.

This might sound like the setting into which a 21st century media recipient is thrown, but it is actually a description of the surroundings in the 17th and 18th century, when the first mass media – printed books and newspapers – developed. By then, a media system (Luhmann, 1985; 1996) with four levels emerged: instruments (language),

media technologies used for the production and dissemination of media content, media institutions (publishing industry), and the actual media offers or products as a result of the interplay of all four levels (Schmidt, 2011, pp. 285-299, p. 295; Schmidt, 1994; Schmidt, 2008, p. 21 - 66). Thus, in the 18th century, a new social and cultural relationship between media and its audience was established, commanding a new sphere of mass communication (Faulstich, 1998, p. 303). Here, different media genres, (daily press, professional journals, etc.), and different genres and literary representations evolved and created a new and increasingly self-referential web of language, literacy, and print media (Jäger, 1991, p. 86 ff.). The specific patterns and basic features of knowledge of communication in modern Western societies that have emerged since (Pscheida, 2010) still influence any mass media communication, including digital health communication today (Cassels, 2007). Those so-called "media structures" serve to define the institutional, economical, communicative, and attention-oriented social performance of the media, from its very beginning, during the Enlightenment. Since then, dialectics of the economy of attention (Franck, 1998) have been developed, fed by an increasing demand for information in modernity, an increasing urge on the media to present information in an eye-catching

way, and an increasing force for any audience to select (Bergk, 1799, pp. 378-415; Thums, 2008, p. 15 ff.). Even if each medium within a culturally bound media system constitutes a certain dispositive (Foucault, 2007, see also Foucault, 1990), to offer information to an audience establishes, in any case, certain media structures, e.g., strategies of media communication, in order to direct and discipline the audience' reception and post-processing; for, according to the theory of media dispositive, mass media in modern societies almost always operate in a common logic of performance. As many theorists have argued (Münch, 1991, pp.167 – 231; Münch, 1995; Schmidt, 1989), this logic has emerged in the 18th century public sphere in at least three fields of communication behavior.

The first pattern, the structure of *contradiction*, refers to the problem of an increasing inconsistency of public opinion and an open variety of points of view published in the mass media. From the perspective of the mass media system, each information may potentially result, and, in fact, finally results in a counterstatement (Münch, 1992), also published by the media. Hence, it is a frequent cultural criticism in the enlightenment epoch to speak of the complexity and inconsistency of published information (Jacobs, 2001). Set in motion early in the 18th century, and consistently powered now by the web 2.0, (with its constantly growing content and its potential to confront any topic at any time), this pattern is probably still working.

Sensationalism, the second media structure, is the hottest strategy of attracting the attention of the audience. It refers to the problem of an accumulating overlap of information in public discourse, and – vice versa – the force to select whatever should be information of personal interest for a certain recipient. Only that information which causes a stir will be widely received, as the chance to be perceived again. Thus, the enlightenment of the public, and the growing commercial interests in mass media, and the sensational presentation of information in the media conflict with the "enlightened" objective (Joch, Mix & Wolf, 2009, p. 3). Each discourse, even the scientific one, is subjected to media induced patterns of conformity (Türcke, 2002, pp. 78 ff., p. 98). The media structure of sensationalism, however, has two sides. One side is most often an interpretation that steers the interest of the audience in a direction of curiosity (Kübler, 2005, pp. 65 ff.). The

other is commentary that points out the foregoing interpretation as foolish. Eighteenth century authors, for example, used satirical techniques of poetic writing to demonstrate the ridiculousness of a forerunning argument.

Self-reference, the third media structure, refers to discourses in media that relate to each other continuously, establishing a certain historical web of opinions, perspectives, and references. Since the reliability of media information can only be approved through media communication itself, even credibility in media communication is the result of self-referential processes (Nöth, Bishara & Neitzel 2008, p. 26; see also Nöth, 2007, p. 31). In past and present day, European health discourse, self-referential, and self-reflexive structures serve to set norms (health/illness, expert/novices), to mediate ways of dealing with an illness, to criticize the medial presentation of an illness, or to provide some orientation for the audience within the medical health discourse.

The technical and social evolution of media and mass communication in the 17th and 18th centuries (Schmidt, 1989) created an emerging public sphere for European publicists to improve health communication in order to increase the audience's orientation (self-reference), and to pursue their own specific economic or status-related interests (sensationalism). This field of paradoxical interests, social resources, and personal tensions characterized mass media-based health communication from the very beginning. With the birth of the internet, the problems of knowledge communication in the media have been aggravated, e.g., information overload, inconsistency, inaccurate information, the question of reliability of health information, and the sensationalist way in which health related issues are presented (Song, LaRose, Eastin & Lin, 2004). That is why additional measures have been invented to provide serious and secure guidance for health interested persons (medical search engines, certification of websites, etc.). However, recent studies have shown how difficult it might be for laypersons and internet-novices to deal with conflicting medical information available online (Kienhues, Stadtler & Bromme, 2011). On the other hand, (semi-)professional writers often prefer ambiguous, non-scholarly (but well-known) metaphors as a strategy to popularize and vividly describe complex medical content in medical online journals (Merkt-Wagner, 2003, p. 216 ff.).

In the following article, discourses on health and illness in 17th/18th century book and press culture and in digital health communication of the internet at the beginning of the 21st century will be reconstructed and compared with the help of these three structures of media evolution as a means to understand communication history in Europe and the ongoing media change towards the digital. Derived from the background theory of media culture, the three media structures prove the methodological framework for the analysis of historical and contemporary texts. More than 300 17th and 18th century primary texts on health/illness and melancholy, including monographs, magazines, and autobiographies were collected and analyzed. They were written by medical scientists and practitioners, anthropologists, psychologists, clerical authors, and laypersons (writers of belles lettres). Almost all of them indicate the influence of the three media structures.

Closer observation was, then, devoted on those historical sources that dealt with *melancholy* in a particular way, that were treated by the contemporary publishers as *belonging to the literary canon*, that *explicitly* took into account *the conditions of the own health discourse*, and that, finally, demonstrated, quite *evidently*, the three media structures. Contemporary websites on depression, quoting from various sources, representing divergent interests, and showing distinctive levels of medical knowledge are analyzed for the purpose of demonstrating how audience attention today is attracted in health communication – following the old traces the media have cultivated. Because those randomly selected websites and their profile of performance demonstrate sufficiently the evolutionary development of the media structures which have characterized 18th century health discourse, the methodical rationale here stems from what Glaser and Strauss have called the method of theoretical sampling (Meyen & Riesmeyer, 2009, 137 ff.; Meyen & Pfaff-Rüdiger, 2009, 194 f.; Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Apart from this *evolutional* perspective on communication history, a *transnational* approach comes into play. Melancholy, as an over-arching common theme, will be presented as a topic prominently discussed in several Western European countries during the 18th century. The identification of the three media structures since then suggests that European intellectual history, (taking melancholy as a paradigmatic topic), cannot be understood without analyzing its interwoven communication history (media structures). A third dimension, the social factor of communication history is introduced, when this study deals with the discourses of medical professionals as well as laymen. In contrast to Foucault's thesis on medicalization (Foucault, 1973, p. 37, 48, 60 ff.), medical laypeople actively participated on 18th century public health discourse. The analysis of media offerings, provided and communicated by educated and non-educated social actors, illustrates the complex interweaving of personalized knowledge, popularized information, medical expertise, and the mutual influence of experts, semi-experts and laypeople within public health discourse.

Melancholy as a Phenomenon of 17th/ 18th Century Western European Health Discourse

The cross-border cultural exchange within the media landscape of Western European journals was not only restricted to consumerism (North, 2003, p.59), but also took place in the sphere of medical science. Apart from journeys to hospitals in other countries (Schott & Tölle, p. 64 ff.) as a common tool to observe and reflect medical treatment personally, medical experts studied and referred publicly to the works of other Western European scholars in their monographs and journals. The accumulation of medical knowledge, or the abolition of contradictory information, prejudice and stigmatization, has to be regarded as resulting from this communicative network. Because the publishing market from the mid century onwards specifically addressed the common reader, Latin as the language of the learned men came to gradually disappear in new publications, replaced by the national language (North, 2003, p. 11). However, even those "new" barriers of language did not matter, because every important book was soon translated into the languages of other Western European nations. For example, less than a year after its first release, the work, *Nosographie Philosophique ou la Methode de l'Analyse Appliqué à la Médicine*, by the French doctor and medical publisher, Philippe Pinel (Pinel, 1798), was translated into German. Using the example of the reception of medical treatises in Italy and Germany, Agazzi demonstrated that Italian and German scientists worked so closely together in inventing cures that this led to a new attitude towards patients in both countries (Agazzi, 2001, p. 228). Even the form and style of periodicals were copied across national boundaries. The most

famous example is the imitation of the English magazine, The Spectator, by Addison & Steele (1711-1712), in moral weeklies of other Western European countries (Goetsch, 1994, p. 1; Gerstenberg & Schmid, 1762, 1. Stück). The mutual and conscious communication both of European medical doctors and of medical laymen stimulated a rapid flow of ideas, or, as Maurer puts it, the creation of a "relatively open, homogeneous and coherent sphere of communication" in Europe (Maurer, 2009, p. 19 ff.). Maurer, who excludes Russia and the Balkans, locates the 18th century European sphere of communication in present day Central Europe, expanded to include Germany, England, France, Italy, and the Netherlands. In contrast, according to Weber, the early modern European sphere of communication has to be imagined as a space with constantly "shifting centers and peripheries" (Weber, 2009, p. 231). He describes melancholy as a paradigmatic concept in the 16th and 17th centuries that permeated every sub-area of European life, shaping the self-image of scientists and artists (Weber, 1990, p. 175), and contributing to the process of individualization and secularization by consolidating the autonomy of medicine, as opposed to religion (Weber, 1990, p. 190 ff.). Schalk has noticed that the discourse on melancholy became a cult, not only in France or Spain, but also throughout 17th century Europe (Schalk, 1977, p. 211). It seems as if melancholy – as a 'real' and discursive object – is a phenomenon of the entire occidental medical history, since it appeared to have been restricted neither to national boundaries nor to certain periods of time.

However, as far as the discussion of melancholy in the 17th and 18th century public sphere is concerned, one can speak of a specific Western European media discourse that is distinguishable. Medical authors from German-speaking countries, as well as from Netherlands, Great Britain, France and Italy, basically referred to other publications from Western and Middle Europe, but not to Eastern European or American sources. This observation is supported by the identification of certain thematic constellations, or branches of discourses, that resemble each other in publications on melancholy from the national arenas. The above mentioned media structures of contradiction, sensationalism, and self-reference can be identified in the sources from all those countries. The reconstruction of these structures and of certain thematic constellations shows that authors from different European countries – me-

dical experts as well as laypersons/patients – not only referred to each other explicitly, but obviously adopted similar media strategies of presenting health-related information. Against this socio-historical background, melancholy is staged as an illness of specific social, professional, and religious groups and nations. It is presented as a ubiquitous evil, or as a disease of civilization, in order to stigmatize religious dissidents, or in order to criticize social developments. These branches of discourses and thematic domains – or, as Foucault would put it, types and styles of statements, which can be grouped around the discourse object of melancholy (Foucault, 1990, p. 50 ff.) – are the research field of the study, whereas the three media structures serve as a means to analyze certain texts. The communicative structures, which are generated by the system of mass media, should be seen, then, as the most plausible condition that matters in health communication. The discourse on melancholy, as a consequence, is not primarily shaped by the state of medical science, but by the analyzed patterns of communicative behavior.

How Melancholy, as a Disease of Scholars, became a Plague of Western European Citizen

The discourse of melancholy during the Enlightenment tends to portray it as an illness of learned men. This is a sensational claim, since it depicts only one prominent social group of that time as eminently exposed to the disease, neglecting the widespread evidence of the occurrences of melancholy in all social classes. According to ancient medical theory, melancholy was regarded as a predominant characteristic of outstanding men in politics and arts, so that two extremes, either illness or talent, coexisted, and therefore enabled the talented to create extraordinary works (Breuer 2008, p. 219, see also Horstmann, 1986, p. 16). But it was the emergence of a mass media market and its corresponding media structures that allowed writers to stage the ancient connection between intellect and melancholy as a sensation. The groundwork was laid by the Renaissance Italian humanist, philosopher and medical scientist, Marsilio Ficino, as soon as the book culture was in its fledgling stages. Since scholars were the only group of people able to read in the 15th century (Schön, 1994, p. 34), Ficino conventionalized the idea of melancholy as a destiny of learned men in the first target, group-specific, health-related guidebook, *De triplici vita* (1489). According to Ficino, melancholy, as a talent, could turn into

illness (Ficino, book one, p. 123-147). In appellative advertising language (p. 147), Ficino praises his drugs, prescriptions, and instructions of health behavior that are not only specially designed, but exclusively directed "to prudent and temperate people of sophisticated intelligence who will benefit mankind" (Ficino, book two, p. 167). Because of Ficino's nobilitation of the temperament (Ficino, 1489, book one, p. 115-121), he is said to have stimulated the assertion of melancholy as the mentality of the modern genius within the occidental tradition (Lepenies, 1969, p. 217, see also Klibansky, Panofsky & Saxl, 1992, p. 367f ff.). In the 17th century, the English theologian Robert Burton followed Ficinos' example in his popular treatise, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, which is regarded as an encyclopedic source of knowledge of the European discourse on melancholy (Gowland, 2006, p. 295). In contrast to Ficinos' (supra-)natural explanation of the disease, (iatro-astrology and humoral pathology), Burton embedded his summary of occidental discourse on melancholy in a political utopia, formulating a social and political critique in order to support his sensational thesis of melancholy as an omnipresent ill of the British polity (Burton, 1621, p. 45). Burton dramatized the situation of the scholar by pointing out the lack of their social recognition and the degeneration of the scientific community (Burton, p. 299f ff.).

In the course of 17th and 18th century, a public debate about the role of the spleen in melancholia and hypochondria coincided with new medical concepts (Kutzer, 1998, p. 201-214). The way the Dutch medical publisher Mandeville opposes the sensationalist claim of melancholy as a disease of scholars is exceptional. He chose the attention-seeking literary form of a satirical doctor-patient dialogue (sensationalism), in order to oppose his colleagues (contradiction), while simultaneously leading medical authorities to entertain and to enlighten the general audience (Mandeville, 1711, p. vii-viii). The protagonists of the dialogue embark on an excursion through medical texts of their time, in order to find out whether melancholy actually is a disease of learned men,

as German "doctors" would have it (Mandeville, p. 148). At first, both doctor and patient refute in their interrogator-responder game the iatro-chemical and anatomical explanation of the English doctors Willis and Velthusius by concluding that, if the color of the spleen offered valuable clues to the question of sagacity, then children and imbeciles, not scholars, would be most frequently affected by hypochondria (Mandeville, p. 97, p. 100). When both of them discuss the nervous-physiological explanation of the disease, the doctor asserts that women, if they obtained the same education as men, would become victims of the disease much sooner than men, because their "quickness of thought" and their "sprightliness of fancy" would burn up more spirits when compared to men (p. 174 ff.). It turns out that no matter what kind of natural medical concept inherent in the contemporary medical writings they discuss, none of them has plausible arguments to support the thesis of melancholy as an illness of scholars. Through the satirical style of the patient-doctor dialogue, Mandeville projects the ideal picture of an enlightened patient who informs herself/himself with the help of printed texts, but, at the same time has a critical eye on its structure and content. Additionally, the satire reflects on the inconsistency of contemporary medical publications (self-reference).

> Discourses on health were no longer exclusively the preserve of the circle of scholars, but were directed to a general audience that emerged in the course of the development of a broader public sphere. Hence, it was profitable to seek the audience's attention by making all of them potential victims of the disease.

One striking feature of the discourse on melancholy is that those authors who portray melancholy as an illness of the scholars in particular, and, in the same breath, characterize melancholy as a widespread illness of their time. In the second half of the 18th century, there is an increased tendency in public discourse to broaden the risk groups to other social classes (Ofterdinger, 1773, p. 707; Baldinger, 1768, Bd. 1, p. 8). One of the main reasons for this is that discourses on health were no longer exclusively the preserve of the circle of scholars, but were directed to a general audience that emerged in the course of the development of a broader public sphere. Hence, it was profitable to seek the audience's attention by making all of them potential victims of the disease. Therefore, melancholy was discursively constructed as "the illness of the readers" (Schreiner, 2003, p. 217).

Because of the developing book and press market, there was huge pressure on publishers to advertise the originality of their work (Goetsch, 1994, p. 17), or to proclaim bold statements in a sensationalist manner.

One of the most prominent authors in the second half of the 18th century, who popularized the idea of melancholy as an illness of learned men (Tissot, 1768, p. 130ff, p. 148f; see also Tissot, 1791, p. 306), as well as of the general public, is the Swiss doctor, Samuel André Tissot. According to him, with the increasing acceptance of science and the growing number of books, and the popularity of reading and its consequence, that more people would live a similar book-focused life, as scholars normally would (extensive reading, exhausted nerves, negligence of social life, nourishment and physical exercise). Therefore, eventually, melancholy and hypochondria would spread to the people in the long run (Tissot, 1768, p. 195).

The warning against the wrong usage of reading novels and against extensive reading in general is paradigmatic at a time when the audience had yet to develop an adequate handling of printed information and literature (Stieler, 1685). But there were also voices that, like the 17th century English doctor Sydenham, followed the alleged spread of melancholy back to the physician's false diagnosis (Schmidt, 2007, p. 153). There were also some medical publishers, such as the 18th century French psychiatrist, Bichat, who traced the popular belief of melancholy as a general evil back to the imprecise definition of the medical term (Shorter, 1994, p. 44). Thus, melancholy was first sensationalized by the media communication of the time as a disease of a specific social group and then the public discourse shifted and redefined it as a disease of the reading audience. This was, in turn, publicly disclosed by other writers in their reflections on the ongoing health discourse (self-reference), who, for their own arguments, chose attention seeking literary strategies (sensationalism) to pinpoint the interpretations of their forerunners as sensational misleading stereotypes to the audience (contradiction), paradoxically using the same rhetoric and public devices as their opponents.

How Melancholy, as an „English Malady" Becomes an Evil of „Civilized" Europe

Another striking thematic constellation is the image of melancholy as an illness of the British nation that would be transformed into an omnipresent ill throughout Western Europe in the course of the 18th century. Although having already been fostered in *The Spectator* (Porter, 1991, p. xxix), the idea of melancholy as an illness of the English was most popularized by the practitioner George Cheyne in his treatise, *The English Malady* (1733). Because of England's hegemony in Europe and its progressive process of civilization, Cheyne argued that augmented prosperity and a convenient, excessive, and luxurious lifestyle afflicted the English nation with a disproportionate spread of the nervous disease (Cheyne, Part I, p. 49ff & p. 60). Scholars and intelligent people are especially subject to it, since their imagination and their thinking organs are more sensitive, react more quickly, and operate more accurately (Cheyne, Part I, p. 52). Effectively, the book's "plain narrative" and "instructive" style (Cheyne, 1733, p. 362 ff.), the applied medical theory and therapy, and the case histories of his successfully cured patients from higher social ranks, mainly served to advertise an exceptional tradition-breaking therapy: A vegetarian diet of milk and cereals. By appealing to his well-off readers, personalizing his own case in an autobiographical part of his monograph, Cheyne was not promoting a spiritual approach to healing (Schmidt, 2007, p. 179, see also Guerrini, 1995, p. 25), but blatantly trying to attract them as potential paying visitors to his medical practice. "Publicists" – i.e., authors writing for the general public like Cheyne – often embedded their health discourse in a social, moral, economic, or persuasive critique, because of the lack of accurate knowledge about the disease in medical science (Colburn, 2008, p. 1).

The German surgeon, Johann Ulrich Bilguer, takes up Cheyne's alarming thesis in his book on hypochondria, and hones it by stating that the ongoing spread of luxury, absenting morals, and thus, lingering illnesses in Switzerland, Germany, England, and France could lead to the depopulation of the whole of Europe (Bilguer, 1767, p. lix). Bilguer highlights the unanimity of the health discourse in Western European countries about melancholy as a serious degenerative disease that is now probably haunting other countries that have reached a similar degree of civilization as England (pp. lxiii-lxiv). The German weekly periodical, *Wöchentliche Unterhaltung über die Charakteristik der Menschheit* (Bartholdy & Zöllner, 1789-1791), confirms Cheyne's sensationalist proposition by highlighting the heavily meat-based diet that makes melancholy a 'streak' in the character of English nation (Bartholdy &

Zöllner 1790, pp. 378-380). By the end of the 18th century, melancholy is depicted as an illness of English people from all social ranks (Trotter, 1807, pp. xvii-xviii).

The renowned English psychiatrist, Burrows, tries to contradict the sensationalist claims regarding melancholy as an English malady with the help of three strategies of a kind of systematic analysis. First, the author reconstructs how the prejudice became more set during the health course of the 18th century (Burrows, 1820, p. 86). Burrows detected a connection between the general notion of the disease's spread and the fact that melancholy is increasingly becoming "an object of public attention" (Burrows, p. 85). Secondly, he compares statistics from Germany, England, France, and Denmark (p. 92) in order to prove that melancholy and mental derangement "is less frequent in England than in several other countries" such as France (p. 93). Thirdly, he argues against "Melancholy as an English malady" by claiming, in a sensationalistic manner, that it is a disease of civilization, prevailing "in most countries of civilized Europe", while he excludes Spain because of the people's "primitive manners, especially temperance", as well as "the unsophisticated aborigines of North and South America" (p.55). After Burrows' publication, medical doctors from different Western European countries, such as the French psychiatrists Sauvages and Esquirol, publicly argued over which country had more cases of melancholy (Hacking, 1990, pp. 66 ff.).

Non-medical authors and laypersons sought other means to challenge the groundless assertion that melancholy was the plague of the English nation. Whereas the fictitious, melancholic narrator in James Boswell's diary (1762-1763) acknowledges that English people are always soulful in contrast to the gay French nation (Boswell, p. 103), the meanwhile "healthy" autobiographically fictitious narrator chooses to play ironically with that assumption in his column "*The Hypochondriack*", published in the *London magazine* (Boswell, 1777-1783):

> I make my first appearance in the month of November; as the Spectator remarks, that a French author begins a novel, "in the gloomy month of November, when the people of England begin to hang and drown themselves." (Boswell, 1777, p. 25)

By contradicting the prejudice in a satirical manner, he mocks it and thus aims to convince the reader to question such stereotypes. Similar to Boswell's publication, the German editors Gerstenberg and Schmid pun in their weekly journal, *Der Hypochondrist. Eine holsteinische Wochenschrift*, on that stereotype (Gerstenberg & Schmid, 1762, 6. Stück, p. 82).

So far it has been demonstrated (see for more: Bogen 2011) that the notion of melancholy and hypochondria as an English malady was the product of a successful media campaign that can be traced back to the popular monograph on George Cheyne, to whom subsequent authors of monographs and publishers of journals referred (in-)directly, but without scrutiny. Apart from portraying melancholy as a disease of scholars, as an English malady, as a disease of civilization, and as an omnipresent evil of the time, there existed other thematic constellations that can be reconstructed in the discourse on melancholy. Melancholy was discussed as a *religious malady* in order to stigmatize specific religious groups like Pietists or Enthusiasts by Western European medical authors (Tissot, 1768, p. 46f; Platner, 1772, p. 245; Schmid 1797, p. 276-348), who, in return, were opposed by theological writers (Fawcett, 1785; pp. 43 ff.; Scherertzius, 1715, pp. 21ff.). Melancholy was also depicted as an illness leading to crimes like *murder and suicide* in medical monographs (Pinel, 1801, pp. 150ff, 156-159; Reil & Hoffbauer, 1812, Bd. 2, 2. St.), in fiction writings (Spiess, 1787, pp. 207-216), and in journals of empirical psychology (Moritz, 1783-93).

The closer analysis of the discourse on melancholy shows that from the beginning of the evolution of mass media, the presentation of medical knowledge, information and health- related orientation is probably more determined by media processes and media strategies aimed at attracting the public's attention, rather than by increasing knowledge of medical science.

Digital Communication on Depression

In the course of time, some of the *thematic constellations* in the discourse on melancholy have vanished by the 19th and 20th centuries, whereas others still persist in today's digital health communication. With the evolution of the internet, the number of internet users who participate in discourses about depression has increased manifold. In contrast to the printing culture, when translations of medical books were very com-

mon, the multitude of discourses in the virtual world is mainly restricted by *national language boundaries*. If an average health-interested person is looking for information, interaction, or emotional support on the internet, he/she will look for websites of health care providers, (pharmaceutical companies, health organizations, health insurance funds, medical practitioners, hospitals and support groups), and of medical laypeople, (forums, chats and blogs), which are written in his/her mother tongue. Although the choice of topics and the geographical limitations have changed, the principle structures *of media evolution* – such as contradiction, sensationalism and self-reference – have remained in today's digital health communication of the 20th and 21st centuries. Each media structure can be reconstructed on various websites and interactive forms of present-day internet communication about depression in diffe-

Similar to the interrelationships in the writings of 18th century doctors and medical laymen, the discourse of patients and professionals in the internet refer dynamically, whether formally or thematically, to each other.

rent European countries. It appears that, whereas 18th century discourse on melancholy was a common Western European phenomenon, at present, the European discourse on the internet on depression is both nationally restricted, (language, user demands), and geographically delimited (cultural persistence of media structures and the appropriate behavior patterns), at the same time.

The following websites on depression have to be considered as examples that demonstrate how various media producers, (pharmaceutical industry, self-help groups, bloggers), with divergent interests (commercial, health education, emotional support, personal concern), and graduated levels of medical knowledge, (layperson, semi-professionals), employ the three media structures, because each communication and education process has to consider the relevance of these structures if it is organized, in and by, public media. In addition, the following examples are chosen because they show similar thematic constellations to those that constituted the discourse on melancholy during the Enlightenment. Not only in the 18th century, but also in digital communication, processes of publishing medical information must follow media strategies, not, as examples show, the state of medical knowledge.

Although the connection between depression and suicide has recently been refuted in a study that was co-financed by the pharmaceutical company Pfizer (WHO World Mental Health Survey, 2009, pp. 9, 13 ff.), the company's German website still reiterates the connection between depression, (the former melancholy), and suicide that we know from 18th century discourse (Pfizer Pharma GmbH, 2010a). Furthermore, the webpage includes a link to a website presenting famous writers, artists, politicians, and athletes that have been affected by depression (Pfizer Pharma GmbH, 2010b). One is reminded of the portrayal of melancholy as an illness of scholars that were one of the main prominent and publicly visible social groups in 18th century book and press culture. Thus, pharmaceutical companies take the opportunity to present their portrayal of diseases in a sensationalist way (structure of sensationalism).

The following two ex-amples illustrate how traditional media institutions use their internet presence to attract the audience's attention by presenting depression as an illness of a specific European country, of civilized nations, or as an illness of prominent social groups. In the online article, "Allarme depression in Italia", an Italy press agency, citing Italian medical practitioners and psychiatrists, at first sight presents depression as an evil of the time in contemporary Italy because of its unstable economic situation and people's fear of bad times ahead. But then, the tone of the article shifts to another sensationalist claim by depicting melancholy as a disease of Western civilization (Fidest, 2011).

Likewise, the webpage of the highly reputable and long established European radio network, Euranet, describes depression as a disease of all European countries (Mládková, 2010). The claim that in developing countries depression is not as prevalent is ascribed to the pressure to succeed, to individualism, to the lack of emotional support by family and neighbors, and to a different handling of the "blues" in Europe (Siebert, 2010). This statement brings the thematic constellation "melancholy as a disease of civilization" in 18th

century discourse to mind. Similar to that historic discourse, famous people suffering from depression are mentioned, and a connection between suicide and depression is also postulated in order to attract the internet user's attention (Kuckelkorn, 2010).

Similar to the interrelationships in the writings of 18th century doctors and medical laymen, the discourse of patients and professionals in the internet refer dynamically, whether formally or thematically, to each other (Bogen, 2010). Personalized forms of e-health communication often refer to medical discourse and contradict the scientific explanation offered by medical experts. One example is the Dutch blog, "Eigenzinnihe kijk op depressive" (Klup, 2005), which presents the biochemical explanation of depression as a consensus among doctors. The author of the blog questions this medical view because, in his opinion, the disease is triggered by various factors and experiences (structure of contradiction).

Reflecting on contemporary health communication, a Belgian internet-based self-help group criticizes the fact that when it comes to public debates on health issues, Belgian depressive patient groups, in contrast to other European countries, have not yet established themselves against traditional actors such as the state, health insurances, pharmaceutical companies, and medical doctors (self-reference) (Trefpunt zelfhulp, 2010, p. 2). These examples, again, express vividly that laypeople and semi-professionals contradict experts and communicate grievances within health communication and the health care system.

Although 300 years separate these two media cultures from each other, the thematic constellations are still inherent in both the 18th century and 21th century discourses. This can be traced back to the fact that present day medical knowledge on mental diseases is still incomplete. However, the forces driving the logic of mass media – the need to attract attention with contradictory or sensationalist statements and the self-referential interweavement of public discussions – has certainly contributed to the way the illness of depression is presented in the mass media. Therefore, each historical analysis has to take the evolution of such a structural development into account. Independent of the development of media technology and the increasing possibility of laypeople to participate and interact on the internet, the three media structures have prevailed in the course of time.

They are concomitant circumstances of media evolution that have developed in modern mass media and led to a cultural way of self-reflection that still characterizes the mass media culture of Europe.

Conclusion

This paper provided a theoretically guided sketch of a process of media transition, to suggest new research perspectives. Taking the contributions of medical professionals and laypersons as well as different literary and media genres into account, this article identified three structures of media evolution – contradiction, sensationalism, and self-reference – in the discourse on melancholy/depression in both the Enlightenment, as well as – paradigmatically – in 20th and 21st century digital communication. For the methodological concept of a European Communication History, it can thus be concluded that an evolutional perspective has to be applied, one that should not be restricted to media technology. Rather, the focus should be on the structures and effects of media communication, because the *modus operandi* of mass media has influenced political, scientific, and popular debates, including within everyday culture, ever since the public sphere emerged with the development of a book and press culture. An understanding of the recent digital media revolution needs to be grounded in the history of media and communication in terms of the principal structures that have persisted throughout the centuries. Secondly, the discourse analysis of health and illness has shown that the discussion on melancholy was a Western European public phenomenon. Paradoxically, the present-day European discourse on depression on the internet is both nationally restricted with regard to language barriers, but denationalized with regard to media structures. Although present day discourses on depression are now merely tied to national spaces of communication (language barrier), similar thematic constellations could be identified in online communication on depression that characterized the 18th century discourse on that illness. Therefore, when it comes to health communication, European communication history has to include a transnational perspective to show that, with the beginning of modernity, Europe's intellectual history as well as the development of medical science cannot be evaluated without taking the rules and behavioral patterns into account that were the core of the public sphere and its use of the mass media.

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- Bogen, Cornelia (2010): „Die Zone der Unbestimmtheit – Melancholiediskurs zwischen Wissen und Nichtwissen". In: Adler, Hans und Rainer Godel (Hg.). *Formen des Nichtwissens der Aufklärung*. Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink. S. 293-309.
- Bogen, Cornelia (2010): „Personalisierung und Interaktion am Beispiel von Gesundheitsdiskursen im Internet". In: Eschenbruch, Nicholas Hänel, Dagmar, Unterkircher, Alois (Hg.). *Medikale Räume. Zur Interdependenz von Raum, Körper, Krankheit und Gesundheit*. Bielefeld: Transcript. S. 107-132.
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Rezensionen

K<small>LAUS</small> A<small>RNOLD</small> / W<small>ALTER</small> H<small>ÖMBERG</small> / S<small>USANNE</small>
K<small>INNEBROCK</small> (<small>HRSG</small>): *Geschichtsjournalismus.*
Zwischen Information und Inszenierung.
Reihe Kommunikationsgeschichte Band
21. Münster: LIT Verlag 2010, 320 Seiten.

Darin sind sich die zwanzig Beiträgerinnen und
Beiträger dieses - die Texte einer Tagung der
Fachgruppe Kommunikationsgeschichte der DG-
PuKw 2009 in Eichstätt sammelnden – Buches
einig: die Bedeutung ihres Themas wurde bisher
wissenschaftlich weitgehend ignoriert. Diese Be-
hauptung verblüfft angesichts der reichhaltigen
Literaturlisten aller fünfzehn Aufsätze und ist
ganz offensichtlich die Folge ungenügender Re-
zeptionsintensität im Einzelfalle und auch – er-
staunlich unter historisch sensiblen KollegInnen
– ein Indiz partieller forschungsgeschichtlicher
Ignoranz. Dafür spricht, dass eine Pionierarbeit,
die 1972 bei Otto B. Roegele vorgelegte Disser-
tation von Georg Feil (1943) nirgends auftaucht
(Zeitgeschichte im Deutschen Fernsehen. Analyse
von Fernsehsendungen mit historischen Themen
(1957-1967), Reihe Dialogos Band 7, Osna-
brücker 1974).

Eine weitere irritierende Vergesslichkeit spricht
aus der in vielen der Beiträge notierten The-
se, dass das Thema Geschichte in den letzten
Jahren „entdeckt" worden sei. Das mag ja, was
Buch- und Zeitschriftentitel – und Sendezah-
len anlangt, tendenziell (nach dem Gesetz des
Immer-Mehr-Ismus) richtig sein, ist ansonsten
aber eine schlichtweg ahistorische Behauptung.
Um dieser Sicht auf das Thema gar nicht erst zum
Opfer zu fallen, empfiehlt sich die Lektüre hinten
zu beginnen: mit der gründlichen, quellensatten
Dokumentation von Edgard Lersch über die An-
fänge des Geschichtsfernsehens in der Bundes-
republik Deutschland (1958-1962) und der Ana-
lyse der frühen Dokumentarspiele im Fernsehen
der 60er und 70er Jahre des Göttinger Literatur-
wissenschaftlers Christian Hißnauer. Danach ist
es erhellend, sich vorne im Buch der Lektüre des
exzellenten Beitrages von Frank Bösch, Histori-
ker in Gießen, zu widmen Zum Verhältnis von
Geschichtswissenschaft und Geschichte in den
Medien seit 1945. Damit gewinnt man die nun
doch schon lange historische Perspektive als Ord-
nungsprinzip für das Thema Geschichtsjourna-
lismus, das den thematisch schmäleren anderen

Beiträgen ihren Stellenwert zuweist. Dass hiermit
– und das ist Verdienst der Tagung wie des Buches
– große, gesamtgesellschaftlich gewichtige Zu-
sammenhänge substantiell und systematisch als
Herausforderung für die Kommunikationswis-
senschaft auf die Tagesordnung kommen, macht
dieses Buch in der inflationären Produktion von
Sammelbänden zu einer erfreulichen Ausnahme.
Es lohnt tatsächlich, alle Beiträge zu studieren,
weil sie trotz der naturgegebenen thematischen
Differenziertheit ein paar grundlegenden Ein-
sichten zusammentragen.

Dies gilt ironischerweise manchmal entgegen der
gewählten Begrifflichkeiten und Zugänge. So
durchzieht die Aufsätze die Frage, ob Geschichts-
journalismus denn dabei sei, ein eigenständiges
Ressort zu werden. Klaus Arnold und Senta Pfaff-
Rüdiger u.a. breiten dazu Daten aus explorativen
empirischen Studien vor. Hinter dieser eher en-
gen, medienzentrierten Sicht wird – gestützt durch
Ausführungen in mehreren der anderen Texte
– eine weittragende Erkenntnis zur gesellschaft-
lichen Funktion von Journalismus erschließbar:
Geschichtsjournalismus ist etwas anderes und
mehr als die Vermittlung von wissenschaftlich
gewonnenem historischen Wissen. Diese Art von
Popularisierung gibt es selbstverständlich auch
immer (noch), aber weit darüberhinaus entstand
aus dem kreativen Zusammenspiel von Journalis-
mus und Geschichte eine eigenständige kulturelle
Leistung: (1) In der Herstellung von Gegenwarts-
bezügen; (2) die Medien entscheiden (mit), „wie
historische Fragen in der öffentlichen Erinnerung
verhandelt werden" (Frank Bösch, S. 46), prä-
gen damit die Zeitgeschichtsforschung und geben
ihr Anstöße; (3) die Medien „brachen Tabus in
der Auseinandersetzung mit der Vergangenheit"
(Frank Bösch, S. 49); (4) die Auseinandersetzung
mit dem Holocaust ging zu Beginn der 50er Jah-
re vom Journalismus aus und wurde durch die
KZ-Gerichtsprozessberichterstattung in der Fol-
ge intensiviert; (5) Journalisten wie Joachim Fest
(1926 – 2006) oder Heinz Höhne (1926-2010)
(beim Spiegel) oder Guido Knopp (1948) wurden
so zu Zeithistorikerjournalisten und übernahmen
faktisch Aufgaben der Zeitgeschichtsforschung;
(6) die Defizite historischer Forschung werden
kompensiert durch die eigenständige journalis-
tischer Recherche; (7) mit der Entdeckung des
Zeitzeugen kreierte der (Fernseh-)Journalismus

ganz neue historische Zugänge; (8) die Medien waren die originären Arenen der diversen geschichtspolitischen Historikerdebatten; (9) im Gedenktagsjournalismus haben die Medien seit langem zu innovativen und kreativen Formen gefunden; (10) die Lokalgeschichtsschreibung verdankt v.a. den Tageszeitungen eine ungeheuer bunte Vielfalt (paradigmatisch z.B. eine Serie der Süddeutschen Zeitung, die als Buch in repräsentativem Großformat, reich bebildert, über 400 Seiten umfasst: herausgegeben von Joachim Käppner u.a.: München. Die Geschichte einer Stadt, München 2008).

Angesichts solcher Sachverhalte haben die Tagungsveranstalter und Herausgeber überzeugende Schwerpunkte gesetzt und mehrere substantielle Beiträge über diese sich deutlich ausprägende Variante des journalistischen Berufes aufgefunden. So liest man nach den thematischen Lay Outs von Walter Hömberg (Konturen des Geschichtsjournalismus) und Horst Pöttker (Gegenwartsbezüge) die schon erwähnten Berichte über zwei Studien zum Selbstverständnis einschlägig tätiger Journalisten und einen Beitrag von Jürgen Wilke, der materialreich mit Beispielen belegt, welche bis ins 18. Jahrhundert zurück reichenden Traditionen der Zusammenhang von Journalismus und Geschichtsschreibung entwickelt hat. Jochen Kölsch, studierter Kommunkationswissenschafter und leitender Redakteur des Bayerischen Rundfunks, konnte für einen aufschlussreichen Blick hinter die Kulissen der praktischen Arbeit gewonnen werden. Ganz konkret wird die Thematik in drei Studien zum Gedenkjournalismus: Ilona Amann analysiert diesen theoretisch ambitioniert hinsichtlich seiner Bedeutung und Funktion für die Erinnerungskultur einer Gesellschaft. Martin Krieg untersucht Agenda-Setting-Effekte an der Berichterstattung über den Widerstand des 20. Juli 1944. André Donk und Martin R. Herbers ist der einzige Beitrag zu verdanken, der ein anderes Land, die USA, einbezieht: 9/11 in deutschen und amerikanischen Tageszeitungen. Dankenswerterweise beschäftigt sich ein Abschnitt des Bandes auch mit der Populären Vermittlung von Geschichte. Für diese Sachverhalte gilt die Klage bezüglich kommunikationswissenschaftlicher Forschungsdefizite uneingeschränkt – zumal die vier Beiträger, die sich mit archäologischen Fernsehdokumentationen befassen, aus der Archäologie und Psychologie kommen (Stefanie Samida, Manuel Glaser, Bärbel Garsoffky/Stephan Schwan). Nebenbei: Der Journalist C.W. Ceram (1915-1972, eigentlich Kurt Wilhelm Marek)

, mit dessen Weltbestseller Götter, Gräber und Gelehrte (bezeichnend der Untertitel: Roman der Ärchäologie) 1950 diese spezifische historische Unterhaltungsliteratur begann, scheint heute vergessen. Hier bleibt ein ergiebiges Forschungsfeld an real existierendem Geschichtsjournalismus als Quelle der Erkenntnis auch über jene Teile der Gesellschaft, die an den Diskursen des Hochfeuilletons eher desinteressiert sind.

An dieser Stelle nicht ganz zutreffend eingeordnet findet sich der Beitrag von Alexander Schubert, dem Öffentlichkeitsarbeiter eines Museums über Kulturhistorischer Großausstellungen, der damit darauf verweist, wie viel Geschichte sich auch jenseits der journalistischen Medien abspielt. Die Tradition der Landesausstellungen in Österreich böte reiches Material zu diesen Aspekten.

Unter Einschluss auch dieser Phänomene lässt sich dann wohl mit Klaus Arnold wirklich postulieren: „Journalismus ist ein bedeutender Agent der gesellschaftliche Vergangenheitskommunikation und bestimmt mit, was die Individuen über die Vergangenheit wissen und wie sie Vergangenheit interpretieren." (S.92) Gerade weil die Texte, zu verdanken wohl den allemal interessanten historischen Thematiken, so inhaltsreich sind und man nur wenige Seiten langweiliger innerwissenschaftlicher Erörterungen lesen muss, fragt man sich, ob die in den Literaturlisten gründlich dokumentierte Forschungslage nicht längst mehr hergeben würde als einen verdienstvollen Tagungssammelband. Zumindest die Ausführungen von Frank Bösch und Edgar Lersch vermitteln eine Idee davon, warum zum Thema Journalismus und Geschichte eine große Monographie notwendig und wohl auch inzwischen mögliche wäre. Einigen der AutorInnen dieses Buches ist ein solches Werk durchaus zuzutrauen.

Wolfgang R. Langenbucher, Wien

REGINE BUSCHAUER *MOBILE RÄUME. MEDIEN- UND DISKURSGESCHICHTLICHE STUDIEN ZUR TELE-KOMMUNIKATION. (= MEDIENANALYSEN, BAND 9). Bielefeld*: Transcript Verlag 2010, 361 Seiten.

Die 2010 bei Transcript erschienenen medien- und diskursgeschichtlichen Studien zur Tele-Kommunikation von Regine Buschauer beruhen auf Buschauers Disseration an der Universität Basel, die 2007 eingereicht und 2008 verteidigt wurde. Der Band versteht Fragen von „Raum" und „Räumlichkeit" als ein Kernproblem der ak-

tuellen Debatten in Medien- und Kulturwissen-schaft und schließt gemäß seiner Selbstbeschreibung an diesen ausgerufenen Spatial Turn an, um Potentiale einer relationalen Raumkonzeption auszuarbeiten.

Tatsächlich ist die kulturwissenschaftliche Beschäftigung mit Raum in den letzten Jahren unter dem Label Spatial turn in vielfältiger Form vorangetrieben worden. Raum der sich – wie das Doreen Massey süffisant formuliert hatte – den Vorwurf gefallen lassen musste, dass er nur herumlungere, während die Zeit voranschreite, ist in Bewegung gekommen. Eine Mobilisierung, die Raum nicht nur als Thema auf Konferenzen und in Debatten sondern auch in den Verlagskatalogen prominent vertreten sein lässt. Der ursprüngliche Entstehungszeitraum des Buches versetzt die Mobilen Räume zeitlich einige Jahre zurück und damit in unmittelbare Nähe des Erscheinens einer Reihe einschlägiger Titel, die nach 2000 und geballt in der Mitte des letzten Jahrzehnts einen deutlichen Boom im Erscheinen von Abhandlungen zum Raum erkennen lassen. Der reichhaltige Publikationsoutput, den die Renaissance des Raums, die Rudolf Maresch und Niels Werber 2005 ausmachten, der Markurs Schroer den Raum in einer Schicksalsgemeinschaft mit der vorschnell für beendet erklärten Geschichte – nämlich sich lautstark zurückmeldend – sahen, die nach Jens Geppert et al. sogar beängstigende Ausmaße annehme oder den Kulturhistoriker Karl Schlögel dazu brachte Spatial turn, endlich! zu rufen, scheint – über den Verdacht, es handle sich dabei um eine einsetzende und anhaltende Modeströmung hinaus – die Relevanz einer neuen Räumlichkeit, eines neuen Nachdenkens über den Raum zu bestätigen.

Wenn mehrere, teils unabhängig voneinander, zur annähernd selben Zeit dasselbe tun, über ähnliche Fragen nachdenken und Themen vorantreiben, so ist das, mit Karl Schlögel gesprochen immer schon ein guter Indikator dafür gewesen, dass etwas im Gange ist. Zu den Durchsetzungsmustern von turns in der Wissenschaft gehört es, so wiederum Schlögel, dass diese bereits vollzogen sind, wenn von ihnen geredet wird. Kurzum: Man war also damals bereits mitten drin im Spatial turn. Die zahlreiche und gute Gesellschaft in der sich Buschauers Buch in den Regalen der Bibliotheken findet, kann somit als ein Zeichen dafür gesehen werden, dass sie sich zur rechten Zeit des richtigen Themas angenommen hat. Zugleich besteht aber auch gerade darin eine große Herausforde-

rung und eine Bewährungsprobe: Denn es gilt in einem inzwischen gut bearbeiteten Forschungsfeld für seine eigene Publikation Raum zu schaffen und ihr einen eigenen Platz zu geben. Die Frage für diese Rezension muss daher lauten, gelingt es Regine Buschauer mit ihrem Buch nicht nur an den Diskurs zum Raum und den Spatial turn anzuschließen, sondern ihn auch voranzubringen und ihm idealerweise etwas Neues hinzuzufügen? Das vorweggenommene Resümee lautet, „nicht wirklich".

Um zu klären warum das so ist, ein kurzer Blick auf das Vorgehen Buschauers. Ausgehend von einer Einleitung, darin orientiert sie sich stark am Essay *Andere Räume* von Michel Foucault und seinen darin enthaltenen Überlegungen zu Räumen als *Ensembles von Relationen* wird in einem einleitenden Abschnitt auch das breite Verständnis von Medien und Kommunikation, das innerhalb des Buches verwendet wird, dabei aber auch in unterschiedlichen Skalierungen vorkommt, dargelegt. Es ist dabei statt einer Separierung von Mobilitäts- und Mediengeschichte eine wechselseitige Beeinflussung in einem miteinander, Medienwissenschaft also gewissermaßen auch Verkehrswissenschaft. Aus dieser Grundperspektive macht sich Buschauer auf zu einer Spurensuche, nach Spuren der Rede vom Verschwinden des Raumes – als Bedrohungs- oder Erlösungsszenario ausgedeutet - in unterschiedlichen thematischen Diskurszusammenhängen. Beginnend bei Überlegungen zur Eisenbahn, über den Telegraphen geht es um Cyberspace und abschließend Mobilfunk. Auch wenn der Band mit 361 Seiten doch umfangreich ist, so zeigt sich, dass hier sehr viele und auch ganz unterschiedliche Dimensionen des Verhältnisses von Raum, Medien und Mobilität zusammengeführt werden. Mit allen Konsequenzen, die sich aus der Breite des Horizonts für die Tiefe der Perspektive ergeben.

Am dichtesten aufbereitet scheint dann auch ausgerechnet jener Teil des Buches, der sich in Form und Inhalt von den übrigen Abschnitten abhebt. Es ist dies ein Kapitel zur Korrespondenz bzw. zu einem in verschiedentlichem Schriftverkehr geführten Disput zwischen Leibniz und Clarke. Letztgenannter fungierte in der Kontroverse gewissermaßen als Adjutant oder Statthalter Isaac Newtons. Dieser von Buschauer als Drehpunkt (S. 17) des Buches beschriebene Abschnitt offenbart und verdeutlicht aber, bis zu dem Moment, da sie wirklich vertieft in die Korrespondenz einsteigt, ein kleines Grundproblem des Bandes. Denn bis

es soweit ist, wird binnen weniger Seiten über die Konzeption von Raum als (AN)Ordnung, die man aus der Raumsoziologie Martina Löws kennt, eine – nach der Einleitung – neuerliche Befassung mit den anderen Räumen Foucaults auch noch rasch der space of flows von Manuel Castells verhandelt. Es herrscht hier wie generell im Band – bisweilen von Absatz zu Absatz – eine rasche und mitunter assoziative Mobilität zwischen den Theoriebezügen auf die rekurriert bzw. die ausgeführt werden. Diese schnelle und vermengende Argumentationsweise begründet sich wohl in der dahinterstehenden und eigentlich lobenswerten Erwägung die Heterogenität der Diskurse fassbar machen zu wollen, anstatt sie unter ein einzelnes systematisches Ordnungsraster zu zwängen (vgl. S.18). Diese Darstellungsweise geht aber wiederholt mit der Bedrohung durch eine leichte Unübersichtlichkeit des Arguments und dem Gefühl der Rastlosigkeit und Hektik einher. Ähnlich vielleicht jener „Unruhe" (S.13), die auch für den Raum konstatiert wird.

Wenn sich der Band dann – vielleicht dem Charakter der Kommunikation geschuldet – an der Leibniz-Clarke-Korrespondenz abarbeitet, kommt es zu einer positiv zu vermerkenden Entschleunigung und just in der Kontroverse zu einer Beruhigung der Argumentation. Das relativistische Raumkonzept Leibniz' lässt sich in dieser Konfrontation mit dem absoluten (also stets gleichen und unveränderlichen) Raum im Modell Newtons, vorgestellt anhand der Kontrastierung recht anschaulich nachvollziehen.

Was Regine Buschauer in diesem Buch gut gelingt, ist es durch die Zusammenstellung der Themenkomplexe, zu denen gedacht wird, die Vielfalt der Bezugspunkte, unter den sich Mobilität und Mobilisierung von Kommunikation denken lassen, zu umklammern. Die Klammer bleibt aber, wiederum der Grundanlage des Buches geschuldet, die Diskurse in ihrer Vielfalt aufzuzeigen und ausschnitthaft zu rekonstruieren, eine lose Verbindung. Das zeigt auch der Umstand, dass am Ende des Bandes das Schlusswort mit zweieinhalb Seiten Länge sehr knapp ausfällt. Auch wenn es, wie Buschauer ausführt nicht Anspruch war Diskurse zu systematisieren oder gar zu unifizieren, so wäre eine nachhaltigere, umfassendere Zusammenschau und eine abschließende Bewertung dessen, was man aus der Darstellung nun gelernt hat, wünschenswert, wenn nicht notwendig gewesen. Denn die einzelnen Abschnitte bleiben, von der immer, jedoch meist müßig zu führenden Diskussion ob nicht dieser oder jener Autor und dessen Argumentation im Literaturverzeichnis fehlt, (obschon sie von der angesprochenen Hektik abgesehen durchwegs solide gearbeitet sind) auch irgendwo im leeren Raum hängen. Denn in der Vielzahl der Publikationen, die zu Raum, Mobilität und Kommunikation in den letzten Jahren erschienen sind, fallen dem Rezensenten an vielen Stellen andere Werke ein, an denen das jeweilige Diskursmoment erhellender, mitreißender, unkonventioneller, systematischer, dichter, durchdrungener oder aber auch schlechter, kontroverser, empörender (auch das kann Rezeptionsmotiv und Unique Selling Position sein) behandelt wird. Die Ausarbeitung von Regine Buschauer bleibt insgesamt (was durchaus auch positiv gedeutet und bewertet werden kann) konventionell, damit zugleich aber auch verwechselbar: Das macht das vorliegende Buch keineswegs zu einem schlechten, man liest es in einzelnen Stellen durchaus mit Vergnügen und Gewinn. Durch das fehlende klare Alleinstellungsmerkmal kann es sich auf das Drehmoment des Spatial turn aber zugleich auch nicht wirklich auswirken.

Christian Schwarzenegger, Aachen

ECREA Communication History Section - About us

The ECREA-Section Communication History intends to bring together scholars from different European countries who approach communication with a historical perspective. This includes the history of communication in general, the history of socially relevant and mass communication, memory studies, the history of ideas related to the field of communication and the methodology and theory of communication history.

Many processes in the fields of media and communication that are taking place in the present can only be understood adequately if they are analyzed in an historical perspective. So communication history can be considered as an essential part of media and communication studies.

Despite all the differences in language, culture as well as conflict-ridden and disputed histories, much of Europe now shares a common market alongside an increasing array of common political and regulatory structures, especially in the communication services sectors. Consequently, a comparative, cross-cultural or postnational perspective allows the analysis of differences and commonalities in the forms, framing and functioning of socially relevant communication. This gives an opportunity for deeper insights into modernization processes, the democratization of societies and on patterns of media use and adoption. Moreover, a comparative understanding of European communication history has to be regarded as a vital part of European history.

The ECREA-Section Communication History wants to provide a platform for exchange and comparative research. It aims to include scholars from all European regions, respecting gender balance, and supporting the work of junior scholars. The section participates in the organization of panels at the ECREA conferences and at other events. It organizes regular work- shops in order to stimulate international cooperations, the exchange of ideas and the research on communication history.

Essential research areas of the ECREA-Section Communication History include:

1)History of communication, in particular of socially relevant and mass communication

This field in communication history involves research that focuses on the history of communication processes and their relevant contexts. This includes:

•History of media production (e.g., the history of media technology, media organizations, production routines, media contents and products, institutional patterns and media professions)

•History of media institutions (e.g., development of media institutions, forms, cross-media comparisons, cross-national and other kinds of comparative studies)

•Media, history and social change (e.g., mediatization, democratization, participation, media as an instrument of control, social and cultural (dis-)integration)

•History of journalism, public relations, and advertising

•New media and digital media histories (including shifts and changes in spaces of connectivity, user generated content, historical similarities to contemporary phenomena, etc.)

•History of popular culture and media

•Historical audiences and their modes of reception

•History of individual communication (interpersonal communication, group communication, relations between individual communication and group or mass communication)

2)Memory studies

This branch of communication history includes studies on the individual remembering, social memory and memory politics. The formation of communicative as well as collective memories is of interest especially with regard to the impact of mass media or other socially relevant media. Moreover other topics like the media representations of history could be analyzed.

3)History of ideas related to the field of communication

Research in this field deals with the history of theories and ideas concerning public and/or mediated communication, the history of communication as scientific discipline and with the resonances of academic discourses on communication within a society and its publics.

4)Methodology and Theory of communication history

Methods, source evaluation and theoretical perspectives shape the results of historical re- search and form academic discourses. Therefore the discussion of methodologies and theories is fundamental also for communication history. Considering the very different traditions, sources and national specificities in research it seems to be even more important to create a vibrant new European forum for the exchange of theories, methodologies and research prac- tices related to communication history. Other topics include the evolving role of the media as sources and influences on history.
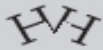
These research areas are closely intertwined. Links between these fields are also a matter of research of the Section.

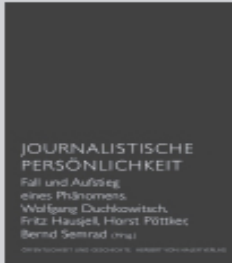If you are interested in the work of the ECREA Communication History Section please visit the Section Website: **http://sections.ecrea.eu/CHIS/**

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Empfehlung