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Propaganda and Communication Strategies During the 1938 Oil Expropriation in Mexico: Theory, Context and Contents

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On March 18, 1938, the Mexican government decreed the expropriation of the foreign oil industry that had operated in its territory since the end of the 19th century. This was arguably the moment of major tension in a long and difficult relationship between the two countries, during which the foreign oil establishment had continually used all means, legal or otherwise, to obtain an extraterritorial status in the host country (as it had in 1914 when oil mogul Edward L. Doheny owner of the Huasteca Petroleum lobbied for direct U.S. military intervention in Mexico). In 1938, for moments it seemed that the conflict would lead to an invasion and occupation of the Mexican oil fields by American forces. This episode, reputedly one of the most studied in the history of the relations between the two countries, lacks a significant analysis of the role the media and communication strategies played in the event. The oil corporations, headed by the Standard Oil Company (N.J.), organized vast propaganda campaigns designed to weaken the nationalistic government of President Lázaro Cárdenas, force it to go back on the expropriation and eventually create conditions for an overthrow in favor of a right-wing regime sympathetic to the foreign oil companies' interests. In response, the Cárdenas government, through its Ministry of Press and Propaganda, organized a counter - campaign which results, considering the disparity of ways and means, were highly effective. This paper -part of a larger text- follows the American propaganda campaign and Mexican counter-campaign in both countries' media during the years 1938 to 1940, and remembers the similarities with previous episodes that took place between 1900 and 1921

Archives ethnography – between the past and the present

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This paper presents the studying methodology of documental archives generated in modernity as a form to understand the relation between the state and the society. The Miroel Silveira Archive of Communication and Arts School of the São Paulo University, consists of theatre previous censorship process in São Paulo, from 1930 to 1970. From the researches developed in this Archive, this paper presents the ethnographic method as a way to interpret the information and relations between the parts. The ethnography make possible to establish a bridge between the past and the present, marked period by the proliferation of public and private archives.

Internet Histories: Technology, Media, and their Imaginaries

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As a species of media history, histories of the Internet are in their relative infancy. In this paper, I draw upon early work from a comparative project on 'Internet History in Australia and the Asia-Pacific' – a four-country



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comparative study of the Internet in Australia, Japan, Korea, and China – to offer a theoretical discussion regarding where histories of the Internet fit into the wider field. Firstly, I provide a brief survey of the leading work on Internet histories to date. Secondly, I discuss what is specific about the histories of the Internet, and what challenges it presents to those seeking to produce histories regarding it. In doing so, I make comparison especially with the histories, and historiography, of other media technologies, notably the telegraph and television. Thirdly, I develop an argument regarding the usefulness of taking a cultural and media historical approach to formulating Internet histories – especially one that turns on the notion of 'imaginaries'. Here I discuss various accounts of imaginaries, especially in the work of Patrice Flichy, Mizuko Ito, and others. Perhaps more often evocative than precise, nonetheless, 'imaginaries' promises a conceptually rich and historically persuasive way to bring together culture, media and technology facets of the Internet's development - as I shall illustrate through examples drawn from the 'Internet History' project.

In the service of Empire: Reuters and the Australian press during World War I

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This paper examines the role of the London-based international news agency, Reuters, in distributing propaganda news in Australia during World War I. This story is told against the backdrop of the development in Britain during the course of the War of a comprehensive system of propaganda production and distribution, both for audiences at home and overseas, in which the British press played a willing and integral role. This development culminated in the establishment of a British Ministry of Information in March 1918 headed by the press baron, Lord Beaverbrook. During the War, Reuters continued to publicly avow its editorial independence and freedom from British Government control. However, during the course of the War, Reuters came under increasing Government influence and developed into a key instrument of Britain's propaganda machinery, particularly in the distribution of propaganda-inspired news throughout neutral countries, America and the British Empire. In the course of the War, Australia established its own machinery for distributing officially sanctioned news to the Australian press through the despatches of official war correspondents, Charles Bean and G.L. Gilmour, whose glorified reports of Australians at war were designed to increase morale at home and inspire enlistment. Australia also established its own Directorate of Propaganda in October 1918. However, the Australian public's main source of war news was via London through news agencies which provided a link between the British Government's war information services and the Australian press. As the War progressed, Reuters became the most prominent player in the distribution of propaganda news to Australia largely because of its close links with British Government information agencies and the financial support it received from the British Government. As the War continued, public support for it waned in Australia and other parts of the British Empire and recruitment became increasingly difficult. Attempts to introduce conscription in Australia failed to gain majority support in referenda on the issue. The maintenance of pro-war sentiment became an increasing priority both in Britain and within the Empire leading to a greater emphasis on 'internal' imperial propaganda. This paper argues that Reuters' introduction of its Supplementary Imperial Service on 19 March 1917 was a particularly significant development as it marked Reuters' explicit adoption of a propaganda mission within the Empire. This is evident in editorial guidelines especially prepared for this service. All Australian mainstream newspapers played a significant role in the distribution of propaganda. There were, however, significant differences amongst newspapers in their use of and editorial stance towards propaganda materials. This paper argues that Australian newspapers which subscribed directly to Reuters' news feeds, which included the Sun in Sydney, the Herald in Melbourne and the majority of Australia's provincial press, played an especially prominent role in the distribution of British propaganda.

The Search for the Origins of the Concept of Public Opinion in Republican Experience of the Renaissance Venice

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Until recently, social historians routinely located the emergence of the concept of public opinion in the 18th century Enlightenment period, attributing its etymological roots to the 1580s writings of Michel de Montaigne. Yet, as David Zaret points out in his analysis of the developments in 17th century England, public opinion became an essential factor structuring social and political life long before it was officially 'invented' by social philosophers of the Enlightenment. The aim of this study is to shed more light on the attitudes towards the concept of public opinion in the political culture of the Republic of Venice. It argues that early 1500s' Venetian political vocabulary used the term *opinione volgare* - public opinion in the same sense as a modern media scholar would employ it. Yet in classical republican political culture, public opinion had a distinctly derogatory meaning. Strongly influenced by Plato's republican ideals, Venetians believed that hijacked by a skilled politician armed with dexterous oratorical skills and personal ambition, public opinion could have become fateful to the very survival of the Republic. Consequently, Venetians perfected a political system which may be labeled as a democracy without deliberation. Ideally, before casting any ballot in the popular assembly (Great Council), the 2,000 plus noble citizens who enjoyed full-fledged democratic rights, received only factual information seen as necessary for an informed vote. Emotional appeals were suppressed and the voters were forbidden even to talk to each other to avoid any form of mutual persuasion and sectarian politics. Political factionalism, described as an unavoidable by-product of public deliberation, was seen by classical republicanism as a cancer which would gradually erode the basic tenets of the republican constitution. I argue that Jean-Jacques Rousseau was drawing on his direct observations of the Venetian political system when in *The Social Contract* (1762), he formulated the concept of general will - a rational sum of individually formed informed judgments which "would always be good." Yet, Venetian social praxis not always corresponded with its lofty normative political ideals. To illustrate this claim, the study uses empirical evidence gathered in the context of the Venetian catastrophic defeat in the Battle of Agnadello (1509), which contemporary domestic sources widely attributed to the Republic's populist leadership and its foolish policies pandering to the *opinione volgare* - public opinion. The study concludes that public opinion was present in Venetian politics not only as a tacit category, but that Venetians understood it as an important element of their social life and had full grasp of its implications on their public sphere. Yet, as Zaret illustrates, it was only in the course of the 17th century when public opinion gradually was accepted in the West at a normative level as a social arbiter to which individuals or groups were able to appeal in order to gain legitimacy for their political actions.

An international public utility? The U.S. position toward the Marconi Company's push for a world monopoly in the 1899-1912 period

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Natural monopolies are enshrined in the telecommunications regulation of a variety of nations, but efforts for creating an international public utility with the attendant monopoly status and public service obligations have been far more unpredictable. This paper examines the Marconi Company's arguments and the U.S. government's response in the 1899-1912 period in light of the arguments and experience of American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) to shed light on the problems of creating an international public utility in a wireless industry at a time of hegemonic transition. In December 1913, AT&T, the largest telephone operator in the United States, and the U.S. government came to an understanding that the former would serve as the network manager of the American telephone system, interconnecting every Bell system telephone and the overwhelming majority of independent phones. Under the so-called Kingsbury Commitment, AT&T gave up its long-standing practice of refusing access to its network by competing independents and accepted regulation by independent commission in return for a *de facto* monopoly in the industry. The Kingsbury Commitment signaled the acceptance of the theory of natural monopoly advanced by the company and the rejection of competition as

the preferred way to meet public policy objectives. While AT&T walked away with substantial gains, the Radio Act of 1912 sealed the fate of the Marconi Company's aspirations for public service industry status in the United States. The Act mandated interconnection by requiring that all shore stations and ship installations had to exchange messages with other wireless installations regardless of the system used, which made the company's controversial "non-intercommunication" policy unlawful and allowed the United States to ratify the 1906 Berlin convention. When new technologies emerge, policymakers use analogies to guide their reasoning. The regulation of the telephone was built on the regulation of the telegraph, which, in turn, relied heavily on the principles of railroad regulation. In neither case was regulation a complete replica of the previous framework, but in all cases perceived similarity overrode differences. When wireless telegraphy was introduced, two features presented a challenge for corporate executives and policymakers: the unique technological properties of the industry and its international reach. In making its argument for international public utility status before, during and after the 1903 and 1906 international radiotelegraph conferences, the Marconi Company repeatedly compared itself to two wired predecessors, the telephone and submarine cables, while eschewing comparison to a third wired alternative, the telegraph. Why did the Marconi Company avoid the telegraph analogy? How did the company use the telephone and the cable analogies in its bid for public service industry status? How did it imagine its public service obligations in the international realm? Based on the example of the telephone, would the Marconi Company have qualified as a public service industry in the United States? What understanding of American common carrier law informed American delegates to the 1903 and 1906 conferences and American policymakers considering the Radio Act of 1912? To what extent did they find the precedents applicable to international wireless telegraphy? How did the perceived national identity of the Marconi Company influence American policymakers' decisions? In short, what happened when the precepts of common carrier policy were considered in the context of the hegemonic transition from British to American leadership in the world system?

Civic journalism as a challenge for the journalistic profession around 1900

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Civic journalism is not a new phenomenon. It is certain that it goes back to the time when mass media became the organizing element in social communication. Not only politics and the growing industry but also ordinary people tried to participate in the new media publicity. In the context of social modernization, urbanization and democratization during the 19th century a modern communication system emerged. Simultaneously the handling of citizens' participation and the integration of a more and more fragmented audience became part of the professional project of journalism.[1] Since then, citizenship and communication went hand in hand. The paper deals with the advantages and disadvantages of civic journalism around 1900 to give a historical perspective on the goals and threads it offers to professional journalism nowadays. Theoretically based on a critical analysis of the Habermasian Public Sphere[2], of Anglo-American concepts of grassroots journalism[3] and dreams of the blogosphere as "auxiliary forces of the Fourth Estate"[4] or even as "Fifth Estate"[5] the paper concentrates on the specifics of the public sphere, where we always had and have citizen journalists meanwhile we do not have citizen dentists or pilots. This has always threatened professional journalism. Therefore the case of Germany seems to be a perfect example as due to the delayed urbanization and the incomplete democratization in the 19th century also the professional project of journalism stayed unaccomplished. The paper uses the – up till now nearly unknown – source of German journalistic handbooks, that were published in the years between 1900 and 1914 and were quite successful, which can be demonstrated by their frequent reprinting. A content analysis shows, that many of them give professional advice to the journalists in order to deal with the growing mass of citizen journalism. Others provide more practical tips for those who tried to offer their content to the newspapers, while some quote early stylebooks of the newspapers. A scientific book on Culture and Press especially warns that professional journalism will loose the contact to the people and evokes journalists not to underestimate the importance of citizens' participation of all kind to keep in touch with both practical and quotidian live.[6] The result can be illustrated with examples of the most modern newspapers of the time, like the Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung. In their issue of the 18th of June in 1899, for example, they tell their

readers on page seven, that they get many photos – a quite new technology – from their audience and invite them to send more. The next page presents a competition on the best photo that illustrates “bathing”. The paper concentrates on an early but quite developed phase of civic journalism and tries to demonstrate that new phenomena in the web 2.0 have very early precedents.[7] The scientific research on these early forms of citizens’ participation offers new perspectives on present challenges for journalism and with the source of the journalistic handbooks it gives a new view on the professional project of journalism around 1900. [1] E.g. Retallack, James (1993): „From Pariah to Profession? The Journalist in German Society and Politics, from the late Enlightenment to the Rise of Hitler“, in: German Studies Review, 16, pp. 175-223. [2] Habermas, Jürgen (1990) [1962]: Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp. [3] E.g. Jan Rosens definition of citizen journalism: „When the people formerly known as the audience employ the press tools they have in their possession to inform one another, that’s citizen journalism.“ Quoted at his own blog: http://journalism.nyu.edu/pubzone/weblogs/pressthink/2008/07/14/a_most_useful_d.html. E.g. also: Gillmor, Dan: We the media. Grassroots Journalism by the people for the people, Sebastopol, CA: O’Reilly and Briggs, Xavier de Souza (2008): Democracy as Problem Solving – Civic Capacity in Communities Across the Globe, Cambridge, MA / London: MIT Press, pp. 307ff. [4] Moorstedt, Tobias (2009): „Die Hilfstruppe der vierten Gewalt“, in: Süddeutsche Zeitung, 22th of August, p. 17. [5] Segler, Daland (2009,): „Die fünfte Gewalt? Der professionelle Journalismus muss sich der härter werdenden Kritik der Blogger stellen“, in: Frankfurter Rundschau, 16th of June, p. 41. [6] Löbl, Emil (1903): Kultur und Presse, Leipzig: Duncker & Humboldt, p. 177. [7] E.g. for example Cabrera, María Ángeles (2004): Periodismo digital y nuevas tecnologías, in: Barrera, Carlos (Hrsg.): Historia del periodismo universal, Barcelona: Ariel, S. 393-417.

Communications for revolution: Iranian constitutional revolution

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Communications are one of principle fundaments every political revolution in the world. Iranian constitutional revolution had fruited with issuance command constitutional by mozafareddin shah (king of Persia) ghajar at 1906. this event had happened before Russian revolution (1917) was unique event at asia. Backgrounds of this event had provided much times ago specially period monarchy naseraldin shah (father's mozafareddin shah). mental backgrounds Iranian constitutional revolution are: 1-emergence new thoughts about government 2-publishing critical subjects about conditions iran. 3-effects of world events on Iranian thought. Role of communications in emergence this backgrounds is not deniable. mirza saleh shirazi who was a student had sent to England (he was in among first Iranian students that had sent to abroad) by abbas mirza (crown prince of fathalishah) and his chancellor ghaem magham farahani at 19 century after iran had been defeated by Russia. mirza saleh had made first printing house in iran at 1819 and first newspaper at 1836 in iran. he had published his memories from live in England, his log contains some material about government of England and its libraries and administration of justice. Some other examples are: 1-book "travel account (siahat nameh) of ebrahim baig" by haji zain aldin maragheei that was a critical book had important role at awakening Iranian. 2-book "one word (yek kallameh)" by yousef khan mostashar aldoleh that was commentary from first basic rule of france. Reformist iranain had printed newspapers inside and outside iran that 19 century. Some of exiled newspapers are: akhtar (printed in istanbul), ghanon (London), hablol matin (India), Some hidden newspapes (shabnameh) had printed in iran that had important role in thoughts of Iranian. Traditional communication (hidden associations, bazaar and mosques) had important role in iranaian revolution at 19 century. On the other had with erected lines of telegraph in iran at second half 19 century by India-europe company, telgraph had great role at increase information iranains about other parts of iran and the world. in constitutional revolution, revolutionist had used from telegraph for sent their shouts to worlds and in their efforts for equality, justice and freedom. In this article we survey role of communication (modern and traditional) in Iranian constitutional revolution at 19 century in iran by historical method.

Electric or Musical? EMI and the Dream of a British Television World

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As the Second World War closed, the British music and consumer electronics giant Electric and Musical Industries, EMI, thought it had a choice. Formed in the depth of the Great Depression through the merger of two great, London-based, record companies that produced both music recordings and the devices that played them back, the company had watched the music business collapse while radio broadcasting soared. A late and reluctant entrant into the manufacture of broadcast receivers, it capitalized on the introduction of electronics into musical recording in the 1920s to achieve stunning technical success in the still newer medium of television. When the BBC launched what became known as the 'world's first, regular, public, high-definition television service' in November 1936, the electronic system developed by a joint venture between EMI and the pioneering radio company Marconi quickly proved its superiority over John Logie Baird's mechanical system. Marconi-EMI's system became the 'London Television Standard'. The strategic choice was between this new, technically innovative business of television and what seemed an old, commodified business, music. EMI was right about television's commercial potential, but unable to capitalize on its own early technical achievement and Britain's pioneering status in TV broadcasting. Shut out of the American market by close corporate links with the company that dominated early television there, RCA, EMI worked hard to sell 'British television' to the world, especially the British Empire. But it found political resistance to the early introduction of what was rapidly perceived as a definingly American medium and some industrial resistance in increasingly assertive Dominions. The company struggled and did not return to financial prosperity until the mid-1950s, achieving stellar results in the 1960s in the old, business of recorded music, especially taking the Beatles to the world. EMI found its future in its past. Drawing on extensive archival research covering the period to the mid-1950s, this paper will analyse the origins and decline of EMI's dream of a British television world.

Hebrew journalists in European Empires: Control, Censorship and How They Bypassed It?

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The Jewish and Hebrew press grew and developed in Europe in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century generally within a hostile and uncertain milieu. In every country where it appeared, it was a minority press subject- to a greater or lesser extent- to the benevolence of the "foreign" powers, in consonance with the legal situation of the local Jewish community. Even where their situation was relatively good, an independent Jewish newspaper was inevitably suspect in the eyes of the government; mainly because the even the attitude of relatively liberal European countries concerning freedom of the press in general evolved very slowly in the course of the 19th century. Jewish newspapers (written by Jews for a Jewish public) suffered from self-censorship, imposed by Jewish communities anxious to preserve their culture and their physical safety, and external censorship imposed by the authorities, especially in the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires, where most of the Jewish population lived. Sometimes even an "economic" censorship was fatal to those small and poor publications. Some well known Jewish journalists were sometimes used as Censors by the Russian authorities in the framework of promoting Jewish Emancipation. Nevertheless, the Jewish and Hebrew newspapers found different ways to sidestep and bypass as much as possible legal and other impediments. The means they used were both stylistic and legalistic. In the first group: writing "between the lines", often in a satirical style (one of the origins of the well known "Jewish joke..."); using Hebrew names for "problematic" locations (while speaking, for instance, about "pogroms" in Russia); using biblical, religious and other common symbols. For the Russian Jewish socialists, Hebrew was a good mean of secret conspiracy communication... The "legalistic" methods included "smuggling" journals from West to East, false addresses of publication, fake editors, frequent changes of the papers' name etc. This "underground" reality long influenced the conceptual and thematic evolution of the

Jewish, Hebrew and Israeli Press (after a long period under Turkish rule and British Mandate). It evidently created myths and distortions about the functioning of this press which were only overcome much later.

Asian journalism's radical heritage and authoritarian rule in Singapore

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Over the past few decades, certain authoritarian regimes have tried to justify their illiberal media systems on the grounds of “Asian Values”, which, it is argued, predispose Asian societies towards harmony and respect for authority. Initially cited to ward off supposedly Western norms of professional journalism that adopt a more adversarial stance towards the state, it is now also wielded to delegitimise new and unruly forms of citizen participation in media, such as blogs. Examining Singapore, this paper argues that such an essentialist cultural case for “Asian values” in journalism has had ideological power only because it is profoundly ahistorical. For most of the 20th century, until the ruling PAP party fully entrenched itself as a hegemonic regime, it was not uncommon for Asian-language newspapers in Singapore to express radical critiques of prevailing power centres. Contentious journalism was an integral part of Singapore’s nationalist awakening in the first half of the 20th century. Hardly a marginal phenomenon, its diverse practitioners staked their claims in the middle of the public square, helping to embolden and empower Singapore’s various ethnic communities. Many were not yet restrained by the mantle of objective disinterest that professional journalists were in the process of adopting under the influence of the liberal Anglo-American model. Instead, they were simultaneously activists, public intellectuals and journalists. Before independence, such journalists and their readers constituted a powerful force in the anti-colonial movement. After independence, the same fervour was inconveniently directed at PAP policies. The PAP’s development strategy was to build an independent republic on multinational investments, multiculturalism, bureaucratic rationality and strong government – and with a resolve that had no place for the ideological diversity that journalism had been a vehicle for. The PAP used its significant discretionary and arbitrary powers – inherited from the British colonialists – to force compliance by closing down recalcitrant newspapers and detaining journalists without trial. Ironically, the diffusion of the Anglo-American or liberal media model played into the hands of the regime. First, the model’s ritualistic application of the principle of objectivity – known to have a bias for the status quo even in liberal democratic societies – had an even greater tendency to turn journalism into an echo chamber for the powerful when transplanted to a setting with extremely limited political pluralism. Second, liberal journalism’s commercial business model handed the regime additional leverage in its effort to create a more compliant press. As the regime was pro-business, there emerged a confluence between its political interests and newspaper companies’ business interests. Alternative forms of journalism were doubly marginalised – politically by the regime, and commercially by corporate media. Erasing journalism’s historical diversity from the collective memory has helped to bolster the professions’ sense of identity. In the Singaporean context, this amnesia has another effect, allowing the state to frame its fraught relations with journalism in Asian-versus-Western terms, denying the indigenous radical roots of Asian journalism.

THE PURSUIT OF THE IMPOSSIBLE: DICTATORSHIP AND OPENNESS THE DAILY NEWSPAPER YA DURING THE REGIME OF FRANCO.

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The news daily Ya was founded in 1935, promoted by La Editorial Católica (EDICA). During the Franco era it became an important support for the regime, despite official distrust of the newspaper during the regime's early years due to its collaboration with the Second Republic. The points that this paper will develop are the following:
1. Period 1936-1939. The vicissitudes of the publishing company during the Civil War. The theft of the property from its legitimate owners by Francoist elements. The end of the War: the suspension sine die of El Debate and

the permission for the publishing of *Ya*. 2. Period 1939-1952. Both the business and the newspaper itself are strictly controlled by the government. Its existence is merely tolerated. A direct intervention of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in Spain was necessary in order that the publishing company be returned to its rightful owners. Juan José Pradera is imposed as director by the government. He was guided by a particularly harsh attitude against the publishing company. These were the hardest years. They coincide with the Second World War, the advance of the Axis Powers and a Spanish government very much directed by the Falange, which was an enemy of the owners of EDICA. Beginning in 1945, with the entrance into the government of members of the National Catholic Association of Propagandists (promoters of the company), the panorama begins to change. 3. Period 1953-59. Era of expansion and—at the same time—radical internal divisions within the company, between the supporters of the regime of Franco and those opposing it. The newspaper continues the orientations imposed by Ángel Herrera Oria: openness towards other forces in order to sustain Franco's regime. This was made concrete in the intent to attract the “leftovers” of the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza*. The key points in this period are the following: a) The support by the newspaper of the Ministry of Ruiz-Giménez regarding the law on secondary education, considered abominable by the schools of the Church. b) The lack of support by the newspaper of the same Ministry regarding the so-called “Cultural Openness”, which ended with the resignation of Ruiz-Giménez as a result of the university events of 1956. c) The expulsion from the publishing company, by direct decision of Herrera, of the sector contrary to Francoism, which was not willing to aid in any way the sustaining of the regime via a policy of openness. 4. Period 1960-1975. Passing of the Press and Publishing Law and practical advances in the latitude allowed to newspapers permitted the formation of a group of informative media that promoted political change. *Ya* was one of the principal exponents of this line of thought. The Organic Law of the State, the institutional culmination of the regime, was interpreted in a democratic sense by some political sectors, supported by some newspapers, among them *Ya*. Its objective was to promote openness on the part of the institutions of Francoism itself, thus preventing a brusque political rupture. Its principal demand, which was never heeded, was the increase of the political pluralism and of the representativity of the institutions of the regime. The later juridical-political evolution of the laws that followed and completed the Organic Law of the State did not confirm a democratic interpretation. The ideas expressed by *Ya* represented a possible solution for the continuity of the regime, but they were contradictory at the same time: it was impossible to create a democratic political system without first negating the essence of the dictatorship. Nevertheless, a transition without ruptures or brusqueness was viable after the death of Franco, employing the valid elements which the prior system offered. This is what the *Tácito* group proposed in the early 70's, deriving from the editorial board of *Ya*.

Between two different traditions: the first Schools of Journalism in Spain (1926-1958)

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The birth and development of the first Schools of Journalism in Spain is linked to the current existing trends in Europe and North America both prior and after the Second World War. Until the recognition of these studies by the official legislation in 1971, there were three different achievements: the School of Journalism of *El Debate* (1926-1936), the Official School of Journalism (1941-1975) and the Institute of Journalism at the University of Navarra (1958). Only this latter specially characterized by its university nature unlike the former attempts, survived. A historical description of these three highlights (the influences that they received, the limitations of any sort that they had, etc.) will help us understand the reasons of this success. *El Debate*, a Catholic newspaper founded in 1910, was the first institution that understood the necessity of providing a specific training to the future journalists through a specialized school. As the newspaper was growing in circulation and prestige, his editor, Ángel Herrera, sent to one of his most reliable collaborators, the priest Manuel Graña, to the United States to gather experiences from various journalism schools. Once returned to Spain, the first School of Journalism was created in 1926, with clear influences from the American schools in terms of internal organization and syllabus. Practical skills of news writing, reporting, interviewing, etc. were dominant although some cultural subjects also were taught. The outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 obliged to close down the school. The new Official School of Journalism launched in 1941, just two years after the end of the Civil War, was basically

inspired by the previous School of El Debate in aspects regarding the subjects and syllabus. But differently from that, it showed a high degree of politicization as it depended on the Ministry of Propaganda. In fact it was conceived as an instrument of restricting access to the profession in favor of those more identified with the new dictatorial regime. With the passing of time, the control accesses turned softer. It was the only way to obtain the license card to work as a journalist. The creation of the Institute of Journalism at the Church-run University of Navarra in 1958 signified a step forward in the process of journalism's professionalization. It combined the two traditions existing at that time: the American model that emphasized the practical skills and the European tradition of various university departments devoted to the press and other media as objects of study but hardly oriented to the formation of future practitioners. A third element present in this new initiative was a high number of subjects related to the humanities as a necessary background for a journalist. These different projects, and specially the university-centered program offered in Navarra, led to shape the new university schools of journalism, officially set up in 1971, which are the backbone of the current Spanish system for journalists' training.

'Freedom of the press': India and the Empire/Commonwealth Press Union, 1940-50

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The author aims to identify and analyse in the first instance, those key developments which contributed to a resurgence of international debate over freedom of the press in the aftermath of the Second World War. One of the prime foci will be the Empire/Commonwealth Press Union and its post-war conferences at London (1946) and Ottawa (1950) respectively. Another, and especially critical in the case of India, will be on the impact of decolonisation and the legacy of British imperial ideology and praxis. It will be argued that the renewed prominence given to issues of press freedom at these gatherings was not only a response to censorship and war-time changes, but reflected the onset of a new world order. As an analysis of India's position on the issue of press freedom will confirm, the role of the EPU was changing in a period of rapid decolonisation, while international developments such as the Cold War and the formation of the United Nations were encouraging new attitudes and political affiliations.

Communications Media and the Global Financial Crisis of 1873

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This paper aims to add financial crises to the study of politico-military crises and culture that have held pride of place in media historiography. It will do so by examining the role of the 'global media' in the financial crisis between 1873 and 1876. This event deserves scholarly study because it was the first truly global financial crisis (Kindleberger, 1978; Kindleberger & Laffargue, 1982). Economic historians have made passing reference to the role of communications media in such events, while media scholars have ignored them completely. The event is also important because it reveals that telegraphic news did not just harmonize markets by shrinking the barriers of time and space, as James Carey (1989) and some economic historians (Hoag, 2006; Field, 1992) have claimed, and as the *New York Times* (1866) originally imagined it would, but because communications media may have propagated disturbances further and faster than might have otherwise been the case. The transition of submarine cables and telegraph news from risky ventures into a mature and complex technological system by 1870 fits the conditions that give rise to a bubble economy remarkably well (Kindleberger, 1978; Minsky, 1982; Schiller, 2000). The sharp leap in the amount of capital that poured into the industry after 1869, at least in Britain, is one indicator. The boom in submarine cable construction from 1869 to 1875 is another. The sharp rise in the share prices of submarine cable firms on the London Stock Exchange offers further evidence. The high capitalization of submarine telegraph firms listed on the Stock Exchange during this time was far greater than

their weight in the 'real economy', or relative to other sectors of the economy. The creation of novel methods to recapitalize well-established ventures, notably the Anglo American Telegraph Company, and the creation of others such as the Globe Telegraph & Trust Company provides more evidence still. Press coverage of the industry spiked, then waned, in lock-step fashion with the fortunes of the industry. The Times' (London) also spawned a new 'league table' just for submarine and telegraph cable stocks in 1870. As firms' stock prices rose, and a flurry of new firms were created, the list grew longer. After the crash, the 'league table' receded into insignificance. Lastly, a protracted debate in The Times (London) and the Economist from December 1873 until April 1875 pitted Reuters against investors, bond-holders, journalists and editors, with the latter alleging that the poor quality of Reuter's South American news service was aggravating market instability. Beyond fitting "the anatomy of a typical crisis" remarkably well, these points remind us that the flipside of tightening interdependence is greater vulnerability and risk (Beck, 2005). Ultimately, the point of this paper is that the role of the media in the context of financial crisis deserves far more scholarly attention than they have so far received.

From Journalism Education to Media Education in Russia: Contemporary trends in historical context

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In the era of transition from centralized party and government control to market-driven mass media, Russian journalism university education has experienced enormous pressure to change. Along with the formation of new departments in film and media studies, and international centers in journalism education, there has been a growing dissatisfaction with the theory-oriented curricula, the outdated technological equipment for student training, and the old-fashioned professorial manner of lecturing. Building on testimonies of academics at leading Russian universities, and on publications reviewing the contemporary state of the journalism education, this paper identifies trends, dynamics, and factors that characterize the gradual transformation in the area of journalism and media education. In that respect, our study is evocative to the current epistemological shift in theorizing the post-soviet transformative social processes, where the dominant "transitology" approach (see Markwick, 1996; Wiarda, 2001; Saxonberg and Linde, 2003) is challenged by an emergent analytical approach which focuses on the impact of culture and history (see Brier, 2009). Strong "traditionalism" is one of those dynamics, which explains the noticeable resistance to the adoption of some Western models of journalism education. Another important trend is the perpetual reliance on government as the main source of change, or as the authority to sanction changes in curricula or pedagogical directions. The notorious antagonism between practicing journalists and the academia is one more obstacle on the road to modernizing Russian journalism education. While the scholars and academic managers surveyed for this project expressed dissatisfaction with the slow pace of qualitative changes, they agreed on the observation that the dynamic transformations in the economic and political environment in Russia, as well as the revolutionary changes in the communications profession fields, require initiative, innovation, and collaboration among the stakeholders involved. The analysis presented in this paper is embedded in the rich historical context of the over-80-year old tradition of journalism university education in Russia. We follow that tradition throughout three distinct historical stages: (1) from the end of the Czars to the period of the Russian Revolution and Civil War (1917 to 1921); (2) the existence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or USSR (1922-1991), and (3) the breakup of the USSR in 1991 to the present. The paper outlines journalism education as it influenced citizen participation in periods when the Soviet society was to a great extent "closed" – especially during the Stalinist Era (1927-1953) and during periods when journalism students and practitioners were subject to less controls. By documenting how journalism education and practice in the USSR and Russia adapted to changes in the leadership of the Communist Party prior to 1991 and under the current Russian government, we clearly demonstrate that working journalists and journalism educators devised ways to encourage degree self-determination in the writing and reporting methods they taught. This was partly due to the recognition that overly tight controls formed incompetent journalists who could only produce embarrassingly ineffective and counter-productive propaganda that Soviet citizens ignored or ridiculed.

We further propose that the Soviet period of journalism education and practice should be viewed as a historical experiment in totalitarian control over the mass media, which produced norms, mechanisms, and attitudes that are still underpinning the contemporary media and journalism education in Russia.

Journalism, Media, Communication, Sociocultural Studies..... Fifty years of an indetermined disciplinary research field in Mexico

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The first “Communication” undergraduate university program (Licenciatura) in Mexico and Latin America was founded in 1960. By then, there already were three Journalism schools in the country, but a clear difference was stated from the beginning: “Communication” would train “intellectuals” for society and not just “professionals” for the Media. Only one of that original Journalism schools remained as such, until today; the other two, and a few others founded in the sixties and seventies, transformed themselves into Communication schools by the seventies, following both a national trend of university expansion and modernization, and the influences spread by CIESPAL all over Latin America, in order to institutionalize “(Mass or Social) Communication” as a field broader than Journalism. Mexican scholars paradoxically preferred to adopt the name “Communication Sciences” (Ciencias de la Comunicación) for their programs, not regarding the absolute absence of any national scientific research tradition related to the Media. Instead, they found relatively strong traditions in Philosophy, Arts and Literature. The founding father of “Communication Sciences” in Mexico was the Jesuit philosopher José Sánchez Villaseñor, who envisioned the academic project, but died in 1961. From the eighties to the present, the number of Communication undergraduate programs has not ceased to increase, following the general growth of higher education in Mexico. Recent surveys indicate that there are a thousand of them operating by now. But it is clear that a vast majority of them show the lowest level of academic quality, being just commercial responses to a demand the better established public or private universities cannot satisfy. There are no full-time faculty or libraries in hundreds of that “universities”, located all along the country, but their titles are officially valid. This situation led to the establishment of semi-official accreditation agencies, seeking for common minimum quality criteria, but a decade later only some 65 programs have been accredited by these agencies. Although there are almost a hundred different denominations for the titles, all of them seem to be variations of the same general model, an unclear mix of three historical “foundational” goals: the professional training of journalists, the education of public intellectuals, and the formation of critical social science researchers. This paper explores the complex processes of institutionalization, professionalization and legitimation in the emergence and development of Communication academic research and graduate programs within the context of the field, and, by comparing the Mexican case with others in Latin America, addresses some critical questions on the field’s identity and future.

Jornal Pessoal: model release against- hegemonic in the Brazilian Amazon

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The history reconstitution of Jornal Pessoal is the main goal of this paper. Considered as the most important and lasting experience of alternative journalism in Amazon, the newspaper is lead for the journalist Lúcio Flávio Pinto lonely. Created in 1987, in Belém (PA), it represents a model of against hegemonic press in Brazil, in the post dictatorship period. The Jornal Pessoal has the absence of advertising as one of its most important characteristics. Its editorial guideline is inspired in the I.F Stone’s Weekly, self-published for 19 years in U.S.A, by the journalist Isidore Stone. This study intends to discuss the reasons of the existence and lasting of Jornal Pessoal, which survives in spite of an intense campaign against it, in the court. The study also tries to demonstrate how its editor consolidates, by the newspaper, a function of public intellectual, which he incorporated after work in daily journalism for 21 years. The JP’s history, its interests fields, and his concerns

about the foundations and practice of journalism are the axes of this investigation, that uses documental and bibliographic research, interview and content analyses as methodological procedures.

Jornal Pessoal: model release against- hegemonic in the Brazilian Amazon

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Citizens' Consciousness of Women: The Challenges of Thai Women and Thai Mass Media during the Era of Democratic Bloom (1973-1976)

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Political awakening which resulted from intellectuals' demand for democracy in October 1973, the declaration of 1975 as the International Women's Year, and the influence of socialism and liberalism created a phenomenon of 'citizens' consciousness of women' in the mass media like never before in Thai history. This articles aims to explain how the events that occurred during 1973-1976, which was when democracy was blooming in Thai society, helped create changes in citizens' consciousness in regard to women throughout the media, by a study of newspapers, magazines, movies, and literary works of progressive women during 1973-1976. The study finds that even though some progressive women challenged to build a new citizen's consciousness, in another aspect women themselves were not yet freed from being the victims. Women were not the driving force for the fight using their own methods, but they went with the flow under the patriarchal social structure and concepts. The fight to establish women's discourses as citizens in the media appeared active, but was lacking variety and was restricted under the concepts of socialism, liberalism and social variables. The consciousness of the agenda setting in regard to women of the mass media was more of a trend following political awakening than the consciousness of gender inequality. However, such was a start of the appearance of the voices of women as citizens in the public sphere and provided a fighting opportunity to be learned and adapted by women of later generations.

Radio Broadcasting in Portugal during World War II: Submitting to and Bypassing the Censorship

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The paper analyses the censorship apparatus in Portugal during World War II, focusing in particular on the political control exercised over radio broadcasting. As will be detailed, the outbreak of World War II provided an opportunity for the authoritarian regime that ruled the country, known as the “Estado Novo” (or “New State” in English), to tighten its control over private radio stations. Legislation passed in September 1939 not only paved the way for the presence of censors inside the stations proper, but also limited the number of stations, which meant that in the regions of Lisbon and Porto a number of broadcasters had to share the same frequency, dividing up the transmission day between themselves. The only three stations that did not share their transmitters with any other broadcasters were the state-owned Emissora Nacional, and RCP and RR. The proprietors of the two latter stations had close relations with the regime and, for this reason, did not represent a threat to Salazar. Moreover, these were the only two stations given permission to broadcast advertisements which meant that all the other stations had to deal with very severe financial constraints during the war. In order to survive, many of the smaller broadcasters were receptive to airing content that was produced by the National Propaganda Secretariat. It was during 1940 that the official body in charge of propaganda started to offer stations the possibility of broadcasting talks on cultural, political and tourist issues. However, not all stations were political aligned with the Estado Novo and some managed to find other means of survival. As a result of their financial difficulties and the political affiliations of their owners, these stations were approached by the Germans and by the British and Americans, who offered money in exchange for propaganda services. As the paper will address, some stations that operated in the Lisbon region became known for supporting one of the sides of the conflict. The strategies that were used to bypass the censors so that this could be made possible will be detailed in the paper that will also analyze the effectiveness of this form of propaganda used both by the Axis and the Allied powers, which aimed to promote among the Portuguese public their perspective of the war.

Between popular and quality press: the Unique pattern of the popular newspapers in Israel

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The objective of this paper is to trace the roots of the rise of the Israeli popular newspaper, which is a unique pattern of popular press. In fact, the Israeli popular press, which began in 1948, the year of Israel’s War of Independence, is a rare hybrid of popular and elite newspapers. Thus, when compared to newspapers throughout the world, they may deserve the definition “populite newspapers”. Though these papers were published in tabloid format, their first pages were devoted to political and economic issues, something that is generally characteristic of “serious” journalism, and also included literary and art reviews. In addition, the literary style of the articles and reports was generally of a higher level than is customary in tabloids. In fact all popular papers contributed to the development of a national narrative that led to the construction of the imagined community of the newly born State. What led to the appeal and success of this distinctive pattern of popular press precisely during the period of war and hostilities? The answer lays in a combination of several factors: the needs of a populace that was hungry for information during wartime - although it is commonly assumed that stress raises escapist patterns, it also enhances the need for information; professional initiatives of journalists and newspaper editors; and competition between the papers that forced their publishers to identify the tastes and needs of their readers and provide products that meet them. To these may be added a few secondary reasons and factors, such as the economic prosperity following W.W.II and the increase in the Jewish population.

Television News Agencies: The first three decades*Zuzana Zabkova* — , United Kingdom · ZZabkova@ap.org*Chris Paterson* — University of Leeds, United Kingdom · c.paterson@leeds.ac.uk

This paper argues that television news agencies are integral to the system of news production that has shaped a common visual memory and global understandings of contemporary events and public affairs for half of a century, but that there has been little coordinated research of their historical development. This project fills many gaps in this history through interviews with key protagonists, document research, and synthesis of the sparse historical accounts which have been published. We submit that analysis and understanding of the development of global newsgathering networks are vital if modern international communications and journalism are to be well understood. While serving as the main source of images for global and national broadcasters since the demise of theatrical newsreels, the central role of television news agencies in international television news has never been broadly acknowledged. This paper traces the birth of television news agencies in the late Forties and early Fifties and the consolidation of the television agency business in the following decade. It then charts the expansion of the main television news agencies – Visnews and UPITN - in the 1970s along with their adaptation of video and satellite technology and a series of shifts in ownership and alliances which undermined their claims of being editorially independent global services. These two companies have evolved into the current industry leading television news agencies which continue to dominate global television newsgathering and image distribution. This proposal is particularly directed to the History Section's themes of "Media and Empire" or "Journalism Work in Times of Political and Social Change since World War II." The paper stems from a collaboration between one researcher (Zabkova) who has researched the development of the television news agencies from the post-war newsreel companies, and another (Paterson) who had written widely on television news agencies and their news production practices, and who is now completing a history of the television news agencies centred on the 1970s. Many of the surviving senior television news agency journalists and managers from this early period have been interviewed for this project by one or both of the researchers.

Foreign Press, Home Politics. The case of the Spanish Transition to Democracy (1975-1978)*Jaume Guillamet* — Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Spain · jaume.guillamet@upf.edu

The role played by the foreign press regarding the coverage of national events is especially relevant when concerning conflicts, processes of change, revolutions and war situations, for at least two reasons. First at all, news provided by foreign journalists can partly correct and compensate the ill working of press freedom at home and lend publicity to events and opinions forbidden or overlooked by the country's rulers. Secondly, foreign press coverage over long periods may offer special interest in itself for historical studies, not only as a documentary source but also as a main issue of research. This paper aims to present the case of the external perception of the Spanish Transition to democracy –from General Franco's death (November 1975) to the approval of the Constitution (December 1978)- as an example of a viable line of research, yet to be explored in political history studies. The study of British daily newspapers coverage of the Spanish transition has unveiled a daily intense attention over the three years of regime change. Its results are significant in five aspects: - News gathering and selection, regarding to the political viability of reform process and its international impact. - Editorial position and opinions from newspapers. - Special articles and features about news and events or discovering the hidden side of Spanish society. - Revision of memories and ghosts from the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939. - The mirror effect for British governmental interests and for society in general as reflected in its coverage of the Spanish Transition The research has been done over the four main London quality daily newspapers coverage -The Times, The Daily Telegraph, The Guardian and The Financial Times.

From history to news: the process of times hierarchyization in journalistic narratives in Brazil

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This paper firstly provides a brief mapping of recent researches on Journalism's History in Brazil, analyzing its main characteristics and also presenting alternatives in order to diversify its theoretical and methodological approaches. In the second part, we present an example of alternative journalism historicizing based on History as problem. In this part we investigate the increasing value of novelties to the concept of news in the later decades of the nineteenth-century and in beginning of the twentieth century in Brazil. In this part, we analyze three newspapers that have emerged in the 1800s and that are still in circulation in the state of Rio de Janeiro. From the projection of the implied reader in the text, we investigate the development of news parameters based on novelties and the increasing value of what is unpublished as a particular journalistic ownership. Thus, we demonstrate the changing and the recognition of certain communication status attributed to the journalism in Brazilian society, marked by a powerful sense of presentism that affects Communication Studies, even when the intention is to produce a History of Journalism. In 2007, we presented in this same meeting an article highlighting the linearity of the representations of time that marked journalistic narratives about the past. This time, we look at one of the consequences of the adoption of this linear notion of history that is precisely the value of the sense of novelty in the construction of news, in particular, and in the everyday life experience through the newspapers, more generally. As the range projection of the news is shortened, while fostering expectation of new updated readings, there is an intensification of everyday life experience. This process, in turn, increases the dieback of journalistic narratives that governs the thickness of the present.

Journalistic practices of 'silent resistance': Estonian journalists challenging the Soviet authorities

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This paper focuses on the journalistic strategies and practices that Estonian journalists and editors used for expressing both their dissent with the restrictions of the freedom of the press and opposition to the Soviet regime. As no underground dissident press existed in Estonia in the Soviet period (1940-1941 and 1944-1991), journalists developed various ways of 'silent resistance' within the official press. Our aim is to demonstrate and analyze journalistic practices – both discursive and editorial – that undermined the ideological purposes of Soviet journalism. On the discursive level, journalists skilfully used, for example, linguistic means. The language used in Communist press was designed for serving ideological purposes: it was full of ritual elements and signals for clear value judgements. In Estonia, the Soviet regime developed a specific Sovietized Estonian 'dialect', which was marked by a certain way of addressing ideologically important issues, and contained words directly borrowed from Russian ideological vocabulary – 'sovietisms'. However, the elements of Soviet newspeak in the Estonian language remained artificial and strange. High-brow Soviet exclamations lost their earnestness in Estonian and became parodies giving rise to jokes and popular ballads. Journalists, by using metaphorical language, putting 'sovietisms' into improper contexts, writing between the lines etc, often succeeded in expressing a spiritual protest. This was easier to accomplish on the lower levels of the Soviet press hierarchy (mainly youth, cultural and sport periodicals) and more difficult on the higher levels of hierarchy (organs of the party organizations). On the editorial level, various practices were used to bypass the 'Party line'. Editors often passed, at their own risk, content that was not politically and ideologically 'correct'. Censors often complained to Party headquarters about the editors who 'tried to avoid the responsibility of editing' and were 'incompetent in applying the regulations and rules'. Furthermore, while publishing was a long and time-consuming process in the Soviet Union, deadlines were very strict. The editors tried to gain benefit from pressure of the deadlines by deliberately presenting sensitive

materials to the censors at the last moment and reminding them about the deadlines. Archive documents, newspaper texts and journalists' memoirs testify that the Soviet press was far from being a perfect propaganda machine, but was a controversial and complicated mechanism in which the teeth of the cog-wheels were improperly aligned. * This research was supported by the European Union through the European Regional Development Fund (Center of Excellence CECT of the University of Tartu, Estonia).

A Short History of the History of Objectivity

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The paper is a study of how U.S. communication historians have treated the matter of objectivity over the past 30 years. Work done in the late 1970s, notably by Michael Schudson and Daniel Schiller, focused on the ways in which objectivity was socially constructed as a response to various pressures (political, economic, social) on the public life of the nation. Conducted in some sense in response to the “whiggish” interpretations of American journalism history, these narratives were skeptical of journalists' claims to objectivity. They were also often suspicious of the way in which American journalists used objectivity to present a “common-sense,” supposedly biased-free account of current events. Particularly in the work of Schiller, the myth of objectivity was seen as an ideological ruse through which the news media excluded radical voices in the public voice and thereby attempted to present a consensual view of the world extremely favorable to status quo institutions and ruling classes. This early historical work set a new paradigm for the study of objectivity, with later historians either challenging or supporting the earlier claims. Like Schiller and Schudson, later critics were often suspicious of the notion of a news culture free from bias; however, they also tried (and mostly succeeded) in complicating the narrative as it was originally proposed. This has set the stage for a third shift in interest, with the rise of multi-media sites and the decline in traditional news organizations' power. Historians need to realize that the current moment no longer calls a simple critique of objectivity, since even its defenders no longer accept the naïve realist assumptions of an earlier generation of journalists. Recent changes, notably the rise of new media forms like blogs, have changed the social context for objectivity, and thus may lead to a re-evaluation of its past role, as well as its potential future as a model for “good” journalism, not only in the United States but more generally.

From journalists' press to great media groups' press: The reaction to Spanish political Transition

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In the middle seventies, just before the death of the dictator Francisco Franco, and along the Transition to democracy, a group of new journalists arrived at the staff of the Spanish newspapers, most of them with college education and leftist ideologies, and they reached positions of great responsibility in its respective newspapers being very young, above all in the recently created areas of political information. These journalists, besides, introduced new styles of journalism: new languages and genres, far from the automatic repetition of the official version and from the one-way communication, and nearer the author journalism and the research journalism. The main concept is the 'independence'; journalists enjoyed a much greater freedom and capacity of initiative than the present ones, what can be perceived very clearly in their newspapers' publishing line. Spanish media became forums of debate and participation where the social representatives and the forces of the political opposition could express their ideas. Between 1975 and 1978 the proprietors of mass media remained to the expectation of how the political situation of the country could evolve; nevertheless, once the new institutions seemed consolidated, and when they saw clearly that the process would be commanded by the center-right politics, they decided to retake the publishing control of their newspapers. The convenience of this decision had been already picked up between the recommendations of the Trilateral Commission in its 1975 report, that largely marks the development of the Spanish Political Transition. The autonomy of the journalists was drastically reduced in the following years and the process was completed when the enterprises of information became

multimedia businesses, what increased even more the control that the publishers wanted to have on the journalistic decisions.

Sujets abordés par les chercheurs d'institutions canadiennes dans articles publiés dans *Canadian Journal of Communication* et dans *Communication* de 1974 à 2005

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L'analyse bibliométrique des articles publiés dans *Canadian Journal of Communication* et dans *Communication* de 1974 à 2005 révèle une recherche canadienne en communication d'emblée qualitative, dont se distingue l'intérêt pour les spécificités historiques, le contexte social et la compréhension des interrelations sous-jacentes aux phénomènes de communication. Au cœur de ces études se distingue principalement l'application de l'analyse de contenu qualitative dans les médias en général. Cependant, à partir de 1980, l'exploration du cinéma, de l'audiovisuel, des nouvelles technologies de l'information et de la communication, ainsi que la multiplication des sujets de recherche, annoncent un déplacement dans l'ordre des intérêts des chercheurs en communication au Canada.

Towards a historical perspective on the development of online news and journalism: the case of Irish news-websites, 1994-2010

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The world wide web, following the diffusion of the internet into mainstream social, economic and educational use, has been developing as a news-medium for more than a decade and a half. As the web's popularity and importance grew in the early- to mid-1990s it quickly became enmeshed in a discourse that, Marvin (1988) believes, historically has been a common greeting to the emergence of a new medium: revolutionary impacts premised on a technological logic of development. Flichy (2005) and Flew (2008) have argued the emergence of new forms of media is vulnerable to 'cycles of hype' because of the general absence of a historical perspective in which to ground the recent developments within long term social, cultural, economic and technological processes. Hesmondhalgh (2007) echoes their concerns in his argument that an emphasis on short-termism in popular discourse and academic research on new media can facilitate an illusion of change when there is in fact strong continuity with the past. In the mid-1990s, the web as a newly emergent medium for news publication, offering the possibility to journalists of new narrative forms to tell news-stories, conformed to the broad pattern of 'hype' and 'revolutionary impacts', decontextualised from broader and longer-term social, cultural, economic and technological processes. Many of the aspirations for news in the web's early years (a more democratic, transparent and participatory news) were rooted more in the freedom of technological capabilities than in the constraints of social practice, and they have yet to be realised. This paper encourages the development and application of a strong historical perspective in scholarship on online news, arguing that journalism as a social practice evolves at a slower pace than the rapid advances in the capabilities of digital technologies. It argues this through an examination of the news-websites of Irish traditional media (print and broadcast) organisations at national and local level since 1994. The paper addresses the many factors – social, technical, economic, institutional – that have influenced the development of their websites as outlets for news publication and the evolution of online journalistic practice within primarily print and broadcast organisations. The paper argues that, while change is occurring in the production, distribution and consumption of news online, the extent and depth of the shifts must be gauged within the context of the longer-term development of the news-media and journalism as a social practice. Further, it argues that new innovative practices and possibilities enabled by digital technologies cannot be decoupled from their social contexts of application and use, in particular the slower-paced processes of social learning, adoption and innovation. The paper concludes that, viewed through a long-term (fifteen year) period of development, Irish online news and journalistic practice retains a strong bond to the

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Contested imaginings: Propaganda, political socialization and citizenship in Malaysia, 1957-1969

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When Malaysia gained her independence in 1957, one of the critical challenges faced by the government was to encourage its people to take an active part in the social, civic and political life of the nation. Creating a participatory citizenry meant educating them on basic concepts like nation and citizenship. What complicated this process of political socialization were the inherent contradictions in the state's definition of an independent Malaya: for instance, the Constitution promised that all groups are equal, while at the same time asserted that one community enjoyed a special position in the nation. Thus, the ruling coalition found itself in a state of continual contest over the meaning of independent Malaya not just with groups from the pre-independence period, but also with new actors that came together to form a larger federation in 1963. This talk examines the mechanics with which the state inculcated citizenship and promoted civic participation through its propaganda machinery in the first years of independence in this climate of contestation. It focuses on the workings of the state's two principal propaganda tools – the Department of Information and the Department of Radio (which was later broadened renamed to include television). The Department of Information had two primary functions. The first was to place men and women on the ground in daily, face-to-face contact with citizens. They were charged with explaining the nuts and bolts of citizenship and propagating state policies and ideology. In rural and semi-urban areas, where mass media had not penetrated deeply and widely, these information officers became the primary face of the state, and they used a variety of techniques – public lectures, small group discussions, informal coffee shop conversations, cinema shows, organised tours to the capital, variety shows – to get their message across. The Department also dealt directly with the printed mass media where vigorous debate over the meaning of the nation was being played out. The Department issued press releases, provided reports and photographs of official events, and tried to influence editors and reporters. At the same time, the Department of Radio served as the main medium of state-controlled mass propaganda and entertainment, especially for urban residents. Together, the departments formed the two-pronged micro and macro engine of state propaganda. The paper looks at the difficulties these two agencies faced in controlling information and spreading the state's interpretation of citizenship and civic participation in the face of contesting notions of nationalism, focusing on mechanisms (the messy governmentality of propaganda), content (the inherent contradictions of state ideology) and reception (the citizens' response to propaganda efforts, including, their idiosyncratic definition of 'information'). It seeks to identify where the ideological and the mechanical intersect in the flow and control of information, and how newly-minted postcolonial citizens receive the message and/or resist attempts at control their understanding of citizenship and nation.

Portuguese Democracy and patterns of transformation in national newspapers

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The Portuguese Revolution of April 1974 produced a major transformation on media property. According to the legislation approved by the revolutionary rulers during 1975, all the banks and their interests were nationalized. Almost all main titles of national press were included in this process, because they were partial or totally owned by societies belonging to the most important financial corporations. This legislation was confirmed by the Portuguese Constitution of 1976 and the nationalizations were due to last until 1989, when constitutional changes finally allowed reversing this policy. During this period the Portuguese State was the owner of several

newspapers, the news agency (ANOP/LUSA) the TV station (RTP) and Radio (RDP), forming a media group of considerable dimensions never achieved before. In spite of this scenario several private initiatives were allowed and various newspapers were created but never lasted long. The exception was the diary *Correio da Manhã* that was launched in 1979 and became the number one in sales of nowadays national press. The consequences of State ownership were of several types. Through the analysis of some aspects like political statements, data on press production, the Journalists Union, official reports and random articles it's possible to identify a few main patterns of this period. Some of them affected editorial policy, management failure and professional behavior. The others concern the relationship between governments and the press, like the losses due to the capitalization of newspapers, the choice of the executive staff and, last but not the least, the selling process of newspapers. The purpose of this paper is to establish a connection between the failure of state policy and the decline of national newspapers and, by opposite, the achievement held by the press during the 90's related with transformations that took place in media property. One of the indicators of these transformations is the circulation. During the first period almost all the newspapers owned by the State, with the exception of *Jornal de Notícias*, presented losses on circulation. The table below shows the global numbers of national press between 1972 and 1988: Source: Nacional Institute of Statistics The acquisition of the main titles by the private sector and the constitution of media groups allowed a transformation in this tendency, even though several newspapers disappeared or new successful ones were created. Once again the numbers of global circulation (1988/2004) the drastic change in the previous scenario: Source: Nacional Institute of Statistics The improvements registered on newspapers circulation, combined with other major transformations announced the beginning of a new era on Portuguese media history.

“Building political audiences during censorship times. A study about the Portuguese National Assembly during 1968-1974”

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This paper focuses on the last years of *Estado Novo* (1968-1974) in Portugal, after Salazar's death and under the government headed by his follower, Marcelo Caetano. Although the political field remained a dictatorship based in the lack of freedom of the press, newspapers divided, in a very expressive way, into liberals and conservatives, reflecting the high level of politization of the civil society and a progressive demand of political journalism from a larger public. One of the strategies used by journalist to enlarge their political influence was a radical change in the coverage of the National Assembly (Parliament) activities. Due to the existence of a small group of deputies, know as the Liberal Wing, that forum become a theatrical arena, where young liberal politicians and future leaders searched visibility and power. Journalists helped them in that purpose, assuring large publicity to their legislative initiatives toward liberalization and democratization. Due to the existence of censorship to the press, most of the street protests made by workers and students during the late 60's and throughout the decade of the 70's couldn't be covered by the newspapers. The same silence surrounded the colonial war, started at 1961 and only ended in 1974. But it was much harder to prevent circulation of the speeches of the liberal deputies, along with their interviews and opinion articles. In that measure, we argue that the spectacularization of political confrontations inside governmental institutions was a powerful resource do arise attention, spread dissentient and build a political progressive audience.

The development of German press in former Czechoslovakia till the end of World War Two (with focus on the development between WW I and WW II)

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Former Czechoslovakia, one of the states established on the territory of Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy in 1918, was a multinational state within years 1938-1945. The majority of inhabitants were Czechs in western part of the country (Bohemia and Moravia) and Slovaks in eastern part (Slovakia). The biggest national minority were

Germans who lived predominantly in Bohemia and Moravia. German and Czechs formed two specific cultures which include the media, too. The contribution focuses on the development of German press in Bohemia since the end of 19th century till 1945. The development is quite unique comparing to the rest of Europe. Despite the fact that media ownership tended to concentration of ownership, local monopolies urban readership, German press in Bohemia preserved more archaic regional, owners' and cultural structure, the structure which was framed during the second half of 19th century. Due to political and economical reasons, mostly local press was developing ("popular" by its character), but some newspapers appeared in large metropolitan areas, too. In respected period 1918-1945, Czech and German press followed very different tracks of development – with Czech press more modern in terms of ownership and level of urbanization and concentration. The difference in development was even stronger in the period of World War Two, when Czechoslovakia disappeared and Bohemia and Moravia were occupied by Nazi armies. The period of so-called protectorate was the last period of German press on the territory of Czechoslovakia, since the German press was cancelled after the end of the war. Clearly, Czech and German press existed side by side in former Czechoslovakia and formed almost separate structural and cultural entities with very weak mutual interaction. The development of German press in Bohemia and Moravia can be understood as an example of cultural and political parallelism within the framework of national state. It helped to support national awareness and cultural and language identity.

Citizenship and freedom of expression: a comparative study of censorship in Brazilian theater, movie and TV, 1930-1970

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For almost four decades, the Divisão de Diversões Públicas da Secretaria de Segurança (Public Entertainment Division of the Security Office), in Sao Paulo (Brazil), has censored over six thousand theater plays and uncountable movies and television programs. This paper shows the results of the research Body, communication and censorship: a case study from the Miroel Silveira Archive. The research aims to understand how gender and sexuality topics are understood by Brazilian censorship from 1930 to 1970. The corpus of the research is organized with 73 processes of previous censorship. It analyses the emergence of the body and sexuality as a significant element in Brazilian cultural production, although the many prohibitions and interventions of the public power in the decades indicated. At first, it focuses on the interdiction of the body and sexuality, outstanding the cultural changes of their representations. The result presents how particular points of view of censors have damaged the freedom of expression and the exercise of citizenship in the mass media. Besides, it indicates the social representations of women and sexual diversity, specially homosexuality and transvesties. Also, it is possible to identify how the changes in morality are seen in different ways through the decades, revealing that the censorship is not a rational instrument of control but, in another way, it is in a large sense the expression of personal values of the censor, reflecting in appointments social constructions related to body, sex and moral.

Mobile Privatization and the Life and Death of Newspapers

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The daily newspaper has been facing the collapse of its business model in recent years. The process, due in part to circumstances unique to the newspaper business, should be seen in the larger context of a general reconfiguration of public space. Through the second half of the twentieth century in western countries, scholars have drawn attention to the weaknesses of central institutions of political belonging. Political parties, elections, and social organizations, as well as newspapers and other news media have declined. Their perceived erosion has been attributed to markets and consumerism, technology, apathy and political malaise, and multiculturalism, to name the most familiar. Conventional wisdom sees all these factors crystallized in the twenty-first century

appliances of the mobile individual (cell phone, iPod, GPS unit, and so forth). In the deep background is the social vector that Raymond Williams in 1973 called “mobile privatization,” concretely measurable in the decline of older forms of sociability (town squares, open-air markets, theaters, and the like) and in the rise of the technological ensemble associated with middle-class homes (refrigerator, television, washing machine, and other appliances). This paper seeks to find empirical grounds to discuss the relationship between mobile privatization and the decline of the daily newspaper. We propose indicators and assemble data to sketch the older modes of social life, and then examine daily newspapers at intervals over the past century to explore their interaction with the indicators. The indicators that interest us most are the social spaces of face-to-face conviviality, like saloons, bars, and restaurants; tools for interpersonal communication, such as telephones; mechanisms for food preparation like supermarkets and home refrigeration; home delivery (an interesting combination of the telephone and the restaurant or supermarket); entertainment venues like live theaters, motion picture houses, and gaming arcades, along with the spread of home entertainment in the form of phonographs, board games, television, and video gaming platforms; and transportation systems, including the shifts to urban rail and the automobile. We examine newspapers in Chicago to understand the relationship of the daily press as an institution to the changing landscape of the mobile private citizen. Newspapers embraced private urban space in many ways, through news about the new tools of the middle-class home (in the results not only of enterprise reporting but also of the even more common product reviews), through advertisements, and through many practices that used these tools, from telephone marketing and zoned distribution to online comment pages. The history tells a story of the conscious deconstruction of urban space that accompanied the long complaint of declining reader support and attention.

The Press Association's 1926 Acquisition of Reuters: The involvement and implications for the Irish newspaper industry

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In 1926 the London based Press Association (PA) purchased a controlling share in the Reuters international news agency. Established in the 1860's, the PA had been distributing Reuters' international news to its members, the Irish and British regional newspapers, since 1868. The purchase marked a significant evolution in the relationship between these two organisations. The PA and its members were transformed from being Reuters' customers to its owner, placing them in a position to influence the international news economy, particularly prior to the collapse of the international 'News Ring' in 1934. The purchase was funded by a combination of a bank loan and the issue of interest bearing notes to PA members. This paper presents a case study of the role Irish newspapers played in this process by providing funds for the PA's acquisition of Reuters. At first glance, this is surprising: only five years earlier the Irish War of Independence had resulted in the establishment of a largely autonomous Irish Free State. In the wake of the war Republican leaders worked to establish a fully-fledged nation-state. Irish newspapers had played a significant role in the Irish revolution. Why now were they supporting continuing links with the British provincial press, and Reuters, 'the empire's news agency'? In examining these questions, this paper will explain and analyse how the Irish newspaper industry reacted to a developing national and international media landscape and to the competing tensions of developing Irish nationalism and engagement with the British Empire during this period. Originally intended as a twelve-year investment, the majority of funds provided by the Irish newspapers through the 1926 notes were not ultimately redeemed until the end of 1954. The investments, and the ownership arrangements they represented, were sustained throughout the early years of the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland, and beyond the declaration of the Irish Republic and its exit from the Commonwealth in 1949. The history of Irish newspapers and media has traditionally focused on political religious and social divisions and definitions. While not seeking to downplay the significance of these themes, this paper seeks to reveal a similarity of action and attitude among Irish newspapers that contradict the traditional boundaries of recent Irish history, complicates our understanding of how Ireland was 'decolonised' and suggests the continuity of transnational commercial interest.

Journalisme et régimes d'historicité*Nathalie Pignard-Cheyne* – Elico (Université de Lyon), France · npignard@yahoo.fr*Arnaud Noblet* – Elico (Université de Lyon), · arnaudnoblet@free.fr

Si la plupart des chercheurs s'avèrent dans l'incapacité de fournir une définition du journalisme (certains doutant même qu'elle existe ou qu'il faille la chercher), tous ou presque s'accordent concomitamment pour admettre l'historicité d'un tel objet. En l'absence d' « essence », ce à quoi il est fait référence lorsque nous employons le terme « journalisme » ferait écho à une figure du passé, à une image antérieure, celle-ci constituant une sorte de jauge, un mètre étalon à partir duquel nous nous positionnerions plus ou moins explicitement. Le modèle journalistique, issu d'une certaine façon d'écrire l'histoire, pèserait ainsi fortement sur nos conceptions présentes. D'où la nécessité de prendre « des pincettes historiques » (P. Bourdieu) afin de mettre à jour le processus d'élaboration de l'objet « journalisme » à travers le temps. Toutefois, de quelle histoire s'agit-il ? Dans la lignée d'une sortie de la conception classique du temps où nous tenons le passé pour fixe (mouvement largement amorcé par H. Bergson ou P. Ricoeur), nous postulons que le passé est essentiellement hypothétique. Il se transforme en permanence sous l'effet de l'apparition de nouveautés dans le temps présent. Ainsi, il faut qu'un nouvel événement ait surgit pour que l'on puisse lui associer un passé et des éléments d'explications. L'événement éclaire son propre passé ; il ne peut jamais en être déduit (H. Arendt). C'est donc sous l'impulsion du surgissement de la nouveauté dans le présent que s'écrit et se réécrit sans cesse l'histoire. Dès lors, les événements du passé deviennent des faits historiques « à titre posthume » : l'historien qui part de là cesse d'égrener la suite des événements comme un chapelet. Il saisit la constellation que sa propre époque forme avec telle époque antérieure (W. Benjamin). C'est dans cette perspective que nous avons choisi de mobiliser la notion de « régime d'historicité », développée par l'historien spécialiste de l'Antiquité François Hartog (dans la lignée notamment des travaux de Reinhart Koselleck) et de nous interroger sur le ou les régime(s) d'historicité à partir desquels nous pensons aujourd'hui le journalisme. Nous posons ici l'hypothèse que ce ou ces régimes d'historicité à notre disposition, résultat(s) d'un processus de sédimentation historique où se superposeraient plusieurs couches de temporalité, seraient actuellement remis en cause, ou en quelque sorte « réinventés », par les questionnements liés aux évolutions récentes du journalisme, principalement l'émergence d'Internet. Afin de vérifier la validité de cette hypothèse, nous avons mobilisé un corpus d'ouvrages relevant de l'histoire générale du journalisme et de ses origines, en étudiant plus particulièrement les divers procédés (découpages chronologiques, terminologie privilégiée, exclusion ou dévalorisation de certaines pratiques,...) concourant à la mise en ordre du discours historique, à l'émergence d'un certain « régime d'historicité » dominant (F. Hartog). Puis nous avons confronté ces résultats aux constats des mutations actuellement à l'œuvre dans le domaine du journalisme sous l'effet de l'émergence et du développement d'Internet, à travers la prise en compte des travaux scientifiques les plus récents sur le sujet ainsi que de différentes études que nous avons déjà menées sur la question. Ce faisant, il nous semble possible d'avancer qu'un nouveau régime d'historicité pourrait être en train d'émerger, déplaçant les cadres et les bases historiques qui sous-tendaient jusqu'ici l'analyse du journalisme.

A Study of the Foreign Influence on the Development of Journalism in Modern China*Tao Yang* – Nagoya University, Japan · yangtaoyoto@hotmail.com

This paper explores the foreign influence (US and Japan, in particular) on the development of journalism in modern China. Though there are several previous studies in this area, they do not give us particular discussion of its related topics. Here, by using the newspaper and magazine articles of those days, I would like to consider specifically some of these topics, at the same time trying to construct the proper context of the China's emerging modern journalism. From 1910s, the Chinese mass media reported the exchange of people and thoughts which was conducted in the journalism field between China and other countries. For instance, several special columns introducing the contemporary condition of foreign journalism appeared in Chinese mass media. This article deals

with the two following examples. One is the series report columns seen on the two Chinese periodical publications, namely, ShenBao and DongFangZaZhi (the Orient Magazine). Another is the reports about Walter Williams, the dean of the School of Journalism in the University of Missouri, and his visit to China in winter, 1921. In order to have the overall picture of the journalism in modern China, I would also like to make the following three questions: what kind of reference books on journalism theories were translated into Chinese; how many Chinese people studied journalism in America and Japan, and in which institutions they studied it; how the University of Missouri helped Chinese universities, especially Saint John's University in Shanghai and Peking University in Beijing, to start their journalism education. By using the primary source, I would like to more substantiate the history of the development of journalism in modern China which was closely related with foreign countries like US and Japan.

Changing forms of journalism over 50 years in Norway's leading morning paper

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In the last half-century journalism and the values of journalism in Norway have been virtually transformed. We have tried to trace some of the changes by using content analysis and a few categories stressing form more than content. The following is some findings so far from this project: We see a trend both towards short and long journalism and a clear functional distinction between the long and short articles. The long articles can become really long when dealing with trends, conditions and state of affairs, but at the same time we see a revival of the notice. Topics have become more general and wider in their time frames, and Articles are to some extent more concerned with groups of people, rather than with individuals, instead Articles have an emphasis on social conditions rather than with the running schedule of pre-planned social events by institutions outside the editorial department. Journalists have been more visible in the columns.

The debate on NWICO and reflexions on 'media and empire'.

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In the 1970s and early 1980s, two international debates on communications coalesced or impinged on one another : first, within UNESCO and other international fora, the « new world information and communication order » (NWICO in English, NOMIC in French), linked in part to a debate on a « new world economic order », moved upwards on the international agenda ; second, within academic circles, sometimes connected to socio-economic, cultural and geopolitical circles (sometimes not), some media scholars, within and beyond the developing world, studied media imperialism in relation to debates on cultural imperialism. Transnational actors, often headquartered in « the West » - in a capital such as Paris, London, and Washington and/or New York, the capital of US media corporations – were frequently studied and critiqued in both debates. One such actor were international news agencies (INA's) - in particular, the Paris-based Agence France Presse, Reuters (company headquarters in London), and, in the US, the Associated Press (AP) and United Press International (UPI). This paper uses archival material located in Reuters - in particular the papers of Gerald Long, the company managing director, 1963-1981 – and in AFP (archives of a different nature), and other studies and material focussing on 'Western' INA's , in the light of the two above-mentioned debates

Journalistic Autobiographies as Sources for Research on 'Closed Societies'

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The History Section's call asks for papers exploring the role of journalists working in 'closed societies'. The proposed paper tries to answer to this question by using journalistic autobiographies as a source. And it does this for two cases of the German history of the twentieth century: the Third Reich (1933-1945) and for the German Democratic Republic (1945/49-1989). Autobiographies of journalists who worked under the Nazi dictatorship have been published since the 1960ies. And after the fall of the GDR and the German reunification in 1989/90 some autobiographies have meanwhile been written by former East-German journalists. A general aspect that has to be questioned is of course if such autobiographies are reliable sources for writing journalism history on these phases. How do the authors describe their behaviour and how do they try to explain it? Do they concede to have been instruments of the ruling parties? Did they try to resist to the political orchestration of journalism or which possibilities did they have to deviate from that? And after all: do they dissociate themselves from their past or do they legitimize their earlier journalistic behaviour? While there has been hardly any journalist from the Nazi period who defended afterwards the former system, there are still journalists from the GDR who do not feel the necessity to regret their former system.

'Four wives yesterday took part in one of the frankest talks ever broadcast by the BBC': women's voices on Woman's Hour 1945-1955

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In a recent article, Danica Minic (2008) asked current staff on Woman's Hour, (BBC Radio 4), what it was about the programme that gave it its identity. Minic was told that the main aspects of the programme were to allow women's voices to be heard and in doing so let women speak to women, and to reflect diversity; that the programme should represent different groups of women. Based on archival research conducted at the BBC Written Archive Centre in Reading, this paper (which is part of a wider PhD project on women's radio 1945-1955 in Britain) will demonstrate that the current 'identity' of the programme, has over the last sixty years remained the same. Indeed, allowing women's voices on air and representing different types of women, were key components of the programme already in its early days. Woman's Hour was first broadcast on the BBC Light Programme in 1946, attracting audiences in their millions. One of the unique key features of the programme in this period was its ability to represent various women on air and voice their concerns and worries. Woman's Hour was mainly aimed towards the housewife and the majority of listeners were working class, however, the nature of the programme appealed to women from various backgrounds and incomes, and it soon represented regional as well as working women. As this paper will show, the programme was a crucial and pioneering platform for women in this period; not just in its representation of women and by voicing their concerns, but also the way it allowed ordinary women to participate in the programme. However, serving such a wide ranging audience, in a time where issues such as class, education and social status still played an important part, posed its difficulties; how do you meet the demands and needs of such a wide ranging audience? How do you cater for all?

Anniversary journalism in Soviet Estonia: representation of Soviet calendar holidays in Soviet Estonian Press

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Press has always played an important role in (re)presenting the past and creating the communities' shared understanding about the history. The specific type of journalistic practices, focusing on the anniversaries of certain events has been called anniversary journalism (Zelizer, Kitch). This concept, emphasizing the commemorative role and ideological functions of the press, can be successfully used to frame the analysis of so-called holiday or anniversary articles in Soviet press. The Soviet holidays, organizing the rhythm of Soviet

everyday life, were among the most important propaganda tools of the Soviet regime. They were introduced in every Soviet republic (including Estonia during the years 1944-1991) and turned out to be a kind of 'invented traditions' (Hobsbawm 1983). The celebration of every holiday was turned into a ritual that included public events and certain symbols. Probably the most important 'inventor' or at least promulgator of the newly invented traditions, was the Soviet press. The newspapers and magazines were regularly reflecting, but also teaching the rituals and traditions that were associated to the Soviet holidays. As most of the holidays were connected with some kind of anniversaries, the articles, published on the occasion of the Soviet holidays year-by-year, can be called the anniversary articles and conceptualized as a form of anniversary journalism. The distinctive aspect of the Soviet anniversary journalism is, that if usually the focus of the anniversary journalism is on the past, the Soviet anniversary journalism being strongly affected by its propagandistic functions, pays a lot of attention to the present and future as well. Being interested in the functions and role of the press in Soviet Estonia, my study is focused on the representation of „Day of Soviet Journalism“ (celebrated on 5th of May – the birthday of „Pravda“) in Soviet Estonian press. The comparison of the articles, published on the occasion of this holiday, includes different periods and different newspapers (national and local newspapers). In addition to the general aspects of Soviet anniversary journalism (style, genres, discursus etc) my study is also aimed to reveal, how the journalists themselves reflect and present the role and importance of Soviet journalism in the anniversary articles.

Televising the “Real” and “Fictional” Cuban Revolution, 1959-1960

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In 1959 Cuba, Prime Minister Fidel Castro was a national hero. He had just ended a seven-year dictatorship with the creation of a grassroots movement, he was promising a return to constitutional democracy, and he focused on helping the poor. Beyond his political stature, however, Castro had also become a popular television figure. In fact, every entertainment publication on the island named him as the most important television personality of the year. Prime Minister Castro utilized television to inform and guide the nation thus, the citizens who owned (or had family or friends who owned) one of the approximately 365,000 sets available in Cuba watched the comandante almost on a weekly basis. But Fidel Castro's ongoing televised participation was not the only revolutionary element on commercial television. Dramas, variety shows, and public affairs programs addressed various aspects associated with the Cuban Revolution, creating an ongoing trans-genre narration of the not so distant revolutionary “past” and the still vague revolutionary “present.” By constantly re-constructing and re-creating particular fragments of the revolution, commercial television became the major sponsor of Fidel Castro and his newly instituted government. Relying on Guy Debord's concept of spectacle, in this paper I examine the televised iconography and political performances of the revolution between 1959 to early 1960. I pay special attention to 1) the representation of revolutionary “reality,” that is, non-fiction television programming (such as panel shows, televised speeches, and public service shows) where Fidel Castro announced particular political objectives and policies and 2) the representation of a fictionalized revolution that was constructed through originally scripted dramas. The main argument guiding this paper is that even though in the 1959-early 1960 period the Cuban Revolution had not yet been declared socialist, Fidel Castro and the revolutionary government's uses of television adumbrated the State's and the Cuban Communist Party's future management of the medium.

Postal art in the time of electronic media

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As soon as they appeared, postcards have been appropriated and used as an iconographic material and a correspondence practice by diverse artistic avant-gardes of the XXth century. From Marcel Duchamp's postcard to his patrons, the Arensbergs, in 1916 to mailart practice in the 60's, there have been a lot of different ways of

subverting postcards, and transforming a day-by-day object, a communication medium in a work of art. Today, in the time of the Web 2.0 and smart phones, in a time when there's "a permanent, continuous connection" (Moisés de Lemos Martins), and when new technologies have become "iconophile" instead of "iconoclast" (Michel Maffesoli), postal art keep being done, using both postcards and electronic media. In our presentation, we'll be specially attentive to current examples of postal art, which conciliate traditional postcards with the new Web tools, such as the contemporary art project Postsecret by Frank Warren or postcards designed by Daniel Eatock.

POST-CRISIS TIMES: ARGENTINE FILMS WRITE HISTORY AND MEMORY

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When closed societies open, the media become key in documenting and writing memories of a period in which publicly voicing political opinions often meant death threats and disappearances. During these post-crisis times, and within environments of political, social, and cultural changes, films are increasingly becoming relevant sources for historical knowledge, veritable "history textbooks" that shape how we remember the past. In these societies, many people rely on film to learn about what happened. Films are also a major source by which global audiences learn about historical events from distant nations. This paper explores documentary and narrative films' representations of Argentina's dictatorship (1976-83) and its massive human rights violations. For over twenty-five years, the camera as historian has been writing memories of state terrorism, portraying its impact in society and the traces it left. Indeed, this violent and traumatic period has an insistent presence in films and is firmly woven into the post-dictatorship's cultural production. My discussion and analysis of these films is organized as follows: 1) The "classics," the first productions dealing with the years of terror, including the winner of the 1986 Oscar to best foreign film. 2) Documentaries. This section is an overview of works that are very diverse in their approach as well as in the level of distribution and repercussion. Some have only circulated in the small circuit of regional festivals; others have won international awards and been screened in theaters around the world. 3) Postmemories in images. I focus here on how that period is being remembered and represented by filmmakers who are children of disappeared people. 4) Narrative/fictional films. This section is divided according to certain sub-themes, such as fictional representations of the seizing of victims and the horror suffered inside the torture chambers, the stolen babies of political prisoners, and how certain sectors of society reacted to the fear and the dangers of repression suffered by relatives, friends, and acquaintances. My analysis considers the value of those films as historical texts. I discuss the topics included and excluded, their contributions to what we already know about this past, and how they insert its presence in contemporary Argentina. We have much information about those years, gathered through survivors' accounts, human rights organizations, and legal proceedings. This knowledge of how state terrorism functioned allows for decoding the messages that these films transmit and judge if these representations correspond to documented facts. Overall, I argue that film has been essential in bringing this past into the public sphere and in keeping it there. I claim that much has been done in representing that period. Recent films, in particular, reveal that there are innovative approaches for portraying the dictatorship and its sequels. But I also maintain that there is still much to do. Many pending themes have not yet been discussed or need to be addressed from different perspectives.

The Land: Stabilizing the soil with words and pictures

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The Land was an independent quarterly published in the US from 1939 to 1954 to address the destructive agricultural practices that led to the catastrophic loss of topsoil and nutrients of the Dust Bowl. The journal was loaded with information about conservation farming in the form of field reports, farmer's journals, soil and plant theory. A lively debate on proper organic farming technique took place here before mid-century. The journal doled

out cheerful encouragement for the skills of observation and fortitude it takes to farm; this in the form of pictures, maps, scripts by filmmaker Robert Flaherty, songs, invocations and poetry. The journal was published by the “non-profit, non-partisan, Friends of the Land Society for the conservation of soil rain and man,” and in the inaugural issue a manifesto bemoaned the defacement of landscape, and disruptions to the hydrological system that characterized development in the US. In language skirting nationalistic rhetoric, poverty of the soil was aligned with social poverty. While the magazine’s style can be partly attributed to the period, the excitement of discovering and disseminating experiences with sustainable agricultural practice is infectious, and the debates in these volumes are focused and sustained with technical evidence. The journal had a low-cost subscription, received private contributions, and ran few ads. Most interesting about the journal was its active participation by farmers who wrote for it, and were invited to attend and present empirical experience in seasonal meetings held in key farming regions. Through published proceedings, one learns these meetings were attended by hundreds of farmers who came to share their conservation findings with the assembly, or to learn from others. Sometimes these meetings featured regional tours, where the whole party traveled together to observe best practices. It is ironic they traveled by auto-caravan, for as the war ended, petroleum corporation ads begin dominate whole pages. Writing about *The Land* in 1995, historian Randal Beeman called it a missing chapter in US environmentalist history. Here, I summarize the journal’s work, and with *The Land* journal in the background against a larger palette of corporate agricultural media, I speculate about the future. What is agricultural extension’s role in cultivating good practices? I will highlight this journal’s contribution in farmer education, and the production of community through meetings and caravans. How does this participatory face to face pedagogy compare with practices today, and what can we learn from it?

The April 5th Movement: Birth of China’s Citizen Photojournalism and New Social Documentary Tradition

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Author: Shi Li, PhD student lishi@indiana.edu Department of Journalism Indiana University Bloomington, IN 47408 USA In 1976 China was reaching the end of its tumultuous decade-long Cultural Revolution. On January 8, Premier Zhou Enlai, the most widely respected political figure in China, passed away. His death brought tremendous grief to many Chinese citizens. The media were not allowed to report on such an outpouring. The authorities of the time, under the influence of the “Gang of Four” led by Jiang Qing, the wife of Chairman Mao Zedong, were determined to prevent any public mourning for Zhou. Yet, on January 11, over a million people took to the streets in Beijing to bid him farewell as his funeral motorcade drove through the city. The official media were not present. In the weeks preceding the Qingming Festival - a holiday commemorating the dead - which fell on April 4, growing crowds spontaneously gathered in the capital’s Tiananmen Square to mourn the late Premier. Paper wreaths and handwritten poems were laid around the Monument to the People’s Heroes. Speeches were made. They not only expressed deep sorrow for Zhou, but also, indirectly, criticism of the existing Chinese authorities. These gatherings peaked on April 4th: hundreds of thousands of people flocked to the Square. The massive outpouring of sentiment alarmed the government. When the following day, tens of thousands of ordinary citizens returned to the Square, they were dismayed to find that all wreaths had been removed overnight and were no longer allowed to approach the Monument. Violence broke out when the citizens’ attempt to negotiate with the authorities failed. Police were sent in with clubs to drive mourners away from the site. Police vehicles were turned over and burnt. This spontaneous movement, later known as “the April 5th Movement,” was declared “counter-revolutionary” – a decision that would be reversed when Deng Xiaoping came to power in 1978. From late March to early April 1976, all journalists had been banned from Tiananmen Square. But among the mourners were an small number of young aspiring photographers, most of whom used their amateur cameras to document the event. They would go on to preserve their exposed film at great personal risks. The police was ordered to search all the photo-labs in the capital and to confiscate any materials related to the events. Many of these young amateur and part-time photographers would grow to become China’s first generation of contemporary social documentary photographers and modern-style photojournalists since the founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1949. Prior to the Movement, under the communist regime,

China's mainstream press-photography was largely propagandistic. The April 5th Movement, because of the highly conscious choice made by those aspiring photographers, results in a major change. This paper, based on interviews with several of the photographers and an examination of their photographs from that time, on existing memoirs and other archival materials, intends to reconstruct the event on Tiananmen Square, and address many still unanswered questions: What prompted ordinary citizens to pick up their cameras to document what would be remembered as such a significant historical event, and this at great personal risk? What did it mean to be a "citizen photojournalist" in a time of crisis, and this in a society where freedom of speech was severely prohibited? Who are those photographers who emerged from the April 5th Movement and how did they develop into leaders of the new social documentary tradition in China today? What fundamental changes did they bring to visual representation of society in the Chinese printed media, and what impact did they have on the broader cultural environment?

The creative role of cliché in postcard's photography: critical reading of landscapes.

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Landscapes as shown by postcard's photography especially claim popular imaginary in order to be succeeded as commodified forms. This work suggests that despite its predictable reading, visual media can also be considered as giving rise to unexpected new forms, created through the reproduction of stereotypical representations. In some postcards, we suggest that there is a particular process of picturing landscape using common aesthetic codes as a way to, at the same time, emphasize some possible performative reading. Postcards were always a privileged medium of (re)producing clichés. They are still shaped to highlight the desired immutable aspects of the material and «natural» world, transforming landscape in a cultural heritage. Designed as a 'mnemotechnology, photos provide a mediated experience of the «authentic» as it was, in a certain time and space. In this context, they are taken seriously in its purpose of truly re-presenting the world and clichés are used as resources through which photographers perform a semiotic program for an intended audience. Yet, with that same resource, photographers can also create an opportunity to play against commonly accepted representational meanings. We propose to analyse the way how visual resources can be interpreted as a strategy to produce a certain tension between landscape as a cliché and landscape as a refracted experience that can never be re-presented. We intend to discuss this hypothesis taking some postcards, where landscape is pictured by photography, as a stimulus. In particular, we will consider cityscapes, as it is our believe that they haven't been studied so often, in academic terms.

A historical analysis of the 40th anniversary of the Jornal Nacional, of the Globo TV Network

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This article proposes a historical analysis of the relationship of political and economic dependence/independence of Brazilian TV, via a case study of TV Globo and its main news program, the Jornal Nacional, which is the oldest TV news show in Brazil. It has been on the air since 1 September 1969 and can be understood as a product of the articulation between elite political and economic interests and those of the military, who heavily influenced Brazil during the 60s and 70s, which was also the period of consolidation of a cultural market in Brazil. I argue that the consolidation of Brazilian TV is associated with the military government (1964-1985), the Doctrine of National Security and Development and the idea of national integration. I also show that political and economic movements are fundamental to the consolidation of TV Globo including the creation of its standard Globo of quality, a composition of economic, commercial, political, technological, productive and aesthetic strategies which show that Globo was, at the time of the consolidation of Brazilian TV, the network that most clearly perceived the potential of the medium and that best put together the economic and political conditions to transform its programming into an object of mass consumption. I show that the JN underwent several transformations over the years, but remains the TV news program with the largest audience in Brazil and is a

national model for broadcast TV news. In celebrating its 40th anniversary, the network made one more change in its programming history: a shift toward a more informal visual style, more flexible, with more live programming and more space given to viewer suggestions. In the attempt to recover its audience, which has been falling since the 1990s, and taking advantage of the resources for the recent implementation of digital TV, Globo is banking on a closer relationship to its audiences. In truth, this movement, as a historical phenomenon, seems to be an updated version of a previous moment in the network's history. Since its foundation, Globo has been juggling two apparently opposing strategies: maintaining its standard of quality, at the same time that it creates strategies for attracting an audience.

Postcards in the history of visual arts of the 20th century

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19th century optical gadgets, amongst which the camera and the video camera, kicked off the image revolution, which computing technology later concluded in the 20th century, with a shift to virtual environments and networks, a process which also included the television, video and mobile phone. In fact, one can say that 20th century optical gadgets, while inaugurating the "era of technical reproducibility" of images, have led to a further instability of the system of representation and analogy, contributing decisively, not only to the destruction of modern iconoclasm, a war of civilization declared on images by the triumphant reason, but also for a projection on the screen of the wonderful world of separate images. The origin of the illustrated postcard is associated to the emergence of the camera and the transformations introduced by this gadget in social interactions, given the acceleration of human communication and the consequent change of our system of awareness of time, and also the relationship of our perception with memory and with archives. Their extreme portability, the fact that they rely on a postal system, with images being sent all over the planet, have made postcards the genealogical model of contemporary culture; a culture which is characterized by the generalized sending of messages and by erratic receptions. We intend to inscribe postcards in the theoretical field of visual arts, a vast field which ranges from painting to photography, also including cinema, graphic design and videoclips. That is, we seek to develop a history of images from the 19th and 20th centuries; a history comprising both passages and crossings; a history of profane images ('auraless' images); a history which expresses the quotidian, the fragmentary, the marginal, the finite. In fact, as an object produced in series, each postcard follows a specific course, having been appropriated by families and individuals according to diverse strategies; well-characterised by the way postal art of the 60's and onwards appropriates them to work the memory, but also to resist aesthetic and museum art. Inscribing illustrated postcards in mass culture, we will be extending our view to the traditions of Cultural Studies, Pop Art and Postal Art or distance art. We propose to study illustrated postcards combining painting with mass culture, and also with theatre arts: photography, cinema, advertising and graphic arts. That is, we seek to analyse postcards within a framework of a complex strategy: the fact that digital culture is being converted into a postal culture strengthens the need for an in-depth study of this 'imagic' manifestation. This communication comprises a specific panel "Posting cards, posting images: the history of visual arts and pictorial representations across the 20th century", proposed for the Congress by the research project team "The Illustrated Postcards. Towards a socio-semiotics of Image and Imaginarium".

Portraits of culture: picture postcards' role within a market of intangible assets

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Replaced by electronic media and by digital screens, picture postcard is nonetheless still an active medium for visual messages. Easy to handle and fixing images on its front side, traditional postcard printed in small card has been used by Advertising and by Cultural Marketing. Actually having been an important tool, in the beginning of the 20th century, to advertise on some products and services, it has also been playing a significant role in what

concerns cultural events diffusion. The history of this medium shows how it is intimately related to cultural industries, either depicting important shows or perpetuating the image of popular artists by reproducing big posters into more portable and collectable sizes. Made of austere technology, picture postcard became by its simplicity a key sign within the mass media culture. Bearing in mind some of these assumptions, we propose a reflection on the use of this centenary medium by contemporary organizations, whose activity is closely concerned with cultural manifestations. Our goal is to find in the technological simplicity of the postcard some strength to face the challenges of communication that nowadays organizations deal with. And without claiming the postcard to be a medium premium, neither denying the technological sophistication of the most recent advertising media, we want to explore the role of this old medium, on the assumption that the postcard, by its historical and cultural meanings, creates empathy in the consumer, enabling and effective contact with the message and with the cultural values inscribed in its front image. Considering the global function picture postcard has ever had as interpersonal messaging support, the focus will however be in its particular capacity of fixing intangible assets in the cultural market – where communication plays a decisive role as a process of adding value.

The reconstruction of the memory through journalistic images – a case study in Portuguese media

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In this paper we intend to discuss the role of journalistic images in the reconstruction of our historic memory about some public characters. Based on the principle that the real absence of images about people or events has a direct effect in our historical and social memory about them, we shall consider two points: in one hand, the loss of the so called news value of events about which images don't exist, what is visible not only in television, but in any other social communication media; on the other hand, the increase of symbolic value of images when these are fewer, which serves a "simplification" strategy that is fundamental to memory. Archive is, by itself, a domain of storage and management of data and it is a fundamental tool wether to recall lost past as to supply the absence of certain contents. The new digital media amplified our accessibility, production and sharing of information capacities through virtual archives, thus, of constructing memories. For us, it's important to discuss how journalism operates this reactivation of images from the past, subjected to other logics, and how the experience through image, as the journalism builds it in these dynamics, ends up reflecting another dynamic, a wider one, about its values and of the journalism practices. Following this, we will present a small case study of António de Oliveira Salazar, Prime-Minister of Estado Novo, a dictatorship regime that ruled Portugal for about forty years. There aren't many different images of Salazar wether on Tv as on newspapers. Disliking itself public exposure, Salazar has constructed a certain "invisibility", helped by a careful censorship vigilance, in a time that, in newsrooms, the image status was still poor compared with text and even the professional identity of photojournalists, which was beginning to shape. This scarceness of images contrasts with the present interest of Portuguese media in this man, in his character. Unknown images about events, circumstances and people connected to Salazar are being recalled and published, in news as in fiction (through many romanced books, pictures and tv series) with visible consequences in the way his memory is being reconfigured. An accident (the fall from a chair) caused his incapacity – and, latter, his death. In this paper we intend to present how some portuguese media recalled and reconstructed this accident in recently years – namely on its 40th anniversary - and to discuss which consequences in our historic memory about.

The Reportage in Swedish Radio 1925 – 1931 in a Comparative Perspective

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In this paper, I outline a theoretical and media historic model for how to understand the early radio reportage in Swedish public service radio. Swedish Radio was founded on 1 January 1925 as a public service corporation. Until 1931, however, there were no recording possibilities. All programmes, except for music recorded on phonograph, thus had to be arranged as live broadcasts. In consequence, the reportages studied here were produced and broadcast without any recording possibilities. The question is how the live broadcast requirement impacted in the aesthetics of the reportage, the narrative, drama and modes of address. As radio was still considered to be something new, an "empty" technology that, according to Raymond Williams (1974), had to be filled with content, its early development has to be considered in the light of preceding media activities. A point of departure for this early genre of the radio reportage was the topographic pictures, i.e. geographic stereo pictures, which became prominent in Europe during the 1850s through a variety of visual projection installations such as the Kaizer Panorama, and subsequently the silent movie. A central question in this paper is how the people behind the early Swedish radio reportage made use of the rhetoric and topics of the visual media as a basis for their own narrative forms in radio, such as city walks and descriptions of scenery.

Substituting news for poetry – The Estado de São Paulo fight against censorship in Brazilian dictators years

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In 1964, Brazil's democratic government was taken by military forces in an event known as the Military Strike. But free press wasn't going to be really affected until January, 24th in 1967. That was the date that Institutional Act Number 5 - IA5 was emitted by the Military Government taking away of people a number of rights such as freedom of speech. Telecommunications National Council (TNC) was the responsible for controlling all the stories published by newspapers, radio or television. Movies, literature and music were also under control. Each piece of text should be sent to it before publication. The Brazilian paper Estado de São Paulo owner, Julio de Mesquita Filho, refused to send the stories in advance to Government. So, in January, 3, 1968 the paper received a censor sent by TNC whose job was to check the paper before printing and cut all the texts considered offensive to Government. The previous censorship lasted until 1975. The newspaper direction took the decision of fighting censorship and gave order to the journalists keep writing their stories not worrying about the censor. And instead of preparing pieces to replace censored stories, they started to put strange pieces in the places where the cut words were. It was the paper way of letting know that something else was supposed to appear at that place. Those pieces were love letters made up by the journalists without apparent sense and mainly poems of Brazilian and Portuguese classical writers like Manuel Bandeira, Gonçalves Dias, and, especially, Luis de Camões. According to researchers, 1.136 stories were cut from the paper during this time. Verses from Camões' "Os Lusíadas" were published over 600 times in Estado de São Paulo. Using the poems and letters were this paper way of standing against censorship in a completely controlled country. All the stories censored were kept by the newspaper direction. When Brazil regained freedom of speech, these stories were published in the paper giving to the public the information that was taken during by Military Dictatorship.

Reconsidering the media system outsider as resource for journalism history: Radio Free Europe during the cold war

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The contemporary moment in media studies challenges media-system-directed analyses of journalism and its history. Schudson (1995) said that journalists "misunderstand themselves" in part because they do not recognize the "common ground" on which they stand. Carey (2007) held that journalists don't know their history. Perhaps what "counts" as journalism (and therefore journalism history) has been defined by journalists and

scholars in ways that dissuade the recognition of common historical ground and exclude analyses of certain contexts of practice. This study considers an experimental historical organization—Radio Free Europe (RFE) during the cold war—that is rendered homeless from a macro or media system perspective, and conceptualizes its news work within journalism history and culture. RFE, during its cold war broadcasts into East/Central Europe from Munich, FRG (1952-94), by virtue of its U.S. sponsorship and its (early and evolving) relationship to the Central Intelligence Agency, lay outside the realm of norm-sanctioned practice. However, RFE intended to accomplish its work through news production on an American model, while employing mostly practitioners trained in other media systems, and despite a location normatively and geographically outside the American system. Traditional categorizations by scholars and journalists leave RFE without a home in journalism. Theories and taxonomies of the press (e.g., Siebert, et al, 1963; Hallin and Mancini, 2004) and comparisons of professional values and beliefs about the political nature of journalists' roles or news accounts (e.g. Henningham, 1984; Patterson, 1998) construct categories at a macro or media-system level. Likewise, journalists view their autonomy as limited by organizational structure and governance and the political economy of media environments (Gitlin, 2003). Western journalists designate some contexts of practice, because they lack a structural or “critical distance” from government (Curran, 2003), as suspect locations unworthy of what counts under the hallowed term journalism. This includes locations perceived as productive of propaganda (in its negative U.S. connotation), including RFE. This renders RFE in a Catch-22, under two sets of vigilant eyes: scholars who see RFE as aberrant, its practitioners solely as foot-soldiers of imperialistic forces, and some journalists who want to preserve the sanctity of their profession and therefore dismiss RFE as an historical resource. This outsider status explains in part the dearth of scholarship on RFE as a place where something called journalism happened. When RFE is the subject of scholarship, it is frequently in the contexts of propaganda (and effects), foreign policy and/or ideological warfare, or, in studies that position its broadcasters ultimately either as freedom fighters or hegemonic tools, all of which position RFE's news work and its practitioners outside western conceptions of “norm-sanctioned” journalism. In effect, this excludes RFE from journalistic common ground and denies journalists their own history. This study takes a bottom-up approach, placing interviews with cold-war-era journalists from RFE and related organizations (collected 2004-present) in conversation with personal and archival documents, proposing common ground for RFE within both journalism history and culture, and suggests that experiences inside this experimental organization can inform issues facing contemporary journalism and journalists.

The Newsroom and Social Change: How the U.S. Journalism Review Movement of the 1960s and 1970s Reflected Societal Forces

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One of the most interesting and transformative post-World War II periods of social change occurred during 1968 and the years just after. In the United States, that social change was reflected in journalism—not just in coverage of social conflict but also in a slow transformation of journalists' work. Although the movement was often incremental, U.S. journalism began about this time to become less racially and ethnically homogenous. It also became less pervasively male, as more women were hired and others were able to move away from producing solely “softer” lifestyle or “women's” content. In addition, in some newspaper newsrooms, at least, institutional power began to shift perceptively, though not completely, from editors to reporters. One witness to and exemplar of such social change were journalism reviews—publications founded in about 25 U.S. cities or regions between 1968 and 1983 to critique the practice of area journalism. This paper will examine how the most locally oriented of those reviews—publications staffed by rank-and-file journalists, journalism professors, journalism students, and others—served as both evidence and chronicle of change within journalism, which itself reflected broader societal forces. Although the lineage of U.S. journalism reviews reaches back to the 1950s—the first journalism review was created in 1958 at what is now the University of Montana, and the second was founded at Columbia University in 1961—the greatest activity occurred after 1968. That year, Chicago Journalism Review was created by a group of working journalists dissatisfied with how the four major Chicago newspapers had covered protests and sometimes-violent police reaction outside the Democratic National Convention. Chicago Journalism Review

inspired other working journalists and journalism professors to create similar locally focused reviews in their cities. The titles included Washington Journalism Review (still publishing under the name American Journalism Review), St. Louis Journalism Review (still publishing), Philadelphia Journalism Review, Hawaii Journalism Review, Houston Journalism Review, [MORE] (a review of New York journalism), Buncombe: A Review of Baltimore Journalism, and The Unsatisfied Man (which focused on journalism in Denver, Colorado). Chicago Journalism Review lasted 10 years—eventually gaining an office and thousands of subscribers—but all the other journalism reviews failed fairly quickly, some producing only a single issue. Nevertheless, this paper will argue, they remain important historical artifacts for three reasons. First, their very creation, especially the fact that some were founded by reporters, reflected a new willingness on the part of rank-and-file journalism workers to use the power of journalism—for the reviews were, themselves, examples of journalism—to challenge managers publically. Second, they sometimes reported on changes in the newsroom or journalistic work world—such as the embrace of a more diverse staff and more diverse ideas—that were indicative of larger changes in society. Finally, studying journalism reviews, which represent one response to social transformation in journalism, may offer some lessons for our current world, when journalism is in the midst of transformation.