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FEMALE ACADEMICS IN COMMUNICATION SCIENCE AND THE POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION GENERATION IN AUSTRIA AND GERMANY

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Actors? Which Actors?

By now, the history of communication science in the German-speaking world has been thoroughly studied. Various time periods have been examined, and attempts at periodization have been made (see Averbeck and Kutsch 2002). The interplay of ideas, social structure, and milieu (see *ibid.* and Meyen and Löblich 2006 following Kaesler 1984) has been analyzed, and theoretical foundations, reorientations, as well as political instrumentalizations have been considered. Although “structures”, institutions, and decisions in science policy and trends of internationalization have not been ignored, the main focus of German research on the history of the field has been on individuals and generations. A significant amount of both the positive and negative developments in the field have been attributed to the actors, in part with reference to Pierre Bourdieu’s theories on field, habitus, and capital. However, *structures* do not attract as much attention within the scientific community as the frequent references to Bourdieu might lead one to hope. In the German-speaking world, field-specific historiography is closely tied to the actors, a link of which the great number of commemorative publications and lexicon entries is indicative.

But who are the actors? Can the development of a field of study be understood if historians limit their scope to “the professors, since they make the organizational decisions, tend to remain in academia the longest, and also have access to the resources necessary to implement and enforce their scientific understanding” (Meyen 2007, 12)? What about students and other scholars, who, although they may not hold their own chair, have influenced the field with their research and teaching? And what role do social categories such as age, ethnicity, citizenship, religion, social class, and marital status play, as well as—what will be dealt with

specifically in this article—gender, the category linked directly with all of those named above?

In the following, I would firstly like to elaborate on the development of the field as well as on the theoretical foundation of field-specific historical research before presenting the life and work of several of communication science’s female academics from Germany and Austria,¹ who belong to the age cohort of those born between 1910 and 1930. Some of these individuals were already doing scientific research during the Second World War, and influenced Austrian and German communication science of the post-war years. They are: Elisabeth Noelle (1916–2010), Marianne Lunzer (1919–), Hertha Sturm (1925–1998), and Elisabeth Löckenhoff (1929–1985). Although these female academics do share some common characteristics with respect to their countries of birth, their professions, their gender, and the generation to which they belong, they are different in many ways when it comes to their lives and their career paths—compared to one another and to their (male) colleagues. It is these differences and similarities that I will focus on, before discussing the extent to which it can be useful to examine the historical development of the field from different perspectives, including the gender perspective.

The Situation of the Discipline in the First Half of the 20th Century and the Post-War Period

Stefanie Averbeck and Arnulf Kutsch identify four phases through which the field of communication science (the German term in the first half of the 20th century was *Zeitungswissenschaft* or *Zeitungskunde*) passed between 1900 and 1960. Following the phases of “identification” and “definition” of the “problem”, with the rise to power in 1933 of the National Socialists in Germany and the annexation of Austria in 1938, the phase of “ideological and organizational/pragmatic transformation” followed. In the fourth phase, after 1945 and in the course of the reformation of *Zeitungswissenschaft* and its renaming to *Publizistik*, there was a “de-ideologization and reconstruction of the problem” (cf. Averbeck and Kutsch 2002; 2004). Here, ‘reconstruction’ means that the object of research was redefined. After 1945, there was consensus concerning the invalidity of Walther Heide’s motto “*von der Presse kommen wir, bei der Presse bleiben wir*” (We come from the press, we’ll stay with the press)—constitutive for the Nazi era. A field of science dealing with the creation of the public sphere had to consider all media. ‘De-ideologization’, according to Averbeck and Kutsch, signifies the dissociation from the National Socialist ideology.² This dissociation, however, did not take place explicitly, but rather, for instance, by replacing personnel, or by publicly distancing the field from the type of research and instruction characteristic of the Nazi era.

The few chairs for *Zeitungswissenschaft* that did exist were held in the western occupied zones—the future Federal Republic—by scientists who had formerly

been professors in the Weimar Republic and during National Socialism. Thus, Karl d'Esther (1881–1960) taught in Munich, Emil Dovifat (1890–1969) at the Free University of Berlin, and the former editor-in-chief of *Germania* Walter Hagemann (1900–1964) in Münster. In the eastern German Democratic Republic (GDR), following the death of Gerhard Menz (1855–1954), and the appointment of Hermann Budzislowski (1901–1978), the “socialist transformation” of the *Leipziger Institut für Publizistik und Zeitungswissenschaften* into the *Fakultät für Journalistik* began. The *Wiener* (Vienna) *Institut*, created in 1942 at the instigation of top Nazi official Walther Heide, was restricted to conducting historical press studies—during the Nazi period and also after it in the 1950s. The head of the institute from 1946 to 1958 was politician Eduard Ludwig (1883–1967), after which time it was led provisionally for a decade by professors of other academic fields, who considered communication science (or *Publizistik*) to be nothing more than an ancillary discipline (see Lunzer-Lindhausen 1987b). At this time, the majority of administrative and instructional activities were taken over by the only politically unencumbered academic, Marianne Lunzer-Lindhausen (born 1919), although she was not officially appointed as head of the *Wiener Institut*.

There were serious deficiencies at the institutes. They lacked equipment and even fundamental scientific works for instruction, as well as a consensus on how to deal with the Nazi past of the field and its advocates. Ultimately, there was a lack of ideas regarding how the discipline should develop in the future. The renaming of the field from *Zeitungswissenschaft* to *Publizistik* marked a new beginning, insofar as the object of research exclusive to the field, the “journalistic process” (*publizistischer Prozess*) (Hagemann 1947), was reflected in the discipline’s name.³

Publizistik was also the name of the journal founded in 1956 by Wilmont Haacke, Walter Hagemann, and Emil Dovifat. The journal’s subtitle characterized it as a “Journal for the Science of the Press, Radio and Television Broadcasting, Film, Rhetoric, Advertising and Opinion-Forming” (*Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft von Presse, Rundfunk, Film, Rhetorik, Werbung und Meinungsbildung*). Thus, the field’s focus had been delineated; eleven years after the end of the war, and twelve years after suspension of the journal *Zeitungswissenschaft*, the few people who were concerned with this science had acquired a specialized publication, in which the latest research efforts could be documented. Three years before, the journal *Rundfunk und Fernsehen* (roughly: Radio and Television), published by the Hans-Bredow-Institut, had been initiated.

The creation of specialized journals represented an important step towards scientification and the establishment of an academic discipline. Still, the situation remained tense. There were hardly any up-and-coming academics. In any case, very few persons in the field were qualified as lecturers or had even received doctorates. *Publizistik* was viewed with skepticism by other fields. It was considered to be irrelevant, unscientific, and historically compromised, the latter in some respects justifiably, although early communication science, or *Zeitungswissenschaft*,

was by no means the only case of Nazi patronage, political instrumentalization, and hesitance in processing the recent past.

At the end of the 1950s, personnel problems were added to the others. The “Hagemann Affair” (Appelius 2010; Wiedemann 2012 and this volume) brought with it turbulence that reached beyond Münster in scope. The successions there, but also in Berlin, Munich, and Vienna, were characterized by personnel disputes and extended professorship vacancies. Overall, the impression left by the discipline in the 1950s both in the scientific community and in the general public was not exactly positive. The field’s profile was too indistinct, its willingness to cooperate with other disciplines or with the professional field too weak, the contribution of its research and instruction too meager. Moreover, there was no one to give the field a new direction (see Groos 2001, 263). As a result, in 1960, the German Council of Science and Humanities (*Wissenschaftsrat*) advised against an investment in the expansion of the field. Furthermore, they recommended that *Zeitungswissenschaft* be maintained as a special area only at the universities of Berlin and Munich (see Groos 2001, 264; Bohrmann 1997, 57). This criticism, which threatened the very existence of the discipline, forced a fundamental reorientation within the field in all areas, institutionally and in terms of staff, as well as with regard to theory and methods.

Indeed, a comprehensive repositioning of the field took place in the 1960s. The science of communication began to see itself as a human science *as well as* a social science. As professorship was being awarded to scholars who were supportive of empirical-analytical instead of descriptive-hermeneutic methods, a debate began regarding the self-conception of the discipline, leading to much controversy in *Publizistik* and at conferences of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Publizistik- und Zeitungswissenschaft* (DGPuZ, later renamed to DGPuK = *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Publizistik- und Kommunikationswissenschaft*, the German communication association founded in 1963). Nearly everything was up for discussion: the field’s object of research, theoretical perspectives and methods, future development—everything but the recent past. It became apparent very quickly that the majority was in favor of a social-scientific orientation of communication science and the use of quantitative methods.

In Austria, too, a repositioning began, characterized by the establishment of a chair for *Publizistik* in Salzburg and with it, in 1969, the founding of a second institute for *Publizistik* near Vienna. The first person to hold this chair, Günter Kieslich from Münster/Germany, was able to drive the social-scientific orientation of the new Salzburger Institute forward only for a few years, as he passed away in 1971 at the age of 47. His successor, Michael Schmolke, also from Münster, espoused a social-scientific orientation as well, yet was himself a more strongly humanistic communications historian. While for Germany an “empirical social-scientific transition” (Löblich 2010) had been established as a fact, the same development in Austria was considerably slower and more restrained. This was because, on the one hand, it was believed—with reference to Herta Herzog, Marie Jahoda, Paul

F. Lazarsfeld, Hans Zeisel, and others—that empirical social science was practically a Viennese invention, and on the other hand because no one was eager to be told by German communication scientists what to do, or how research in communications has to be done.

In Klagenfurt, a third Austrian university institute came in addition in 1996, making a name for itself as a center of research and teaching in cultural and media sciences (for more on the development and historiography of the field in Austria, see Karmasin and Krainer 2013; Klaus and Thiele 2013).

This repositioning, but also the reimportation of knowledge and the rediscovery of long-lost traditions in communication science in the second half of the 20th century have been frequently discussed since the 1990s. As of the start of the 21st century, there is a veritable boom in the history of the field having mainly to do with the power of interpretation. The question as to which works belong to the canon of communication science, to the ‘classics’ of the field is up for debate (see Holtz-Bacha and Kutsch 2002; Duchkowitz, Hausjell, and Semrad 2004; Meyen and Löblich 2006; Thiele, Klaus, and Riesmeyer 2012). After the beginnings of the discipline and its entanglement in National Socialism, after it dealt with emigration and exile research, the period from 1945 to 1990 now becomes the focal point of its historical analysis and evaluation.

Yet a critical perspective is neglected—not limited to individual academic personalities and institutional history, but factoring in the interplay between ideas, social structure, and milieu, and thereby also giving room to gender-theoretical knowledge. In the following, I will discuss some of the theoretical essentials of historical research on the field, supplementing this also with knowledge gained in the field of sociology—in particular the sociology of knowledge—history, and gender studies. Concretely, this is a matter of generational research and the danger of reification of gender by historical narrative.

Theoretical Foundation: Generations and Herstory

Michael Meyen (2007) in his work *Geschichte der Kommunikationswissenschaft als Generationengeschichte* (History of Communication Science as a Generational History) provides convincing reasons to study “*Wissenschaftler-Generationen*” (generations of scientists). Before and after this, there have been other attempts at making the generation concept—shaped, among others, by Karl Mannheim—fruitful in terms of working through the history of the field of communication science on the basis of the sociology of knowledge (cf. Averbek and Kutsch 2002; Gries 2006; Koenen 2008), for instance, by using the concept of generation as a “rational bridge between ideas and social structure” (Koenen 2008, 1611), or as Meyen (2007, 16) suggests, by operationalizing the milieu concept, used by Dirk Kaesler in his work on early German sociology, with the help of the generation concept. The challenge, then, is to avoid the purely mechanical classification into age cohorts, for which statements are made on a more impressionistic basis (see

Koenen 2008, 1611), and generational labels are chosen that do not really fit. It is debatable to what extent it is appropriate and justifiable to refer to a generation of scientists, and whether the meaning is broader than that of Karl Mannheim’s (1928/1929) *Generationenlagerung* (generational position), a concept described as the spatial and temporal situation of a group of individuals born within a time period of several years. In other words, the question as to whether there is—to stay with Mannheim’s terminology—*Generationszusammenhang* (generational cohesion), created as a consequence of individuals’ common confrontation with certain developments and events (“*Schicksalsgemeinschaft*”, or community of fate), or even a *Generationseinheit* (generational unit), which shares the same perspective on these developments and events.

Besides the question of the generation as a cohesive element, there is also the question of gender as a consequential social marker: to what extent has “being a woman” positively or negatively affected the lives and careers of the four female academics? What are the arguments for and against an approach to the history of the field, which understands gender as a structural category? What is the use, then, of “women’s studies” and “herstory”?

They bring into view that which is ignored by traditional research: “men’s research”. Taking a look back in history, or at least, at what is presented to us as history, it becomes apparent that it is a meta-narrative shaped by men, a “his-story” (see Rakow 2008; Ross 2013; Rowland and Simonson 2013), based on an androcentric worldview. The histories of disciplines such as communication science, too, are for the most part concerned with and told by men. Only infrequently, at the sidelines, do women appear. These are the “exceptional women”, the “tokens” (Kanter 1977), such as Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, who fulfill a kind of alibi function. Overall, the contribution of women to the development of the field, its methods, and theories, appears to be small. Yet this contribution was by no means minor, especially considering that women in Europe and North America have only had the right to academic studies for about 120 years.

Thus, it is a matter of visibility, whereby the “exceptional women”, the female scholars who made careers and achieved professorship, are only one small group deserving of attention. It is just as important to look at the non-professorial teaching staff, who only chose to play a part for some time in the structures built by and for men, eventually opting to leave the academic world more or less voluntarily. Aimee-Maria Dorsten (2012) or Allison L. Rowland and Peter Simonson (2013), for example, apply such a broadened perspective to the “Founding Mothers of Communication Research” (see also Ashcraft and Simonson, this volume).

To conduct the historiography of a field in this way and to promote the visibility of female scholars may seem behind the times in view of postmodern theories and deconstructivist approaches in gender studies. Indeed, with argumentation that follows either the equality approach or the difference approach (see Klaus 1998) and the comparison of “founding fathers” and “founding mothers” comes the danger of gender reification. What is “actually” called into question, namely

a social ordering principle based on gender dualism, is then examined and ultimately confirmed performatively. In the knowledge of this theoretical challenge and of the “ambivalence of visibility” (Schaffer 2008), this article takes a social constructivist perspective on “(un)doing gender”, in order to be able to explain past and present inclusions and exclusions to some extent. Gender is thereby understood mainly as a social construction, which nevertheless has real consequences, such as the recognition, but also the annihilation and marginalization of academics. Linked with gender as a powerful social construct are other social categories such as class and ethnicity, which speaks for the validity of taking an intersectional approach to the historiography of the field.

Portraits of the Female Academics

Several criteria were relevant for the selection of the female academics: year of birth (between 1916 and 1929), gender (female), citizenship (German or Austrian), profession (academic), field (communication science), and qualification (doctorate at least). The scientific work of the four female academics differs in scope, and the number of articles *about* them and their work as well as the number of pieces they wrote about themselves varies considerably. There is an abundance of literature from and about Elisabeth Noelle, among the most widely-cited female communication scientists (see Potthoff and Kopp 2013), but less literature is to be found on Marianne Lunzer, Hertha Sturm, and Elisabeth Löckenhoff. In spite of this uneven starting point, the following portraits have been given a more or less uniform length, and deal solely with the most important stages of the academics’ lives. In the subsequent section, similarities and differences in their lives and careers will be worked out in order to resolve the question as to what unites or divides this generation of female academics in communication studies, and whether there are gaps in historical research of the field in the German-speaking world thus far.

Elisabeth Noelle (1916–2010)

In 1935, Elisabeth Noelle began studying journalism (*Zeitungswissenschaft*) and history in Berlin. In September 1937, on a DAAD scholarship (DAAD = The German Academic Exchange Service), she attended the University of Missouri. Her doctoral advisor, Emil Dovifat, had also spent several months there in 1926, in order to collect material for his book *Der amerikanische Journalismus* (Dovifat 1927). In 1940, now back in Germany, she obtained her doctoral degree with a dissertation entitled *Amerikanische Massenbefragungen für Politik und Presse* (American Mass Surveys for Politics and the Press). Noelle also worked as a journalist, writing for Goebbels’ weekly newspaper *Das Reich*, among other publications. In 1947, she founded the *Institut für Demoskopie in Allensbach* (Allensbach Institute for Public Opinion Research) with her husband Peter Neumann, who also worked as a journalist during the Third Reich and later became a Christian Democratic Union (CDU) delegate. In 1965, she was the first woman in the German-speaking world to obtain



FIGURE 6.1 Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann depicted in the German news magazine *Der Spiegel* as opinion pollster by order of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer.

an academic chair—in Mainz for *Publizistik*—prompting the news magazine *Der Spiegel* to discuss the negligible number of female professors under the headline “Women at the Lectern”: “According to recent figures from the Federal Office of Statistics, only 147 of 6407 professors and lecturers were women; and ladies occupied only 18 of 2906 chairs held” (*Der Spiegel* 1965, 87). Noelle advocated an empirical social-scientific focus of the discipline and worked as a political advisor to the chancellors Konrad Adenauer and Helmut Kohl, among others. As a public opinion researcher and academic, she was particularly interested in the power of television, and also in how public opinion is formed. Her theory of the “spiral of silence” (Noelle 1980) was based on assumptions from social psychology, the theoretical derivation and empirical study of which, however, attracted criticism. All the same, Noelle and her students had found international acclaim with their research. In the German-speaking world, one refers to the *Mainzer Schule*, or Mainz School, which was founded by Noelle. In 2006, Noelle wrote an autobiography (Noelle 2006), and

in 2013, three years after her death, a critical analysis of her life's work—*Demoskopie zwischen NS-Ideologie und Konservatismus* (Public Opinion Researcher between National Socialist Ideology and Conservatism) (Becker 2013)—was released.

Marianne Lunzer (1919–)

Marianne Lunzer, née Pig, studied German and English language and literature in Vienna. In 1942, she received her doctorate with a study of the representations of nature in the works of Waldemar Bonsels.⁴ In the same year, she accepted an assistantship at the newly founded Viennese *Institut für Zeitungswissenschaft* and as a consequence of the war took over the majority of administrative and instructional duties there. In the final year of the war, she became the provisional head of the institute. After 1945, the institute's continued existence was threatened. Lunzer, being politically uncompromised, took a stand for the institute and complied with



FIGURE 6.2 Marianne Lunzer in 1976 (photo taken by Roland Burkhardt).

the restriction to historical research. In 1954, she obtained the *venia legendi* (also habilitation) for *Zeitungswissenschaft*. Her post-doctoral thesis (Lunzer 1953) dealt with Austrian press policy in the second half of the 19th century. Topics concerning the history of the press were generally a main focal point of her research and teaching. In 1973 she was appointed associate professor. Lunzer took over the leadership of the institute once more from 1981 to 1985. In the same year she became professor emerita she was also awarded full professorship. Her students and colleagues presented her with commemorative publications for her 65th and 70th birthdays (see Duchkowitsch 1985; Duchkowitsch, Haas, and Loika 1991). Marianne Lunzer celebrated her 95th birthday in July 2014.

Hertha Sturm (1925–1998)

After completing her studies in psychology and law in record time, and receiving a Ph.D. in psychology in 1948 with a dissertation on methods of testing, Hertha Sturm worked for the regional public service broadcaster *Südwestfunk*, in charge of the department for student and youth broadcasting. In 1963, she took



FIGURE 6.3 Hertha Sturm.

a position at the newly founded ZDF (*Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen*, one of the two national public television broadcasters) and led the department for education and parenting. In 1967, she completed her habilitation on *Masse, Bildung, Kommunikation* (Mass, Education, Communication), in Freiburg, concentrating on psychology and mass communication (Sturm 1968). In 1974, Sturm moved to Munich and became head of the *Zentralinstitut für das Jugend- und Bildungsfernsehen* (Central Institute for Youth and Educational Television) at the *Bayerischer Rundfunk*. At the same time, she held a professorship for empirical communication studies in Munich from 1974 to 1982 before transferring to the University of Koblenz-Landau in 1981, where she established a branch of study in communications psychology/media pedagogy. Along with Noelle and several other academics, mostly with backgrounds in psychology, Hertha Sturm represents the empirical focus of communication studies in Germany. Her work was praised on the occasion of her 60th birthday (Grewe-Partsch and Groebel 1987) in a commemorative article, as well as in a posthumous publication of her written works in *Der gestresste Zuschauer* (The Stressed Viewer) (Grewe-Partsch 2000). According to Monika Suckfüll (2004, 51ff.) Sturm's studies are among those that overcome the "dualism between effects and gratifications approaches".

Elisabeth Löckenhoff (1929–1985)

Elisabeth Maria Löckenhoff, née Herrmann, fled East Prussia in 1944 to escape the advancing Red Army. After several years in the German Democratic Republic (GDR, or East Germany), she relocated to West Berlin and studied at the *Freie Universität* (FU). She obtained her Ph.D. in 1954 with a dissertation on the propagandist function of schoolbooks in the GDR. She became an assistant to Emil Dovifat, and subsequently academic councilor and director of the *Institut für Publizistik* under his successor Fritz Eberhard. Her research dealt in particular with media systems in the GDR, which in divided Germany provoked divergent political reactions: she was either accused of too much proximity and sympathy, or too much critical distance. However, Löckenhoff recognized differentiations in her analysis of media in the GDR, while others made sweeping judgments. In 1963, she published *Zur Theorie und Praxis der Presse in der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone Deutschlands* (On Theory and Practice of the Press in the Soviet Occupied Zone in Germany) under the name of E.M. Herrmann. According to the publisher's specifications, her first names 'Elisabeth' and 'Maria' remained abbreviated, and the preface and introduction referred only to 'the author' (see Blaum 2002, 200). Löckenhoff was not known for public appearances or an international reputation. More important was her academic diligence, and her work with her students, whose numbers increased steadily. Nevertheless, the development of staff resources at the institute stagnated. Löckenhoff died at the age of 56 before she had a chance to experience the transformation of the GDR media system after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.



FIGURE 6.4 Elisabeth Löckenhoff.

Differences and Similarities

What unites the lives and careers of the four female academics at first glance is their gender, their countries of birth (Austria and Germany), as well as their profession as scholars of communication studies. However, a closer look reveals subtle differences, which become more obvious when the individual lives and careers are considered against the backdrop of political and social conditions. Such a contextualization was undertaken to some extent in the second section of this essay ("The Situation of the Discipline in the First Half of the 20th Century and the Post-War Period"). Yet the question remains: how did certain political and social circumstances affect their careers, and what was the significance of their wanting to be successful *as women* in academia?

Due to their years of birth, Noelle, Lunzer, Sturm, and Löckenhoff belong to the generation that was already profiting from the successful struggle at the end of the 19th century to allow women to engage in academic studies. Yet an academic career was also made possible by social status: the financial means required to study were available, and in most cases another family member had already completed

an education and could thus serve as a role model. There was an overall preference for philology, and, in the case of Noelle and Sturm, for social psychology. Noelle was the only one to be a student of Dovifat in Berlin in the new field of *Zeitungs-wissenschaft*. Still, regardless of the subjects they chose, the women all showed an interest in decidedly media-related research topics. Lunzer and Löckenhoff did historical research on the press, as well as media system research, whereas Noelle and Sturm took up social-psychological research questions, concentrating in particular on the development and application of methodologies, focal points which proved to be beneficial to their careers and opened professional fields outside of academia, such as market and media research, or in the case of Noelle, opinion research and political consulting.

Historical research, on the other hand, takes time, and its results are less easily marketable. On top of that, Lunzer's and Löckenhoff's research efforts were limited by their administrative and instructional obligations. Both of them supervised hundreds of theses and dissertations, in the case of Löckenhoff also for Dovifat, who held the chair: she was not officially entitled as a professor to write evaluations or conduct examinations until her habilitation in 1972 (Bohrmann 2003, 6). Both academics also took charge of their institute's administration in times of crisis, albeit only until one of their (male) colleagues was appointed, at which point the women had to step back and assist the regular professor. In 1968, Marianne Lunzer, along with former National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) members Karl Oswin Kurth and Kurt Paupié, had applied for the chair for *Zeitungswissenschaft* in Vienna. Although Lunzer, as the sole politically uncompromised candidate, claimed to be an "outstanding instructor" and "excellent employee", the appointments committee was of the opinion that, "due to various domestic strokes of fate" (Lunzer's personnel records, cited by Duchkowitsch 2004, 235), she had not published enough in the time since her habilitation treatise. Thus, Lunzer had no chance against Paupié and didn't even make it onto the voting list.

Noelle and Sturm, for their part, were able to occupy chairs: Noelle in Mainz in 1965 after a dubious appointment process, in which, although Noelle as the only candidate was not yet qualified as a university lecturer, she was supported by CDU Minister-President Helmut Kohl (see Noelle 2006, 220f.). Sturm's appointment, too, was unusual: she was also the only candidate in Munich for a newly created professorship. Sturm, very cleverly, was negotiating at the same time with the University of Freiburg, before deciding on Munich in the end, on the condition, however, that she be able to stay on as the head of the *Internationales Institut für das Jugend- und Bildungfernsehen des Bayerischen Rundfunks* (see Mahler, Meyen, and Wendelin 2008, 132f.). Noelle and Sturm represented the discipline's empirical social-scientific focus, which intended to increase the prestige and importance of communication science.

Not only this empirical social-scientific approach, but also internationalization guaranteed the field more renown. While she was still a student in 1937, Noelle had jumped at the opportunity to spend a research semester in the U.S. at the University

of Missouri's School of Journalism in Columbia. This opportunity was reserved for those students who had shown allegiance to national socialist organizations. After 1945, Noelle took advantage of her experience in the U.S., which had in fact only lasted a few months, to encourage an "Americanization" of West German communication studies in a politically opportunistic way. In her memoir, she described Paul F. Lazarsfeld as her great role model (Noelle 2006, 156f. and 213).

Lunzer and Löckenhoff remained at their institutes in Vienna and West Berlin, respectively. Sturm, on the other hand, was active at various universities in Southern Germany. She was not only geographically, but also disciplinarily and institutionally mobile. Sturm saw herself as being between worlds, between psychology and communication, between academia and applied media research. After Landau, she transferred, citing the "chance to connect media research with practical aspects as an instructor, but to do this with a small number of students" (Grewé-Partsch 1987, 337). She never really settled in at the Munich Institute. Her (male) colleagues had hardly acknowledged her, and, when they did, merely recalled her "rather manly" appearance. Nevertheless, she can be credited with bringing about the institute's shift in focus towards empirical methods (see Mahler, Meyen, and Wendelin 2008).

Naturally, the careers of the four female scholars rest to a great extent upon individual brilliance, but superiors, colleagues, family, and friends, as well as successful networking are crucial to professional advancement, particularly in politically charged times. Noelle, Lunzer, Sturm, and Löckenhoff experienced vastly different political systems. Noelle and Lunzer were born during the First World War and in the immediate post-war era, Löckenhoff and Sturm at the time of the Weimar Republic. They experienced the transition from the republic into the dictatorship. After the Nazi period, the war had been lost, aggravated in Löckenhoff's case by the loss of her homeland and by a disillusioning experience with the GDR.

Although the foundation stones for their academic careers were laid in the 1940s, the decisive career moves weren't made until the 1950s, as a democratic new start was being attempted both in West Germany and in Austria. This did not preclude personal continuities. Hence, an academic such as Emil Dovifat, Noelle's, and later also Löckenhoff's, doctoral advisor, represents precisely this personal continuity: during the Weimar Republic he was already a professor, which he remained throughout the Nazi era, and continued lecturing after 1945 until the 1960s.

Dovifat did not particularly excel in the advancement of women. In principle, he was of the view that women were suited to science only to a limited extent. Still, he did value Löckenhoff's extremely reliable work, and made sure that her contracts continued to be extended (see Bohrmann 1988, 20), as, in addition, her research fit his academic profile. With her death, explains Hans Bohrmann in his obituary for Löckenhoff, "the influence of this founder of *Publizistikwissenschaft* finally came to an end" (Bohrmann 1985, 548). This statement can perhaps be interpreted as meaning that with Löckenhoff's death, the humanistic and generalist approach, which she and Dovifat stood for, would become even more rare within the discipline.

Unlike Löckenhoff, Noelle broke away early—in terms of her field of study—from her doctoral advisor Dovifat. The dissertation topic he suggested, namely, how American newspapers increase their female readership, did not interest her (see Noelle 2006, 60). As she was fascinated by George Gallup, she wanted instead to write about opinion research, and she did just that. Relationships that had been formed during her studies and her time working for Nazi publications proved to be useful even after 1945, for instance her marriage with the Nazi propagandist Peter Neumann, who was a CDU delegate from 1961 to 1965, and with whom she founded the *Institut für Demoskopie* in Allensbach. Her close contact with leading figures in politics and the business world guaranteed contracts for the institute and also paid off with respect to her appointment in Mainz.

In his critical biography, using the example of Noelle, Becker (2013) revealed the personal friendships and contacts which had made scientific careers possible in spite of the shift in the political system. It would certainly be desirable then for future historical studies to devote more attention to these networks, friendships, and mutual dependencies in the scientific community, and beyond that in political and economic spheres. Indeed, in Austria as in Germany, the foundation of institutions, as well as academic promotion, is dependent upon political constellations. Thereby, a neat separation of private from professional, of political from apolitical, is hardly possible, yet the question remains as to how decisive certain constellations are, as with the “not just academic” (Robinson 2003, 6f) friendship between Hertha Sturm and Marianne Grewe-Partsch.

As far as public political positioning is concerned, there is remarkable restraint among the female academics featured here, even though Löckenhoff's choice of GDR media as a research topic, for instance, was considered a political issue. Lunzer describes herself as decidedly “apolitical”. In her civically and culturally minded family home, one kept a distance from the Nazis. More stirring for Lunzer than the 1930s and 1940s were the 1950s and 1960s, “because then I had to work, and it all went to my head, I had a child, and I had really just become an adult and I had to hold my ground. But before, my God, before that I was just so incredibly young!” (Lunzer-Lindhausen 2008, 288). To this day, Noelle's political views during the Nazi era, and later in the Federal Republic of Germany, remain a controversial issue in the scientific community. While some point to continuities and see in her body of work an intellectual proximity to Nazi ideology, others concede her development into a democrat.

Political positioning would also be recognizable in commitment to feminism. Yet here, too, restraint is evident. When asked to comment on this issue, all of these female scholars stressed that gender and sexual orientation should be immaterial and that they themselves had not been put at any disadvantage. However, in most cases—with the exception of Noelle—the facts tell a different story, for instance, when it comes to appointment to certain positions, pledges for equipment, credit for publications, time for one's own research, and so on. The scholars presented here tended to avoid “women's issues” and “women's studies”, although Lunzer

did publish articles on historical women's magazines (Lunzer 1987a), and Sturm, together with Grewe-Partsch, studied the effects of gender-stereotypical television programs on girls (Sturm and Grewe-Partsch 1987). It seems that as women, the fear of being limited to women's issues was too great.

Conclusion

After working out the differences and similarities in the careers of the female academics featured in this article, both among themselves and in relation to their (male) colleagues, we return to the question posed at the beginning: whether we can speak of a generation of female scholars and what role social categories such as gender might play.

The age range between Noelle (born in 1916) and Löckenhoff (born in 1929) is 13 years. When the Second World War came to an end, Noelle was 29, Lunzer 26, Sturm 20, and Löckenhoff 16. Existing studies on generations in communication studies in the German-speaking world have an even broader view of the *Neugründer* (founders/pioneers), reaching from the 1890s to 1930 (see Mahler, Meyen, and Wendelin 2008, 118; Meyen 2007, 26f.). After 1945, these *Neugründer* wanted to re-establish and modernize *Zeitungswissenschaft* in Germany and Austria. Noelle, Lunzer, Sturm, and Löckenhoff are certainly to be counted among the *Neugründer*, who in some sense capitalized on the lack of young academics brought about by the war and the Holocaust. It is therefore all the more important to consider the scholars who were persecuted and murdered, or who to avoid this were forced to emigrate. They, too, must be counted among this generation, even if the label *Neugründer* may not fit. Married to the Jewish Paul Lazarsfeld, Herta Herzog's life should be considered exemplary in this connection.⁵

Thus, with all the similarities within this age cohort, there are indeed considerable differences, both individual and resulting from political constellations. This also applies to gender, whereby one must bear in mind that the question regarding gender differences always leads to a definition and fixation of gender. If one prefers to retain the differentiation between male and female, one could see more similarities than differences between some female, or between some male careers. To consider the four female academics featured here together therefore rests upon a categorization, which, as such, can be brought into question, but which was socially effective in the past and had consequences.

Although they hardly ever admitted it publicly, Noelle, Lunzer, Sturm, and Löckenhoff experienced quite directly what it means to be successful as a female scholar in an academic world dominated by men. Noelle did not need feminism, and she even extolled the exceptional status that she enjoyed as a scientist. She pointed to her own success story as evidence that anything is possible, thereby ignoring the political circumstances and social categories other than gender that proved to be advantageous in her case: most certainly her social background,

exclusive education, perhaps her attractiveness as well as a resulting habitus, which, as would a self-fulfilling prophecy, led to even more success.

The other careers discussed here were not as straightforward, but all were gender-typical if one also considers the women's private lives, or, more precisely, what is known about their private lives. Except for Sturm, all of them were married at least once, and except for Lunzer, with one child, none of them had any children of their own. This trend, as recent findings on the compatibility of family and academic work suggest, continues: compared to their male colleagues, female scholars remain childless more frequently, or they have at most one or two children (see Prommer et al. 2006; Riesmeyer and Huber 2012). Currently, the proportion of professors of communication science who are women is one third in the German-language countries. However, more than 50 percent of the subject's students are female. This can almost be considered a success compared to the situation in the 1950s and 1960s. Men occupied most of the few positions that were available back then. It was not until the 1970s that significant changes occurred as a result of both the successes of the women's movement and investments in the field of education. The expansion of secondary institutions in East Germany after reunification and the foundation of universities and colleges in the 1990s again increasingly improved women's career opportunities.

It should have become apparent by considering factors within and external to academia, as well as four individual life paths, which represent a generation of academics, that early German-language communication science, particularly with regard to gender aspects, is still practically unexplored. In 2003, in *Aviso*, there was a small, two-page summary article organized by Elisabeth Klaus on the "female pioneers" of communication studies, with biographical sketches of Sturm and Grewe-Partsch by Gertrude J. Robinson (2003), of Elisabeth Noelle by Simone Christine Ehmig (2003), of Marianne Lunzer by Johanna Dorer (2003), and of Elisabeth Löckenhoff by Hans Bohrmann (2003). It was in that article that, for the first time, the four scholars also featured here were portrayed in a generational and gender-specific context. This article intends to take up this matter, in the hope that the approach of a comparative, gender-theoretical historiography of the field be recognized.

Notes

- 1 German-speaking Switzerland would also be considered part of the German-speaking world, yet research on the history of the field (e.g. Schade 2005) makes no reference to (Swiss) female communication scientists born between 1910 and 1930, which does not necessarily mean that they did not exist.
- 2 In view of the political developments in the GDR (German Democratic Republic = East Germany) and the FRG (Federal Republic of Germany = West Germany), one could perhaps also refer in this connection, instead of to de-ideologization, to re-ideologization.
- 3 Only the Munich institute under the direction on Karl d'Esther retained the name *Zeitungswissenschaft*, although this did not represent a limitation in the scope of their work to the press.

- 4 Bonsels' (1880–1952) 1912 book *Die Biene Maja* (Maya the Bee) has been translated into more than 40 languages and in 1975 was made into an animated TV series. During the Nazi era, Bonsels' written works were characterized by anti-Semitism and the glorification of war.
- 5 In a draft version of this article, Herta Herzog's life and career was also compared to those of Noelle, Lunzer, Sturm, and Löckenhoff. The article by Elisabeth Klaus and Josef Seethaler in this volume provides more detailed information on Herzog and her contribution to the development of market research.

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7

COMMUNICATION STUDIES ON THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

A Comparative Analysis of the Field's Development in Portugal and Spain

Nelson Ribeiro

The development of communication studies on the Iberian Peninsula was a slower process when compared to other Western countries. Even though in the late 19th century some works emerged dealing with the history of the press and with the role of journalism, the fact that both Portugal and Spain were ruled by dictatorship regimes from the 1920s to the mid-1970s delayed the establishment of communication studies as a field of scientific inquiry. Despite the political parallels between the two Iberian dictatorships, Francisco Franco and António de Oliveira Salazar adopted different policies concerning the development of teaching programmes and research in communication. As a consequence, when looking at the emergence and development of the field, despite the existence of some similarities between Portugal and Spain, many differences have also to be taken into account.

The aim of this chapter is to provide a contextual history of communication studies in the two countries. Besides the socio-political context and the institutional dimension of how the field¹ developed, I will devote particular attention to the theoretical-methodological traditions that were most influential. While communication studies remains a newcomer to the Spanish and Portuguese academia, some of the characteristics widely associated with the field also apply to the Iberian context, namely the absence of a reflexive history looking to the field's past. In the American case, Park and Pooley explain the relative lack of historical work on communication study in part through reference to the "field's relative youth as a self-conscious discipline" (2008: 4). This is even truer for Spain and Portugal. As I will demonstrate, from an institutional point of view there are substantial differences regarding how communication studies developed in Spain and Portugal, and these differences continue to have an impact on how the field perceives itself and deals with its own history. While in Spain the history of communication studies has been considered by several authors as a research topic of

THE INTERNATIONAL HISTORY OF COMMUNICATION STUDY

*Edited by
Peter Simonson and David W. Park*

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
NEW YORK AND LONDON

First published 2016
by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

and by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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The right of the Peter Simonson and David W. Park to be identified as the authors of their editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Simonson, Peter, 1962–

International history of communication study / Peter Simonson,
David W. Park.

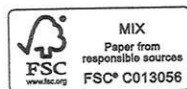
pages cm
1. Communication—History. 2. Communication—Philosophy.
3. Information theory. I. Park, David W., 1971– II. Title.
P90.S515 2016
302.209—dc23
2015017932

ISBN: 978-1-138-84602-9 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-138-84603-6 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-72773-8 (ebk)

Typeset in Bembo
by Apex CoVantage, LLC



Printed and bound in Great Britain by
TJ International Ltd, Padstow, Cornwall

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