

Forum

Dissertationsvorhaben / Ph.D. projects

Medienhistorische Forschungen kritisch und fördernd zu begleiten, steht im Zentrum der Aufgaben des »Studienkreises Rundfunk und Geschichte«. Die Unterstützung des wissenschaftlichen Nachwuchses spielt dabei eine ganz besondere Rolle. So veranstaltete der »Studienkreis« seit Mitte der 1970er Jahre Examenskolloquien und führt seit 2007 in der Lutherstadt Wittenberg – basierend auf einer Call-for-Proposals-Ausschreibung – das »Medienhistorische Forum« für Absolventen und Forschungsnachwuchs durch. Vor diesem Hintergrund startete die Zeitschrift »Rundfunk und Geschichte« in der Ausgabe 1–2/2009 eine neue Rubrik innerhalb ihres »Forums«. Promovierende erhalten die Möglichkeit, ihre Dissertationsprojekte zu medienhistorischen Themen vorzustellen, über Quellenrecherchen zu berichten und ihren wissenschaftlichen Ansatz zur Diskussion zu stellen.

Die Redaktion freut sich, dass die Rubrik auf große Zustimmung gestoßen ist und mit den nachfolgenden Beiträgen ihre Fortsetzung findet. Zum ersten Mal sind auch Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler aus nicht deutschsprachigen Ländern vertreten, die ihre Projekte in Englisch vorstellen. Die Redaktion wünscht den Promovierenden ein gutes Gelingen ihrer Forschungsarbeiten und lädt alle Leserinnen und Leser von »Rundfunk und Geschichte« zur engagierten Diskussion der vorgestellten Projekte ein. Promovierende, die ihre Dissertationsvorhaben in einer der nächsten Ausgaben von »Rundfunk und Geschichte« in Deutsch oder in Englisch vorstellen möchten, wenden sich bitte an die Redaktion: hans-ulrich.wagner@uni-hamburg.de.

Die Redaktion

One of the central aims of the »Studienkreis Rundfunk und Geschichte« (Association for Broadcasting and History) has been to stimulate research on topics in media history and offer critical advice to running projects. Supporting up-and-coming young scholars and Ph.D. students has played a focal role in this effort. One particular and long-standing form of assistance is the annual workshop that brings together young researchers for in-depth-discussion of their work. The workshop started in the mid-1970s and has since drawn attention from up-and-coming media historians dealing with related issues in their MA or Ph.D.-theses. Since 2007 this »Medienhistorische Forum« (Media History Forum), which results from an annual call for proposals, has been held in Lutherstadt Wittenberg. Building on this tradition, the journal »Rundfunk und Geschichte« (Media and History) has launched a new column in which Ph.D.-students in media history can present their various projects and approaches.

The editors were delighted that this column has met with great approval, and are pleased to continue it with the contributions that follow. From this issue onward we also invite researchers from non-German countries to put forward their projects for discussion. The editorial staff wishes success to all the projects presented here and invites the readership of »Rundfunk und Geschichte« to offer engaged discussion on the projects presented. Ph.D. students or young researchers who are interested in submitting a description of their projects either in German or in English are requested to address themselves to the editorial staff: hans-ulrich.wagner@uni-hamburg.de.

Editorial Staff

Christine Ehardt
**Kulturgeschichte des Radios
 in Österreich**

»Ich fürchte mich vor dem Radio«, schrieb Anton Kuh 1930 über seine Erfahrungen mit dem neuen Medium, dessen massenweise Verbreitung in Österreich am 1. Oktober 1924 begonnen hatte.¹ Doch im Gegensatz zur Skepsis und zur Angst des österreichischen Journalisten und Literaten schuf das Radio auch neue Möglichkeiten, Kunst, Kultur und Politik hörbar zu machen. Die Art und Weise, in der dies geschah, wurde zeitgenössisch immer wieder neu diskutiert. Am Ausgangspunkt meines Dissertationsvorhabens soll deshalb die Annahme stehen, dass die heutige Form des Radios keineswegs selbstverständlich einer Logik seiner technischen Entwicklung folgte. In dieser Arbeit soll den Vorstellungen und Wünschen nachgegangen werden, wie diese sich in den unterschiedlichen Radio-Dispositiven materialisierten. Dabei soll und kann es nicht darum gehen, ein Gesamtbild der Radiogeschichte zu rekonstruieren. Indem Brüche, Anfangs- und Endsituationen in den Vordergrund gerückt werden, soll eine differenziertere Betrachtungsweise der Rundfunkgeschichte möglich gemacht werden. Ziel der Arbeit ist es, die Geschichte des Radios in Österreich nicht auf chronologische Eckdaten zu beschränken, die sich retrospektiv in eine technische und nationale Erfolgsgeschichte einreihen lassen. Vielmehr soll anhand ausgewählter Beispiele gezeigt werden, wie sich das Radio als der Apparat, wie wir ihn kennen, konstituieren konnte.

Mit Beginn des institutionalisierten Rundfunkempfangs (in Deutschland ab 1923, in Österreich ab 1924) ergriff die Begeisterung, die das neue akustische Informations- und Unterhaltungsmedium auslöste, innerhalb kürzester Zeit weite Teile der Bevölkerung. Während die ersten Radioversuche noch als gemeinschaftliches Hörereignis in Veranstaltungsräumen und Gaststuben »nach den bewährten Modellen des bürgerlichen Bildungsbetriebs«² inszeniert wurden, begann zeitgleich auch die Nutzung des Mediums im privaten Bereich. Inhalt und Gestaltung des Radioprogramms orientierten sich ebenfalls noch stark an bekannten Bildungs- und Unterhaltungsmedien, eine radiogerechte Form musste erst gefunden werden. Der »Radio-Projektionsapparat«, kurz »Radioskop« genannt, der Mitte der 1920er Jahre vor allem in Wien Furore machte, indem er das Radioprogramm durch sogenannte Radiobilder zu illustrieren versuchte, kann als ein wichtiges Element in dieser Entwicklung angesehen werden. Das Radio wurde hier noch als Attraktion verkauft und nicht als alltagstaugliches Massenmedium. Bilder von Radiohörern, wie sie in den zeitge-

nössischen Zeitungen kolportiert wurden, verdeutlichen diesen Attraktionswert.

Erst mit der Vereinfachung und Verbesserung der Radiogeräte etablierte sich das Medium als Alltagsgegenstand. Mit dieser Entwicklung formierte sich auch die Idee einer nationalen HörerInnengemeinschaft, welche die Grenzen des privaten Raums überwinden und zum »potentiellen Kollektivhörer«³ zusammengeschlossen werden konnte. Nicht erst mit dem Nationalsozialismus bekamen diese Dispositive des Radios in Österreich einen neuen Stellenwert, bildeten doch bereits in den 1930er Jahren austrofaschistische Konzepte des Mediengebrauchs ein Spiegelbild der totalitären Gesellschaftsordnung.⁴ Nach 1945 wurden die Sender auf die vier Besatzungszonen aufgeteilt. Es begann ein vielstimmiges »Radiokonzert« der verschiedenen Besatzungssender. Gleichzeitig zeigte sich auch das Bemühen der österreichischen Politik und vieler Rundfunkverantwortlicher um ein gesamtösterreichisches und monopolistisches Rundfunksystem, das 1955 verwirklicht wurde.

In dieser Arbeit geht es um eine Diskursgeschichte des Radios und die entsprechenden Erfindungen des 19. Jahrhunderts. Denn Theatrophon, Phonograph und Grammophon nahmen die Dispositive des Radios vorweg und öffneten einen Diskurs, dessen Platz einige Jahre später der Rundfunk einnehmen konnte. Ihre Nutzung hatte sich gemeinsam mit einer sich verändernden urbanen Gesellschaft vollzogen, deren Mittelpunkt sich nun ins Familiäre verschob und eine neue Form des Unterhaltungskonsums mit sich brachte. Die Erfolgsgeschichte des Radios lässt sich somit keineswegs allein aus der Nutzungsweise des Heeresfunk ableiten, also aus dessen technisch-militärischer Entwicklungsgeschichte, sondern entspringt vielmehr dem gesellschaftlichen Diskurs zum Thema Fernsprechen und Fernsen-

1 Anton Kuh: Angst vor dem Radio. In: Ders.: Luftlinien. Feuilletons, Essays und Publizistik. Berlin 1981, S. 232.

2 Carsten Lenk: Medium der Privatheit? Über Rundfunk, Freizeit und Konsum in der Weimarer Republik. In: Inge Marbolek; Adelheid von Saldem (Hrsg.): Radiozeiten: Herrschaft, Alltag, Gesellschaft (1924–1960). Potsdam 1999, S. 206–217.

3 Zum Begriff des Kollektivhörers und des Massenpublikums siehe auch: Helmut Schanze (Hrsg.): Rundfunk, Medium und Masse. Voraussetzungen und Folgen der Medialisierung nach dem I. Weltkrieg. In: Edgar Lersch; Helmut Schanze: Die Idee des Radios. Von den Anfängen in Europa und den USA bis 1933, S. 11–27; sowie Marbolek, Inge: »Aus dem Volke für das Volk«. Die Inszenierung der »Volksgemeinschaft« im und durch das Radio. In: Marbolek; von Saldem (Anm. 2), S. 121–135.

4 Zum Beispiel die zum Teil in der Zeitschrift »Radio Wien« in den Jahren 1933 bis 1938 veröffentlichten Rundfunkkonzepte vom Programmleiter der RAVAG (österreichische Radioverkehrsaktiengesellschaft) Rudolf Henz.

den am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts und findet sich in den Ideen zur drahtlosen Telegraphie und Telephonie wieder. Den methodischen Ausgangspunkt der Untersuchung bildet eine diskursanalytische Betrachtung der technischen, sozialen und kulturellen Veränderungsprozesse, die die Grundlage zur Formierung neuer Nachrichten- und Kommunikationstechniken sind.⁵

Dabei bilden drei Ebenen den Untersuchungsrahmen des Dissertationsprojekts: Erstens soll das Radio als technischer Apparat betrachtet werden, dessen Entwicklungsgeschichte eng mit den Konzepten der drahtlosen Telegraphie Ende des 19. und am Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts korreliert.⁶ Zweitens sollen die verschiedenen Versuche, eine allgemein gültige Form des Gebrauchs zu etablieren, behandelt werden. Dabei zeigt sich, dass die Durchsetzung einer hegemonialen Praxis des Umgangs mit dem Medium immer von sozialen und politischen Kräften bestimmt ist. Drittens sollen der symbolische Gehalt des Radios als »Tabernakel der Macht«⁷ und die verschiedenen Repräsentationsformen des Apparats untersucht werden. Dafür werden von der Forschung bisher vernachlässigte Bildquellen herangezogen, die sich vor allem in Tageszeitungen, Fachzeitschriften und Ausstellungskatalogen finden. Weiterhin werden schriftliche Dokumente zur Radiogeschichte, die sich in den Nachlässen von Rundfunkverantwortlichen, in Firmennachlässen von Elektro- und Radiohändlern und in den Archiven der Post- und Telegraphendirektion Wien finden, ausgewertet. Diese drei Ebenen sollen es erlauben, die verschiedenen Dispositive des Radios in ein Netz von kulturspezifischen Bedürfnissen und Wünschen einzubetten. Die Geschichte des Radios erweist sich so als offener, kontingenter Prozess. Denn das Radio als Massenmedium ist nicht das Ergebnis einer zwingenden Entwicklung, sondern das Resultat von Kämpfen, die immer auch anders hätten ausgehen können. Deshalb soll die Untersuchung, indem sie historische Entscheidungs- und Handlungsräume aufzeigt, auch zum Ausloten der politischen Dimension medialer Dispositive beitragen.

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Nelson Ribeiro
**The War of the Airwaves
 in a Neutral Country:
 Radio Broadcasting in Portugal
 during World War II**

The thesis offers a narrative of broadcasting history in Portugal until the end of World War II. In doing so, it analyses the impact of foreign broadcasts of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft (RRG) transmitted to Portugal during the entire period of the war. Despite the existence of a few studies on specific themes, up to now, there is no history of the early years of Portuguese broadcasting, something that is essential before particular themes may be considered in more detail.¹ For this reason, the thesis starts by offering the reader a contextual narrative of radio broadcasting history in Portugal from its emergence to the end of World War II. Nevertheless, the research's main aim is to present a description and interpretation of the impact caused by the news and propaganda transmitted by foreign stations, mainly the BBC since, as the thesis demonstrates, the British station became the most accepted and popular foreign broadcaster during the war period.

Portugal, ruled by a dictatorship from 1933 and throughout the period under consideration, maintained a neutral position during World War II, despite the fact that its neutrality was presented in the terms of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance. The Estado Novo (New State) regime, led by Oliveira Salazar, was different to the other authoritarian regimes that ruled various European countries at that time. It was characterised by a defence of Roman Catholic values and by a hybrid constitution that refused democracy but, at the same time, kept the principle of elections.

Against the backdrop of this political situation the strategies of the BBC and the RRG, the stations of the two warring nations can be taken into account. The BBC's strategy of focusing on news and promoting its own credibility proved to be much more successful than the strategy adopted by the RRG. It

⁵ Zu diesen methodischen Voraussetzungen siehe Trevor J. Pinch; Wiebe E. Bijker: *The Social Construction of Facts and Artifacts: Or How the Sociology of Science and the Sociology of Technology Might Benefit Each Other*. In: Wiebe E. Bijker et al. (Hrsg.): *The Social Construction of Technological Systems. New Directions in the Sociology and History of technology*. Cambridge, Mass. 1987, S. 17–50.

⁶ Vgl. bisher unveröffentlichte Referate zum Thema »Drahtlose Telegraphie und Telephonie aus den Jahren 1920–1924« von Oskar Czeija. Österreichisches Staatsarchiv. ZI.19870/1920–1924.

⁷ Uta C. Schmidt: *Der Volksempfänger: Tabernakel moderner Massenkultur*. In: MarBolek; von Saldem (Anm. 2), S. 136–159.

¹ See David Deacon et al.: *Researching Communications*. London 1999, S. 31–33.

mainly aired blatant propaganda and insistently repeated the same ideas, thus complying with Hitler's belief that effective propaganda was based on repetition as he had extensively described in his book »Mein Kampf«. This fact, allied to the pro-British sentiment of the Portuguese,² paved the way for the British broadcasts to become the most popular Foreign Service in the country and even allowed it to compete with domestic stations in terms of audiences even because Salazar's media policy, based on censorship, did not allow Portuguese radio to air many news items concerning the war, creating a thirst for information that was mainly quenched by listening to transmissions from the BBC.

Curiously, the broadcasts from London had a big impact in Portugal even before the transmissions in foreign languages had garnered the recognition of the British Government. The Corporation's role in the war would take time to be recognised and, as mentioned by G. C. Beadle, then in charge of the BBC administration, during the first year of the war the BBC »constantly sought this recognition but without success«.³ This situation had much to do with the fact that, contrary to the Germans who already had six years experience of heavy investment in propaganda, at the beginning of World War II the British still looked at radio propaganda with some discomfort.⁴ When the outbreak of the war occurred, the Germans had clearly the lead in propaganda, namely through radio. That was also the case with broadcasts to Portugal. Nevertheless, the thesis demonstrates how, despite having a clear lead, the Germans were overtaken during the war years by the BBC in terms of public response.

In order to investigate the impact that both national and foreign stations had on Portuguese public opinion, extensive document-based research was undertaken in several archives. Firstly, in Lisbon the PIDE-DGS Archive, i.e. the archive of the political police; the Oliveira Salazar Archive, the Interior Ministry Archive, the Historical Diplomatic Archive, and the Public Radio and Television Archive; secondly, in London the Foreign Office and Ministry of Information Archives and in Caversham the BBC Written Archives. It is essentially document-based research, drawing on sources that have hitherto been unexplored or that have never been used for a study of radio broadcasting.⁵

According to Stuart Hall, research in communication can be done on two different perspectives: encoding or decoding, since the complexity of human communication can only be understood when considering the process of codification by the senders or de-codification by the receivers. Although these two

moments normally contain some degree of reciprocity, there is no necessary correspondence between them. Encoding »can attempt to ,pre-fer' but cannot prescribe or guarantee the latter (decoding) which has its own conditions of existence.«⁶ This means that the media text is »a point of connection between the encoder and the decoder, but it does not bring them into a position of symmetry.«⁷

Following this idea, the research focuses on both processes. Most of the chapters are centred on encoding since one of the aims of the thesis is to demonstrate how political contexts (both national and international) influenced the content of radio broadcasts. Also taken into account was the fact that the encoding itself »is framed throughout by meanings and ideas: knowledge-in-use concerning the routines of production, historically defined technical skills, professional ideologies, institutional knowledge, definitions and assumptions«.⁸

The message encoding operated by the BBC Portuguese Service is analysed in detail. Besides describing the birth of the service and how it became the main source among the Portuguese for news, the thesis also comments on the news and talks that were aired as well as the position taken towards the Estado Novo that was never attacked on the broadcasts from London during the entire period of the war, despite Salazar's delay in stopping the exports of tungsten to Germany. Although only a very limited number of texts from the broadcasts survived until today, there are some transcriptions of excerpts that were produced by the British Embassy's staff in Lisbon and also by the Portuguese political police. Other sources also describe the content of the broadcasts, namely letters from listeners and reports from the Foreign Office, the Ministry of Information, BBC staff members and the Portuguese Embassy in London. These sources were cross-checked in order to

2 See António Telo: *Contributos para o Estudo da Guerra Secreta e da Propaganda em Portugal*. Lisboa 1989. – The pro-British sentiment was also visible in the local press and would become even more visible as the war developed.

3 Letter from G. C. Beadle to E. St. J. Bamford (Ministry of Information), 23. August 1941, quoted by Asa Briggs: *History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom – The War of Words*. Oxford 1970, S. 16.

4 Asa Briggs: *The BBC: the First Fifty Years*. Oxford 1985, S. 81.

5 Pierre de Saint Georges describes how the usage of known documents in an innovative form can enable the production of new knowledge in social sciences – see Pierre de Saint Georges: *Pesquisa e crítica das fontes de informação nos domínios económico, político e social*. In: Luc Albarello et al.: *Práticas e Métodos de Investigação em Ciências Sociais*. Lisboa 1997.

6 Stuart Hall: *Encoding, Decoding*. In: Simon During: *The Cultural Studies Reader*. London 1993, S. 515.

7 David Deacon et al., 1999 (Footnote 1), S. 140.

8 Stuart Hall, 1993, (Footnote 6), S. 509.

separate the opinions of those who produced the reports from the facts that they describe.

The decoding process is analysed in particular in a chapter which primarily discusses how the messages aired by the BBC were received by the listeners and the political power in Portugal. There were indeed clear differences between the meaning attributed by those who encoded and those who decoded the messages aired by the Corporation on its Portuguese Service. As the thesis highlights, the political affiliation of the receivers affected the way in which they decoded the messages broadcast by the BBC.

To understand the real impact of broadcast propaganda during this period in Portugal, Salazar's foreign policy, always characterised by the position of neutrality adopted during the Spanish Civil War and during World War II, was taken into account. Apart from the international debates that took place during the 1930s, the Estado Novo always considered the alliance with Great Britain as a foreign policy priority. However, this did not hinder the regime in also maintaining good relations with Germany during almost the entire war. In fact, Salazar hesitated a lot before giving in to the British demands, and it was only in June 1944 that Portugal agreed to stop exporting tungsten to Berlin.

So some of the questions that the thesis intends to answer bearing in mind that the history of broadcasting in Portugal during World War II cannot be dissociated from the history of political relations between the Estado Novo and the countries at war are: Were, in this context, the broadcasts of the BBC used as a political weapon during the war? What motivated the British to broadcast news bulletins to Portugal even before the war, at a time when services in foreign languages were still undeveloped and under discussion? How did the Corporation deal with the fact that Portugal was an ally and simultaneously a dictatorship? To what extent did political interference affect the content of the BBC Portuguese Service? How did the British Government use the broadcasts to pressurise Salazar to give in to the Allies' demands? Did the Portuguese regime manage to exercise any influence in the editorial line of the broadcasts?

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Kristin Skoog

The BBC and the post-war Woman Women's Radio 1945–1955

In the British post-war period the domestic setting played a crucial role: »the modern home and its inhabitants were represented as the symbolic, and actual, centre of post-war reconstruction.«¹ Women were considered as important citizens, crucial for the rebuilding of Britain both as workers and as mothers, which ensued in debates about a woman's role in society. For example the historians Pat Thane and Gerry Holloway have both shown that the post-war period for women was indeed a time of conflict and negotiation; consequently, the British post-war housewife was a much more complex figure than previously perceived.² A good deal of the existing research on women in this period has focused on cinema, magazines, women's organisations, or other material. The BBC, however, and its relationship to women is fairly under-researched, although the BBC in this period produced a range of programmes directly aimed at the female audience such as »Woman's Hour« (1946), »Housewives Choice« (1946) and »Mrs. Dale's Diary« (1948).³ Several studies have shown that radio has an important place in the domestic setting and therefore a particular relationship to women.⁴ But again this kind of analysis is missing from the histories of the BBC in the post-war period.

The aim of this project therefore, is to focus on the BBC's women's radio and female broadcasters in

¹ Claire Langhamer: *The Meanings of Home in Post-war Britain*. In: *Journal of Contemporary History* 40(2005), 2, S. 341–362, quoted, S. 342. See also Judy Giles: *The Parlour and the Suburb Domestic Identities, Class, Femininity and Modernity*. Oxford 2004.

² Pat Thane: *Women since 1945*. In: Paul Johnson (Ed.): *20th Century Britain: Economic, Cultural and Social Change*. London 1994; Gerry Holloway: *Women and Work in Britain since 1840*. London 2005.

³ Being perhaps the most famous women's programme in this period, »Woman's Hour« has received some attention from academic scholars. These are useful, but limited insights since they tend to focus on the programme over a longer period (it is still running on BBC Radio 4) and mostly focus on the content rather than the production and editorial process. See Anne Karpf: *Radio Times – Private Women and Public Men*. In: Kath Davies et. al.: *Out of Focus. Writings on Women and the Media*. London 1987; Sally Feldman: *Twin Peaks: The staying Power of BBC Radio 4's Woman's Hour*. In: Caroline Mitchell (Ed.): *Women and Radio. Airing Differences*. London 2000; Sally Feldman: *Desperate Housewives. 60 Years of BBC Radio's Woman's Hour*. In: *Feminist Media Studies* 7(2007), 3, S. 338–341.

⁴ Paddy Scannell and David Cardiff: *A Social History of British Broadcasting. Volume 1. 1922–1939. Serving the Nation*. Oxford 1991; Shaun Moores: *Media and Everyday Life in Modern Society*. Edinburgh 2000; Kate Lacey: *Feminine Frequencies: Gender, German Radio and the Public Sphere. 1923–1945*. Ann Arbor 1996; Michele Hilmes: *Radio Voices American Broadcasting. 1922–1952*, London 1997; Kate Lacey: *Continuities and Change in Women's Radio*. In: Andrew Crisell (Ed.): *More than a Music Box: Radio Cultures and Communities in a Multi Media World*. Oxford 2005, S. 145–161.

the immediate post-war years (1945–1955). However, Kate Lacey has written a thought-provoking article where she offered the idea of thinking of radio as both »History« and »Historian«. That means that on the one hand radio can be »History« as in broadcasting history; and historical studies deal with radio itself, the institution, the programmes, the people etc. On the other hand radio can also act as a »Historian« since it often captures the mood or atmosphere, the sense of the age.⁵ Lacey suggested that in this way radio can be used as a tool (as she put it) to unfold other histories and questions about society in general, since the programmes themselves and their content reveal prevailing attitudes, values and mentalities present at the time.

Thus the questions for this project deal not only with the *specifics* of broadcasting, but also with the wider post-war period itself. In order to explain this approach some core questions can be given. For example, assumptions have been made that women's radio in Britain, »reverted«, from having been more outward-looking during wartime, back to individuality and stereotypical »women's interests« in the post-war period.⁶ Is this a fair description? That is the question I set up. Or: the BBC is a public service broadcaster and therefore I ask: Did the BBC represent women in a different way from other commercial media at the time? And what can the material reveal about life in post-war Britain in general, and particularly about the role or position of women?

Building on archival research conducted at the BBC Written Archive Centre in Reading, the thesis addresses the production side, as well as the text and the audience; the aim is a multifaceted approach. Material examined includes programme transcripts, production correspondence, production meetings, management meetings, press-cuttings, audience research and actual recordings. It is both what was being said or broadcast and what was *not* that is of great interest, where the unintentional or unconscious might be just as revealing as the intentional (what Arthur Marwick has called, »witting« and »unwitting« testimony: material that was planned and intentional, and material that was the opposite: accidental – not deliberate).⁷ Focus has been laid on two women's programmes such as the factual magazine programme »Woman's Hour« and the fictional domestic serial »Mrs. Dale's Diary«, but other general programmes (not necessarily women's programmes) have also been considered since women were also represented in other talks and discussions on various issues such as health, housing, and current-affairs. Throughout the research the editorial process has been of major interest; the thinking behind and the actual process of production.

To add a non-BBC-perspective further work was carried out at the Mass Observation Archive in Brighton, which contains a vast collection of material mostly generated through social research conducted from 1937 to the early 1950s. These files – such as surveys, questionnaires reports, and diaries – were particularly concerned with British everyday life. For example I examined one collection on »Radio« and one on »Food«. This material added more insight into British life and helped to understand some of the concerns that the radio programmes reflected, for instance the issue of food rationing.

The project is now at a late stage: all material has been collected and I am now continuing writing up with the aim to submit later this year. The thesis will contribute original and new knowledge to British broadcasting history, but due to its interdisciplinary nature using radio as a »Historian«, the thesis will also add further knowledge to British women's history, particularly dealing with issues such as gender roles, class and modernity.

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⁵ Kate Lacey: Ten Years of Radio Studies: the Very Idea. In: The Radio Journal – International Studies in Broadcast and Audio Media. 6(2008), 1, S. 21–32, quoted S. 27.

⁶ See for example, Joy Leman: Capitalism and the Mass Media. Case study of Women's Magazines and Radio Programmes 1935–55. Unpublished MPhil Thesis, University of Kent 1983, S. 217–228; Sian Nicholas (1996) The Echo of War. Home Front Propaganda and the Wartime BBC, 1939–45. Manchester 1996, S. 123–139; Ross McKibbin: Classes and Cultures: England 1918–1951. Oxford 1998, S. 471–472.

⁷ Arthur Marwick: The New Nature of History: Knowledge, Evidence, Language. Basingstoke 2001, S. 172–174.

Dana Mustata

**From Modernizing to Subversive Television:
Historical Practices of Romanian Television
(provisional title)**

Up to now, there has been no historical research on Romanian television. What academic attention the medium has received has been sparse and fragmented, and can be found predominantly in the field of political theory, sociology and cultural politics.¹ Incontestably, the Live Romanian Revolution in December 1989 has been the most disputed topic associated with television in Romania.² Such disputes nevertheless have disregarded the agency of the televisual medium within the events and have neglected the historical baggage of television in communist Romania. Questions as to why there was a live televised revolution in 1989 Romania at all, not to mention the infamous 'who shot whom' question³ have still not been answered satisfactorily.

The Ph.D. project set out to write this first history of Romanian television. It makes use of hitherto undisclosed and classified sources on communist television in Romania which are now accessible at the National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives in Bucharest. A major source is »Dosarul Radioteleviziunii« (»Radiotelevision Files«) centrally compiled by the Securitate, the Romanian secret police, and which is now available at the Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives. These documents include surveillance and informative reports, administrative and personnel files, technical and production reports, transcripts of internal meetings as well as copies of documents originating from »Biroul de Documente Secrete« (»Office of Secret Documents«) inside communist broadcaster Romanian Radiotelevision. Oral history interviews and life stories of senior television professionals of the broadcasting institution have also constituted relevant sources in the research. These have served to complicate, complete and fine-tune the written documentation on Romanian television maintained by the Securitate. Television guides and the audiovisual sources at the Multimedia Archives of Romanian Television were central sources of investigation into the texts and programme culture of the broadcasting institution. Documents at the BBC Written Archives as well as BBC audiovisual sources have also been consulted in order to gain insights on Romanian television within a broader European context.

The project uses the actor-network theory of Bruno Latour to explore how power was constructed by and embedded within the medium of television in communist and post-89 Romania.⁴ In so doing, it rejects the notion of state broadcasting as readily

at the service of a dictatorial power and in favour of a view of television as a social agent. As defined by Latour, agents are forces – human and non-human – that affect action. They are bound to interact with other socio-political agents in an always shifting ensemble. This assemblage of agencies and interactions perform an unpredictable action, where the input of each agent cannot predict the output of action. Within this conceptual framework, broadcasting is seen as performative, able to affect social change, and to transform or subvert meaning. Interaction between different agents remains however, articulated by »other places, other times and other agencies that appear to have molded them into place«.⁵ With that in mind, historicizing and investigating television in its national and historical contexts becomes imperative for understanding the nature of the medium as a social agent.

The project takes a *longue-durée* look at the course of the Romanian broadcasting medium in different socio-political contexts. From 1956 (the start of Romanian television) through to the post-1989 period, the project investigates television throughout shifting historical periods: the reign of the communist leader Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej, Ceausescu's rise to power, the liberalizing context of 1970s Romania, the coercive regime of the 1980s and the post-1989 political regimes. It uses Bruno Latour's actor-network theory as a main instrument of investigation to under-

1 See: David Berry: *The Romanian Mass-Media and Cultural Development*. Hampshire 2004; Mihai Coman: *Media in Romania (1990–2001)*: a source book. Bochum 2004; Patrick H. O'Neil: *Communicating Democracy: The Media & Political Transitions*. London 1998; Alin Teodorescu: *Disguised Players Waiting in the Wings: Romania*. In: *The Development of the Audiovisual Landscape in Central Europe since 1989*. Luton 1998; Ion Stavre: *Reconstructia societatii romanesti prin audiovisual*. Bucuresti 2004.

2 Nestor Ramesh: *The Entangled Revolution*. Washington 1991; Peter Siani-Davies: *The Romanian Revolution of December 1989*. Ithaca and London 2005; Tom Gallagher: *Theft of a Nation. Romania since communism*. London 2005; Steven Roper: *Romania, the Unfinished Revolution*. Amsterdam [etc.] 2000.

3 There were 1.104 deaths reported during the Romanian Revolution in December 1989. This was confirmed by the final report drafted by the Presidential Commission for the Investigation of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania, which the Romanian government made public in 2006 at www.presidency.ro. The deaths were caused by terrorist shootings that took place in Bucharest and other main cities in Romania in December 1989. Portrayals of terrorists were central to the live broadcasts of the Romanian Revolution. During the events, terrorists were described as anti-revolutionary forces. So far it has never been established who the terrorists were, who ordered the shootings (even after the Army had declared to side with the revolutionaries) and to what purpose the shootings took place. The same report testifies that no terrorist was ever accused or tried following the 1989 events.

4 Bruno Latour: *Reassembling the Social. An Introduction of Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford 2005.

5 *Ibid.*, S. 166.

line the way television in Romania has negotiated, challenged or subverted political power and affected socio-political change. In theorizing television as a performative social agent able to challenge political power and mediate change, this project takes a step-by-step deconstructive look at the medium of television as an assemblage of different socio-political agents: from television professionals, institutional and political figures, to television audiences and technological infrastructures. It articulates agencies of television within specific broadcast spaces: spaces of transmission/distribution, spaces of production and spaces of reception. Embedded intimately into historical events in Romania, this approach serves to articulate and locate performances of television in Romanian history.

The dissertation deals in turn with technology and infrastructures, the institutional development of Romanian television, reception practices and television programmes. Each chapter articulates how these different domains of television have constructed agency and negotiated power. When considering the agency of television technology and infrastructures brings a range of processes into focus: Ceausescu's close cooperation with the West in terms of technological acquisitions, the 1993 alignment of Romanian television to the European Broadcasting Union infrastructures, communist inscriptions of control into the transmission infrastructures and their playing out during post-89 events, as well as the constant negotiations between reception, distribution and transmission infrastructures in challenging state power. At the institutional level, the dissertation discusses how political control over television in Romania has constantly been negotiated in the interactions between micro and macro actors. These constant negotiations of political control are observed throughout the different regimes⁶ of the institution: from an emerging medium developing under the inspiration of professional visits to the BBC, to a liberalized broadcasting institution all the way to the television of dictatorial control and to a post-89 broadcasting institution that translated remnants of the communist regime. Reception practices of television in communist Romania have constituted other relevant spaces of agency.

The dissertation makes use of documents on the Securitate's »Malicious operation« against discontented television viewers to argue that the surveillance, monitoring and manipulation by the Securitate of the anti-regime discontent throughout the 1980s played out during the 1989 Revolution. In this respect, the dissertation takes a look at historical process of the broadcasting medium in Romania so as to bring insights into the Live Romanian revolution. Last but not least, the dissertation delves into television texts

and programming cultures of Romanian television and treats them as long-term processes that have mapped out different assemblages of agency reiterating the interaction of the different televisual domains of technology, institutions, reception and production. While articulations of television's agency stay at the heart of the argumentation, these articulations are constantly integrated within historical processes of political change.

The management of television infrastructures in Romania and their agency during post-1989 political events are shown to be symptomatic of a continuity of communist practices onto the new political regime. The institutional dynamics inside Romanian television between television professionals, the broadcast management, the Securitate and political leaders are argued to explain not only the shifting character of Romanian television under communism, but also its denigrating communist accusations after 1989. A look at television audiences and reception spaces in 1980s Romania offers historical insights into a decade-long process maneuvered and silenced by the Securitate, a process that configured the network of agents that played out the Live Romanian Revolution in December 1989. Furthermore, Romanian television programmes are investigated as discursive outcomes contingent on processes of complex socio-political interactions mediated by the broadcast medium throughout its communist and post-communist history. The dissertation concludes by zooming in on the 1989 Live Romanian Revolution, and this television/televised event is replayed through the lens of this long-term, historicized understanding of Romanian television as a performative social agent.

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⁶ The term was initially coined in the field of history of technology by Gabrielle Hecht: *The Radiance of France. Nuclear Power and National Identity after World War II*. Massachusetts 2000. It refers to specific configurations made up by technical, institutional, professional and political actors. In this case it is used to exploit the changes/shifts in the social assemblages that have characterized Romanian television over time.

Juliane Finger

Den Holocaust fernsehen.

Eine qualitative Studie zur Bedeutung des Fernsehens für die langfristige Herausbildung von Einstellungen zum Holocaust

Dass ‚die Medien‘ in irgendeiner Form auf die Rezipienten wirken, ist eine heutzutage kaum bestrittene These. Seitdem es Massenmedien wie Zeitung, Fernsehen und Radio gibt, wird zum Ausmaß negativer wie auch positiver Wirkungen diskutiert und geforscht. Man denke nur an die Studie von Cantril zur (angeblichen) Massenpanik nach der Ausstrahlung von Orson Welles‘ Hörspiel »War of the worlds«¹; oder die schon Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts von Max Weber formulierten Gedanken zur »Soziologie des Zeitungswesens«.² Die empirische Untersuchung von Medienwirkungen ist dabei bis heute zumeist auf kurz- bis mittelfristige Effekte fokussiert, also auf Wirkungen, die sich wenige Stunden, Tage, Wochen oder Monate nach dem Medienkontakt zeigen.³ Das Promotionsprojekt hat zum Ziel, diese Perspektive zu erweitern und einen Beitrag zur Entwicklung eines Ansatzes zur Untersuchung *langfristiger* Medienwirkungen zu leisten.

Als Anwendungsbeispiel wurde die Darstellung des Holocaust im Fernsehen gewählt. Dem Fernsehen kommt eine wichtige Rolle als Informationsquelle für zeitgeschichtliche Themen zu.⁴ Es gibt relativ viele, vor allem medienwissenschaftlich orientierte Arbeiten, die das Fernsehangebot zum Thema Holocaust analysieren, zum Beispiel die Entwicklung über die letzten Jahrzehnte⁵ oder einzelne Darstellungselemente wie die Zeitzeugen in Dokumentationen.⁶ In Überlegungen zur Wirkung dieser Angebote, zum Beispiel die besondere Authentizität von Zeitzeugen betreffend, wird die Perspektive der Rezipienten bislang jedoch selten einbezogen.⁷ Mit dem Promotionsprojekt soll mehr Aufschluss darüber gegeben werden, welche Bedeutung dem Fernsehen aus Rezipientenperspektive langfristig für die Herausbildung von individuellen und gruppenspezifischen Einstellungen⁸ zum Holocaust zukommt.

Wie kann man solche langfristigen Medienwirkungsprozesse untersuchen? Die Wirkungsvorstellung, die der Arbeit zugrunde liegt, knüpft an die Prinzipien des Dynamisch-Transaktionalen Ansatzes⁹ an. Medienwirkungen werden als ein dynamischer Prozess über die Zeit angesehen, in dem sich sowohl Medium als auch Rezipient beeinflussen und verändern. Wirkung ist also nicht das Ergebnis einer einfachen Reiz-Reaktions-Kette, sondern das Resultat eines »Wechselspiels der Ursachen«.¹⁰ Solche Ursachen können zum Beispiel auf Seiten des Rezipienten das

Vorwissen sein, aufgrund dessen eine bestimmte Dokumentation zum Thema Holocaust angesehen wird; auf Seiten des Mediums die Inhalte eben dieser angesehenen Dokumentation, die das Wissen und unter Umständen die Einstellungen des Rezipienten verändern.

Ein möglicher Weg zur Erfassung solcher langfristigen Prozesse sind Panelstudien, bei denen über einen bestimmten Zeitraum hinweg Befragungen zu mehreren Zeitpunkten erfolgen. Hier soll ein alternatives Vorgehen gewählt werden: Der empirische Zugang setzt im Heute an, an einem (vorläufigen) Endpunkt des Wirkungsprozesses. Es werden die aktuellen Einstellungen der Rezipienten zum Thema Holocaust erfragt sowie die bisherigen Kontakte mit dem Holocaust aus dem Gedächtnis rekonstruiert. Dabei werden die Muster der Zusammenstellung sowohl medialer als auch nicht-medialer Angebote und deren Wechselbeziehungen aus Nutzersicht be-

1 Hadley Cantril und Hazel Gaudet: The invasion from Mars. A study in the psychology of panic; with the complete script of the famous Orson Welles broadcast. Princeton, NJ 1982.

2 Siehe hierzu Michael Jäckel: Medienwirkungen. Ein Studienbuch zur Einführung. Wiesbaden 2005.

3 Vgl. hierzu zum Beispiel: Heinz Bonfadelli: Medienwirkungs-forschung 1: Grundlagen und theoretische Perspektiven. Konstanz 2004.

4 Andreas Grajczyk, Walter Klingler und Gunnar Roters: Erinnerungs-interesse an zeitgeschichtlichen Ereignissen im Spiegel der Fernseh-forschung. In: Walter Klingler, Gunnar Roters und Oliver Zöllner (Hrsg.): Fernsehforschung in Deutschland. Themen – Akteure – Methoden. Baden-Baden 1998, S. 365–384.

5 Julie Maeck: Montrer la Shoah à la télévision, de 1960 à nos jours. Paris 2009; Knut Hickethier: Die Darstellung des Massenmordes an den Juden im Fernsehen der Bundesrepublik von 1960–1980. In: Sven Kramer (Hrsg.): Die Shoah im Bild. Augsburg 2003, S. 117–132.

6 Michael Elm: Zeugenschaft im Film. Eine erinnerungskulturelle Analyse filmischer Erzählungen des Holocaust, Berlin 2008; Judith Keilbach: Geschichtsbilder und Zeitzeugen. Zur Darstellung des Nationalsozialismus im bundesdeutschen Fernsehen. Münster 2008.

7 Einige wenige Studien befassen sich mit der Wirkung einzelner Filme auf Einstellungsänderungen, zum Beispiel: Marco Dohle, Werner Wirth und Peter Vorderer: Emotionalisierte Aufklärung. Eine empirische Untersuchung zur Wirkung der Fernsehserie »Holocaust« auf antisemitisch geprägte Einstellungen. In: Publizistik 48(2003), S. 288–309; Wilhelm Hofmann, Anna Baumert und Manfred Schmitt: Heute haben wir Hitler im Kino gesehen: Evaluation der Wirkung des Films »Der Untergang« auf Schüler und Schülerinnen der neunten und zehnten Klasse. In: Zeitschrift für Medienpsychologie 17(2005), S. 132–146; Marplan Forschungsgesellschaft für Markt und Verbrauch mbH: Holocaust Begleituntersuchung: Zusammenfassende Darstellung der Wellen 1–3. Offenbach am Main 1980.

8 Dem Einstellungsbegriff liegt hier die dreidimensionale Konzeption von Rosenberg und Hovland zugrunde, mit den Komponenten Emotion, Kognition, Verhalten. Milton H. Rosenberg und Carl I. Hovland: Cognitive, affective and behavioral components of attitudes. In: Milton H. Rosenberg, Carl I. Hovland, William J. McGuire, Robert P. Abelson und Jack W. Brehm (Hrsg.): Attitude organization and change. An analysis of consistency among attitude components. New Haven 1969, S. 1–14.

9 Werner Früh und Klaus Schönbach: Der dynamisch-transaktionale Ansatz. Ein neues Paradigma der Medienwirkungen. In: Publizistik 27(1982), S. 74–88.

10 Ebd., S. 43.

trachtet – die sogenannten Medienrepertoires bzw. nicht-medialen Repertoires.¹¹ Aus der Erfassung dieses breiten Kontaktspektrums soll mehr Aufschluss über die spezifische Bedeutung des Fernsehens innerhalb des Holocaust-bezogenen Repertoires erhalten werden. Dabei ist zu beachten, dass das menschliche Gedächtnis keine Computer-Festplatte ist, aus der alle vergangenen Ereignisse korrekt abgerufen werden können.¹² Es geht hier vielmehr um die subjektiven Rekonstruktionen aus der Sicht der Rezipienten. Die Seite des Fernseh-Programmangebots wird über die Aufarbeitung der Sekundärliteratur mit einbezogen.

Im Hinblick auf den explorativen Charakter der Arbeit wird die Umsetzung mittels qualitativer Methoden erfolgen. Es werden Medienbiographische Einzelinterviews sowie Gruppendiskussionen in Anlehnung an die Dokumentarische Methode¹³ durchgeführt. Mit der Kombination dieser beiden Methoden wird der Tatsache Rechnung getragen, dass Individuen und das individuelle Gedächtnis immer auch von der sie umgebenden Gesellschaft bzw. sozialen Gemeinschaft beeinflusst sind.¹⁴ Den Kernpunkt der Auswertung bildet eine Inhaltsanalyse nach Mayring.¹⁵ So soll über die individuelle Perspektive hinaus Aufschluss über die Verständigung über das Thema in einer (kleinen) sozialen Gruppe erhalten werden.

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¹¹ Hanna Domeyer und Uwe Hasebrink: The meaning of media repertoires: A qualitative approach to the understanding of transmedial patterns of media use. Vortrag auf der Konferenz »Transforming Audiences 2«, London, 2.9.2009; Uwe Hasebrink und Jutta Popp: Media repertoires as a result of selective media use. A conceptual approach to the analyses of patterns of exposure. In: *Communications* 31(2006), S. 369–387.

¹² Vgl. zum Beispiel Daniel L. Schacter: The seven sins of memory: Insights from psychology and cognitive neuroscience. In: *American Psychologist* 54(1999), S. 182–203; Harald Welzer: Das kommunikative Gedächtnis. Eine Theorie der Erinnerung. München 2002.

¹³ Ralf Bohnsack, Iris Nentwig-Gesemann und Arnd-Michael Nohl: Die dokumentarische Methode und ihre Forschungspraxis. Grundlagen qualitativer Sozialforschung. Wiesbaden 2007.

¹⁴ Vgl. Astrid Erll: Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen. Eine Einführung. Stuttgart 2005; Maurice Halbwachs: La mémoire collective. Paris 1968.

¹⁵ Philipp Mayring: Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse: Grundlagen und Techniken. 10. Aufl. Weinheim 2008.