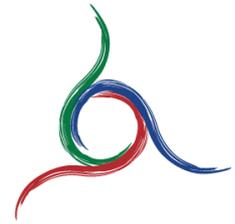


# IAMCR 2018



## History Section

Abstracts of papers accepted for presentation at the annual conference of the  
**International Association for Media and Communication Research<sup>1</sup>**

### IAMCR

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<sup>1</sup> These are the abstracts of the papers accepted by IAMCR section or working group named above for presentation at the 2018 annual conference. This publication will be updated prior to the conference to include the papers that will actually be presented at the conference.

**Id:** 17216

**Title:** From the illustration to the TV screen: the evolution of artistic expression in Brazilian magazines

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Subject matter

This work starts from a brief chronological exposition about the emergence and evolution of the magazine in Brazil as a means of communication and its subsequent segmentation until arriving at the specialized magazines. An overview of the constitution of the press will be drawn, with the aim of understanding the historical context of the first periodicals, evolution and maturation until the 1960s and 1970s, which are the historical focus of our research, considering also that the magazine "Intervalo " (1962-1973).

Main Issue

How did evolution take place, from the first Brazilian illustrated magazines to the specialized television magazines in the 1960s and 1970s?

Goals

To present the history of Editora Abril, which, since its inception, has marked the evolution of the Brazilian printed media and, to this day, is active with periodicals recognized nationally and internationally. The historical retrospect will be followed by the presentation of our object of analysis, the magazine "Intervalo". At this point, it is necessary to emphasize that the history of the weekly has been lost over the years and, after a thorough research, we find that there are no references already systematized about the history or editorial characteristics of the publication. It is important to highlight that the magazine's chronology was rescued by analyzing the digital collection provided by the National Library and conducting interviews with journalists and former employees of Editora Abril and Intervalo. We are interested in not only rescuing its history, but also presenting its characteristics, formats, contents, editorial team, writing routine, its importance within the historical context and its contribution to the construction of the media scene of that time.

Theoretical Framework

We work with authors who study and research the historiography of print media such as Frederico Mello B. Tavares and Reges Schwaab (2013), Carlos Costa (2012), Dulcília Buitoni (2012), Ana Luiza Martins (2001), Marialva Barbosa ), the book "The magazine in Brazil", published by Editora Abril (2000), among other titles. Through the following subchapters, we seek to present concepts and theories about the production of the printed publication, as well as editorial, segmentation and specialized journals, which will be enriched through dialogue with authors such as Muniz Sodré (2012), Marília Scalzo (2014), Nilson Lage (2012) and Luiz Gonzaga Motta (2012).

Methodologies

The methodologies used were: bibliographic research, documentary analysis and interviews based on Oral History methodology, proposed by Paul Thompson (1992).

First discoveries

- Even in the 19th century, the typographic explosion allowed the press to be seen as an important means of communication, whose purpose was to narrate about the events and events of society.
  - The inspiration and adoption of foreign models in Brazilian journalism has led to the proliferation of illustrated magazines and customs, as well as the use of photos on the front page, distribution of the booklet and dissemination of cartoons.
  - With the advent of the mass media, specialized magazines appeared. First, publications about film and radio, then about television.
- Key-words: Magazine, Illustration, “Intervalo”. Television.

**Id:** 17224

**Title:** The Only Man in the Cabinet' Gender Perspective on Golda Meir's 1969 Election Campaign Coverage in Two Israeli Newspapers

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The first Prime-Minister of Israel, David Ben-Gurion, once described Golda Meir as "the only man in the cabinet". This old saying was part of a broader approach in the early stages of Zionism, whereby despite an ideologically based gender-equal ethos, women were asked to cover up their "femininity" in order to more easily take part in public and political life. Indeed, many scholars generally described Meir's leadership, even as Prime-Minister, as "gender-blind", that is, irrelevant or even alienated from gender-related topics and Feminism.

The study of media representation of female politicians has historically begun in the early 1990s. Since then, it was usually found that media visibility of female politicians is much lower than their male opponents, and they tend to be portrayed within gender-stereotypical media frames, such as sexuality and appearance, family-oriented labels and "feminine" traditional roles and character traits. However, Meir's case is perhaps unique and worthy of historical examination to ascertain whether this was the practice many years earlier, during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

To this end, a qualitative, gender-focused, content analysis of a sample of 188 news-items was undertaken, investigating Meir's press coverage in two prominent Israeli print newspapers (elite Haaretz and mass-popular Yedioth-Ahronoth) – during the last three months of the 1969 Israeli election campaign, where Meir served as the Labor party's chairwoman and its candidate for the office of Prime-Minister.

The analysis revealed that despite the scholarly argument regarding a "gender-blind" socio-historical attitude towards Meir, the two newspapers did in fact strongly emphasize gender-oriented elements while covering her 1969 candidacy. For example, in some cases Meir was framed as "The mother of the Jewish people", highlighting her seemingly "femininity" through maternal and emotional character traits. In other cases, the papers identified Meir with the more traditional "feminine" family-oriented roles. For instance: consistent cartoons where she was presented as a cook and a seamstress. In addition, a number of news-items referred to Meir's appearance and clothing; this was especially exemplified during her September 1969 official visit to the US and her meetings with President Nixon. Finally, in a few cases, Meir was actually presented as a young and naive girl, especially in the context of military and security issues that are socially comprehended as "masculine".

From an empirical point of view, this study shows that the tendency to historically comprehend Meir as a "masculine woman", or to view her gender as insignificant or irrelevant in the context of her political career, is inaccurate: the discourse regarding Meir's candidacy in the 1969 elections was highly gender-focused and tended to emphasize her so-called "feminine" uniqueness as a female Prime-Minister. Theoretically, it was shown that the main paradigm in the fields of political communication and gender may have a much deeper historical anchor compared to what we might have thought so far.

**Id:** 17286

**Title:** War and Peace in the "Lebanon": The Coverage of War in the 19th Century Hebrew Press in Europe (1867-1871)

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The aim of this paper is to present the treatment and coverage of war in the Hebrew press in Europe in the 19th century, by analysing texts that appeared in the newspaper "Lebanon", during its publication in France in 1867 in Paris, and in Mainz, Prussia in 1871.

The first political column that appears in the paper in Paris deals with the preparations for the war in Europe and that between Britain and Ethiopia. When the paper later appears in Mainz, his editor in chief Yehiel Brill publishes a diary of the "Siege of Paris" by the Prussian army, which he experienced during his stay in the French capital.

From the documents of the "Lebanon file" in the French Interior Ministry archive, we learn that the condition for approval that was given to publish the section was that reports that would appear there would be copied from the French press. The section was written in the form of a narrative synthesis and transition from one item to another through rhetorical link between them. After a news section appears a commentary written with "official spirit", while in the news Brill allows himself a freer tone and tries to demonstrate "Jewish ethics" of his own.

The first item in the first "political section" of the "Lebanon" deals with a summit meeting between the French and Austrian Emperors in Salzburg and an open letter sent by the French Foreign Minister in which he denies press reports according to which the meeting discussed military alliance between the two countries and preparations of war. . We have to trust the words of foreign ministers, states Brill from official sources.

However, in the coverage of the preparations for war that does not directly relate to France, between the United Kingdom and Ethiopia, the newspaper succeeds in giving its readers a didactic description objectively as possible.

After staying in Paris under the Prussian siege of Paris, Editor Yehiel Brill crosses to the other side of the border and renews there the publication of the "Lebanon". He wrote nine chapters on "Paris blockade" from the first issue of the "Lebanon" of Mainz on 16 August 1871.

Brill brings full coverage of the crisis and the war in all its aspects, in its arena and in other arenas. This time with more free reliance on the opposition (to the fallen emperor) press, along with the reports from the field.

Comparing the texts and the circumstances of their writing indicates the pressures and constraints on the Hebrew press in Europe in its special situation as a national and linguistic minority press, and its general attitude to war coverage. It also contributes to the general research by identifying issues that characterise the war coverage, such as: the reflection of the dominant discourse, framing of news along official lines, media management by governments, selective reporting, demonization of enemies, dehumanising language of war,

**Id:** 17294

**Title:** Media and Politics in Spain (1975-2017): A Proposal for Periodization

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Periodization is a useful tool for history as a discipline. Throughout this instrument, the chronology of facts and events makes more sense and historical topics become more understandable for experts, scholars, and readers in general. This is also valid for media and journalism history, which many times runs parallel to politics. In fact, relationship between media and politics has been and still is an object of study necessary to understand their internal dynamics. In addition, a third component is also present because of its closeness to media and political powers: that of business and industry.

For a deeper comprehension of the evolution of history of mass media in Spain throughout the current democratic system, periodization of the relationship between media and politics would help us frame particular stories within a broader context that provides them with sense and significance. The starting point lies in the transition to democracy (1975-1982), a period with unique and unrepeatable characteristics due to conditioning factors coming from the previous authoritarian regime, among them a close relation between politicians and journalists. This is what we name “an odd couple”.

This situation was something temporary and ended as soon as democracy consolidated, but it also was the origin of a process of growing distrust between both actors, which can be named “the great divorce” and coincided with a long period of Socialist governments (1982-1996). Several episodes of dissensions and discords brought about a third period of “war drums” (1996-2008) between different political, media and business actors whose interests were intertwined, during both the conservative Aznar and socialist Zapatero governments. Their diverse political leanings did not mean substantial changes in the rather partisan media’s relationship with government and opposition. From 2008 on, the impact of the financial crisis on media businesses and journalism was so strong that the balance between political, economic and media powers was broken. As a result journalism, as the weakest link of the chain, showed a higher dependency from the other two powers in order to overcome the new challenges. This is what we call “a domesticated watchdog” (2008-2017), something that goes beyond the political color of different governments.

Through this case study, we intend to put the theoretical and methodological basis for the writing of a history of the media in contemporary Spain, according to its inclusion into the Mediterranean polarized model by Hallin and Mancini (2004) but also taking into consideration other complementary approaches from sociology of the media, mediatization of politics, political economy of media, and media law, among others (Esser & Strömback, 2014; McChesney, 2008; Chadwick, 2017). We also aim to propose a model to analyze the alleged decline of the legacy

media from a historical perspective, starting from the glorious days of the transition to democracy and ending in the current crisis and uncertain future of many of them.

**Id:** 17324

**Title:** [Panel] The Role of Media in Democratic Transitions [Presentation] Pannel description

**Session Type:** Panel Submission

**Authors:**

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**Abstract:** The media played an important role in the development of the democratic transitions of the years 1970-1990 in the Iberian Peninsula and the main countries of South America. Five contributions from leading specialists present the different characteristics in which media and journalists were at the same time informational actors and political protagonists, in accordance with the results of recent research on the end of the dictatorships that affected Spain during the second half of the 20th century, Portugal, Brazil, Argentina and Chile.

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Discussant: Carlos Barrera, Universidad de Navarra cbarrera@unav.es

**Id:** 17325

**Title:** [Panel] The Role of Media in Democratic Transitions [Presentation] The Transition 1975-1982: Spain's major postwar international news export and catalyst for change in national political journalism

**Session Type:** Panel Submission

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**Abstract:** Over the last nine years, the role of the national and international press in the Spanish political transition has been the subject of three consecutive research projects led by the Journalism Research Group at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra in Barcelona: i) the role of the international press and foreign correspondent corps stationed in Spain; ii) the national newspapers' standpoint on political developments at the time and iii) the explosion of the magazine market that accompanied the consolidation of parliamentary democracy. For the first time, this paper attempts to draw across-the-board conclusions based on the results of all three studies carried out by researchers from six universities from all over Spain. The paper analyses the projection of Spain's biggest international story since the Civil War in the international media arena while at the same time considering its effects on local and national press dynamics.

**Id:** 17326

**Title:** [Panel] The Role of Media in Transitions to Democracy [Presentation] The press in the first democratic elections of 1975: Diário de Notícias and Jornal Novo, two opposite examples of a polarized journalism during the PREC (On'Going Revolutionary Period)

**Session Type:** Panel Submission

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**Abstract:** The Portuguese Revolution of Abril, 1974 was carried out by a group of military, the Movement of the Armed Forces (MFA), also known as The Captains of April), that since the very beginning of the plot, saw the need of ending the censorship as a crucial key for the success of democracy. In fact, that was stated in their Manifesto and the importance they gave to the media apparatus is demonstrated in the way the military announced the coup, where the radio was seen as strategic both to give the kickoff to the movement and also to keep the population informed of their goals (Reis, Lima; 2014). The political transition, however, evolved towards a very radicalized revolutionary path that gained momentum, mostly after another coup (March 11, 1975), when the military nationalized the main companies and opened “the way to socialism” (Rezola, 2006), and, as a side effect, the state also became the owner of the media that partially or totally belonged to banking companies and holdings. The political combat reached its peak in the following months, namely in the “Hot Summer of 1975”, when the country was on the verge of a civil war (Ferreira, 2001; Tello, 2008). In spite of this process, the first democratic elections took place on April 25, 1975 and the press had the chance to cover it, for the first time in fifty years, in a free speech environment. However, the media were not immune to the revolutionary process and most of the press was part of the struggle for the control of information by the political organizations, being the newsrooms and press companies mostly overtaken by the extreme leftwing representatives, which power was increased by the nationalizations (Mesquita, 1996; Lima, 2015). The case of Diário de Notícias (Daily News) and Jornal Novo (New Newspaper) may present two opposite approaches of the coverage of the first elections, since each one stood for very different views. DN was a centenary newspaper that during the dictatorship sided by the regime, but after the revolution gained a very pro socialist stance (Gomes, 2012; Lima, 2015). Jornal Novo was launched in April, 1975 and had a clear editorial line of contradicting the dominant revolutionary discourse (Gomes, 2015). The political stance was not the only clear difference between these two dailies, for Diário de Notícias was a much more powerful news organization than Jornal Novo. Thus, the aim of this study is not mainly the span of the coverage of the elective process, taking in consideration the limitations of the latter. Accordingly, a content analysis will be carried out in order to understand

how the political struggle framed the news and if there was a bias on the way the political campaign was portrayed in these newspapers.

**Id:** 17327

**Title:** [Panel] The Role of Media in Democratic Transitions [Presentation] TV Globo and the attempts to silence the Movement Diretas Já in Brazil

**Session Type:** Panel Submission

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**Abstract:** The so-called Direct Movement began in 1983 under the leadership of Federal Deputy Ulisses Guimarães and had as its objective to pressure the Government of João Batista Figueiredo, last of the military to govern Brazil, to approve the Amendment to the Constitution and that was denominated Dante of Oliveira, in honor of its author, which provided for the installation of Direct Election the President of the Republic at the beginning of 1985, as well as the end of the Electoral College that, since the end of the 1960s, had chosen the Brazilian Presidents in Brazil. The Dante de Oliveira Amendment competed with the Figueiredo Amendment, which envisaged direct presidential elections only in 1988. The movement had a popular and massive character and placed in the same political platform of distinct acronyms, as well as syndicalists and other workers who were dissatisfied with the Civil Regime -Militar who ruled the country with "iron hands" since 1964 and with his aggressions to individual freedoms, expression and printing. Thousands of people took to the streets throughout Brazil to demand the end of dictatorship and the beginning of a new democratic era. On the other hand, Rede Globo de Televisão was trying to silence the movement, despite large concentrations of people, such as the rally held in Praça da Sé in January 1984, when Globo reported the event highlighting the city's anniversary only. The journalistic practices adopted by TV Globo aimed to make invisible a movement of great proportions, because on the one hand they paid little or no attention, while on the other, when inevitably the subject ended up coming to the air, the images and texts minimized the intensity, the size and scope of the movement. In this context, the intention of the researchers in this article is to reveal the ways of attempting to silence the movement on the agenda, in the audiovisual narratives of the TV Globo TV news programs in the first four months of 1984. To that end, we will support on Ricoeur (2012), Todorov (2007) and Le Goff (2004) to unveil the questions concerning the forms of silencing, as well as in Ricoeur (2010) and Narrative Interpretation Theory.

**KEY WORDS:** Direct Already! Civil-Military Dictatorship; TV Globo; Brazil

**Id:** 17328

**Title:** [Panel] The Role of Media in Democratic Transitions [Presentation] From survival to democratic reconstruction: three media companies (La Nación, Clarín and La Urraca) in Argentina's transition to democracy

**Session Type:** Panel Submission

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**Abstract:** The Argentine dictatorship of 1976-1983 led to extreme practices of authoritarianism, repressive violence and cultural persecution, with serious economic, political, social and cultural consequences. Although its initial project meant a long stay in power, its internal divisions, the serious economic crisis, social discontent with cultural repression, the aftermath of human rights violations and the catastrophic result of the Malvinas/Falklands war, caused a rapid and disorganized withdrawal, giving power to a civilian government in December 1983. In such framework, the media had to suffer the deterioration of the cultural goods market, artist, journalists and intellectuals censorship and exile, direct state control over the main television and radio broadcasting stations, and a legal framework that severely hampered adaptation to the great technological changes in the sector that would unfold in the following decades. Under these extreme conditions, they had to deploy a sinuous strategy that included support, negotiations, adaptations, openings of spaces of resistance and cultural survival, with limits marked by the repressive risk and, also, sinuous business alliances with the State.

Five different stages can be found in this strategy: 1) Survival and adaptation in a context of censorship (1976-1980); 2) Intervention facing successive economic and institutional crises (1981-1982), a period in which a first framework of agreement between the political parties for a democratic transition is discernible; 3) The democratic opening (1983-1984), stage not without dangers and violence but in which the censor control deteriorates and dissolves; 4) The construction of a culture of long-term democratic alternation (1984-1987); 5) The crisis of the first democratic government and the reconfiguration of the political map, characterized by the end of the cycle of military uprisings and the consolidation of a civil power.

As survival gave way to a transition to democracy agenda, the media addressed it in multiple facets, taking position around four main topics: a) the role of the media itself during the dictatorship, against interpellations that denounced complicities and benefits obtained ; b) the fracture in the cultural fields, between those who experienced a frontal clash with the dictatorship from exile or from the creation of alternative communication spaces, and those who opted for self-censorship to work within the limits of the permitted, with the intention of preserving spaces of critical thinking and culture in a context of repression; c) the need to form a stable democratic political system that puts an end to the cycle of military coups initiated in 1930; d) the approach of the very serious consequences of the dictatorship; e) the defense of business interests in a national and international context of trans-nationalization, technological reconversion and business concentration. In this

paper we will explore the positioning of the main communication media of the transitional period, with emphasis on three companies with a wide impact on public opinion: the newspapers publishers La Nación and Clarín, and the magazines of the La Urraca publishing house.

**Id:** 17329

**Title:** [Panel] The Role of Media in Democratic Transitions [Presentation] The Awkward Role of the Market-Oriented Public Broadcaster TVN in the post-dictatorial Chile, 1990-2010

**Session Type:** Panel Submission

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**Abstract:** This presentation comments on the contribution to Chile's democratic recovery by Television Nacional de Chile (TVN) in the two decades after the regime of general Augusto Pinochet. The media landscape was constrained both by a set of repressive laws and by the dominance of supporters of the dictatorship in the powerful newspaper duopoly and in the new private terrestrial channels born just before the democratic recovery. TVN was rather unique because of its combination of massive impact, political autonomy, good management, high production standards, and a complete dependence on advertising funding -on grounds of securing independence from government, legislation prohibited (even today) any public funding for the network. Although in many aspects TVN's role was deemed a positive one, it was also severely criticized for behaving like any other private broadcaster. Besides, repressive legislation was gradually dismantled. Nowadays TVN's role is in jeopardy due to the gradual substitution of terrestrial television by pay television platforms and mobile consumption of videos.

**Id:** 17467

**Title:** TO BEARD OR NOT TO BEARD: DISCUSSIONS OF WOMEN AND OTHER CREATURES IN DRAGON MAGAZINE, 1976-1989

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** This paper examines conversations and debates about women gamers and characters in issues of Dragon Magazine from 1976-1989. During this time, Dragon was produced by TSR, the company which owned the popular roleplaying game, Dungeons & Dragons. The articles, editorials, and letters in Dragon offer a glimpse into the tension that existed between the primarily male roleplaying community, Dragon readership, and the growing number of women players. On a broader scale, the conversations reflect a changing cultural milieu in the USA that included the influence of feminism and conservative politics, both of which affected the roleplaying community. The primary aim of this paper is to examine the representation and discourse about women and women characters in a leisure industry that was and is assumed to be predominantly masculine.

The paper's title comes from an old debate within Dungeons & Dragons lore – and instigated by its creator Gary Gygax - over whether or not female dwarves, like their male counterparts, have beards. This humorous metaphor in representing debates on gender equality in feminism and gaming. Was being a female gamer simply a matter of accepting the established order, being “one of the guys?” Or did a game's content need to be crafted with women specifically in mind? These are questions weighed by Dragon's editors and readers and continue to be pertinent in gaming today.

I examined each issue of Dragon from 1976-1989, collecting mentions of women, articles authored by women, women in the masthead, and female characters. I also made a note of reoccurring narratives, debates, and dramatis personae. DragonDex, an index of articles in Dragon Magazine, and Annarchive, a digitized collection of all the paper versions of the magazine were helpful in doing this. One common debate was over the illustrations in the magazine as well as the appearance of miniature figures that some players used to play roleplaying games, which women readers called out as being sexist and even encouraged other women to avoid spending money at companies which sold them.

On the other hand, Dragon's editors and some male readers' defended such imagery as merely catering to the overwhelmingly male readership. Some readers argued that differences between men and women, whether it had to do with illustrations or game rules, were simply necessary because men and women were indeed different. When feminist women and men wrote into Dragon to express their observations of sexism, they were transforming the image of the roleplayer. The majority of players still may have been young, white, and male, but there were plenty of readers who were pushing back against the stereotype, asking for more inclusivity.

**Id:** 17667

**Title:** The media and information on environmental sustainability in the historical horizons of the 20th and 21st centuries

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The purpose of this text is to analyze information on environmental sustainability shared by the media in the context of five historical horizons of the 20th and 21st centuries. How has the media reported on the topic at different times? Has the media provided education on the subject or has it been in line with the industry? Such are the questions guiding this research. Methodologically, we conducted documentary research using bibliographical sources, and traced five horizons: the beginning of the twentieth century, which still bears the marks of the nineteenth century, and its second quarter, from 1925 to 1950. After the fifties, we identified three different periods: from 1950 until the beginning of the 1970s, the end of the 20th century and the 21st century. The latter, in nearly 20 years, has already deeply defined history. The aim is to present the main contextual features of each and highlight the treatment of information regarding environmental sustainability. We consider mainstream media (newspaper, radio, television) and in the last horizon we add information shared in social networks. The objective is to promote a historical verification of the role played by the media and whether we can affirm that, with the multiplication of communication channels, there has been any social development on the theme. Another goal is to reflect on the paradoxes of superinformation. Castells (1989) suggests there is a polarization between city residents connected to global communication and a vast network of exchange and, at the other end of the spectrum, segmented local networks. In the first group, individuals do not identify so deeply with the place where they live, as their concerns lie elsewhere. Paradoxically, city residents in the second group are "doomed to stay local". The greater flow of information occurs when the public begins to share content on a subject. Historically, the media, which benefit from the development model based on the principles of a consumer society, are somewhat indifferent toward the subject, reporting only the minimum necessary. Concerns, in fact, begin in the second half of the twentieth century, when the world leaves the so-called Golden Age (Hobsbawm, 1995) and enters the crisis decades. It was only in the late 1960s that discussions began on the limits of growth. Until then, industrialization and technological development and consumer goods were the topics in the media. With the advancement of the Internet, especially social networks, the public has taken the role of sharing information, which, however, on a large scale may also not interfere in development if polarization and overall weakening underlie. Bauman (2005) highlights Castells' ideas by noting that policies are increasingly local, in a world structured by increasingly global processes. It is in this paradox that we intend to develop our reflection, describing the behavior of the media in the periods when mainstream media were central in broadcasting, the presence of the public in the age of information sharing and the results around the subject of environmental sustainability.

**Id:** 17797

**Title:** LAS DOS CARAS DEL DESARROLLO La inserción de la TV educativa en Colombia en el inicio de los años 60.

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** PRESENTACIÓN EN ESPAÑOL

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Al inicio de los años 60 Colombia es uno de los países elegido por UNESCO para la implementación de los programas de educación por Televisión. En una larga investigación dirigida por Wilbur Schram se busca establecer la manera en que la televisión, como nueva tecnología resolverá las brechas educativas y hará posible superar el atraso. El proceso de investigación que experimentaba la efectividad del procedimiento en diversos lugares del mundo es visto desde Colombia como un programa que impulsa el desarrollo y que llevará al país al progreso. Su despliegue, de la mano de los cuerpos de paz muestra un derrotero esperanzador en los discursos institucionales y en los medios de comunicación que celebran con alegría y pocas críticas. ¿Coinciden la clave en la que es diseñada la investigación y pensada la expansión del medio con las ilusiones de desarrollo que se enuncian en el país? ¿cómo se vende el desarrollo tecnológico como la salvación y de qué manera un país atrasado recibe y acoge la ensoñación del desarrollo? Mediante un trabajo de archivo y el ejercicio de comparación entre los discursos sobre la expansión de la televisión educativa a uno y otro lado de la cadena de difusión de la nueva tecnología, y del análisis de los relatos propios de mediadores y receptores, se busca establecer en el entramado comunicativo de qué manera se configura una noción de progreso, se imagina el futuro y se consolida el lugar de una nueva tecnología como la panacea para el desarrollo. Basado en Castro-Gómez (Castro-Gómez, 2009), Escobar (Escobar, 1998) y en sus críticas a las nociones de progreso y desarrollo se busca establecer la configuración de las matrices de sentido en las que se producen los modos de pensar, narrar, y comprender en una condición subalterna y de colonización. Igualmente, en el marco de comprensiones del poder desde Martin-Barbero (Martin-Barbero, 1987) se busca una aproximación a la comprensión de las lógicas de dominación propias del que impone un modelo cultural y de aquello que en el dominado trabaja a favor del dominador. La televisión una nueva máquina de ensoñación del capitalismo en la que ya no solo fascina la mercancía, sino que se pone el desarrollo y el progreso como horizonte de deseo del subalterno. En ausencia de la mercancía inalcanzable, consume la ilusión de desarrollo y esperanza. La nueva

máquina de ilusiones se inserta en el corazón del deseo de aprender. En otro tiempo la matriz consolidada se repetirá eficientemente para la expansión de otras nuevas tecnologías.

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**Id:** 17801

**Title:** A retrospective over some Mexican contributions to the basic principles and the establishment of Cybernetics as an overarching theory

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** At a time when the term “cybernetic” is being applied to almost any digital information or communication system, it seems useful to seek for the grounds over which mathematician Norbert Wiener and many scientific collaborators worked during the first half of XX Century, leading to the publication of one of the most influential books of that era, Wiener’s *Cybernetics* in 1948. This paper will outline a suggested research project concerning an interesting case of intense interdisciplinary and international scientific collaboration between Mexican and US authors and institutions: the origins and development of Cybernetics as a new and revolutionary approach to the study of “control and communication in the animal and the machine”, as Wiener, its major leader defined it, and which could may be considered as the best example of how contemporary science is constructed.

Among other perspectives, Cybernetics can be counted today as one of the “founding traditions” of communication studies. Robert T. Craig recognizes its aim to understand information processing and its cultivation of “a practical attitude that appreciates the complexity of communication problems and questions many of our usual assumptions about the differences between human and non-human information processing systems” (“Communication Theory as a field”, *Communication Theory* 9, 1999). Klaus Krippendorff remarks that “modern communication theory arouses out of the cybernetic marriage of statistics and control theory” (*International Encyclopedia of Communications*, Vol. 1, 1989), and many other authors acknowledge the deep influences Cybernetics have exerted over contemporary thought.

Following a historical perspective, based on bibliographic analysis, the projected study will question how and why, even though precursors of systematic scientific research about “communication” activities can be found almost anywhere, only under certain conditions can they be considered structured and structuring actions pertaining explicitly to or leading to the institutionalization of the academic field of communication studies. Among other peculiarities, totally independent of the then non-existent Mexican academic communication field and disconnected from its conformation, the development of cybernetics involved long-lasting and strong ties of scientific collaboration with several important Mexican scientists, especially physiologist and methodologist Arturo Rosenblueth, to whom Wiener's book was dedicated, or physicist Manuel Sandoval Vallarta. Moreover, the famous book was written in the National Institute of Cardiology in Mexico City, and its first edition was published by another Mexican, Enrique Freymann, in Paris.

Arturo Rosenblueth, Norbert Wiener and Julian Bigelow co-authored in 1943 an essay under the title “Behavior, Purpose and Teleology”, published in the journal *Philosophy of Science*, advancing the debate of some of the main conceptual and epistemological premises that Wiener’s book (1948)

would expand in some directions, and Rosenblueth's *Mind and brain: A philosophy of science* (1970) in some others, even though most of them seem to have been forgotten by communication researchers in Mexico and everywhere.

**Id:** 17829

**Title:** An "unusual position of trust" Media usage in West-Berlin in the 1980s

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** My presentation is about the history of media usage in West Berlin in the 1980s. Before the Wall came down, West Berlin was a strange political construct, controlled by Western allies, in the middle of the territory of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) with transit streets to West Germany.

The media in West Berlin have been mostly described in terms of their role in the Cold War and in terms of how the West Berlin media were shaped by Cold War. Media users have not been studied yet; but there are assertions about them. Literature largely follows (implicitly or explicitly) a narrative which regards West Berlin as "outpost of the freedom" and "island in a red sea", secured by US army. A communication scholar wrote: "Specific West-Berlin TV serials took care of the emotional state and told about the secure and idyllic life on the island in the sea of the GDR" (Hickethier 2014). The first West Berlin serial was produced from 1961 on, shortly after the GDR had started to build the Berlin wall. Politicians, historians and journalists emphasized the extraordinary role of „Rundfunk im amerikanischen Sektor“ (RIAS; Broadcasting in the American sector) for West Berlin citizens. A former West Berlin mayor remembered the "unusual position of trust" of RIAS. He asserted that RIAS had been "home radio station of people in West-Berlin (...) until the end" (Schütz 2006). RIAS was founded by US American military government in 1946 as propaganda outlet against Soviet Union. It became popular in West Berlin combining news and entertainment.

Have West Berlin media such as RIAS or West Berlin TV serials really played a particular role for West Berliners until 1989, politically, psychologically? Has media usage, due to the particular situation of the „half city“, been special "until the end"? Different from West German media usage, from modern societies in general?

How did people living in the old West Berlin use television, radio and the press? What did they expect from media content living in a city that was a Cold War hot spot? What were the preferences of media usage in a city where television and radio were available from West Berlin but also from FRG, GDR and the Allies?

My presentation aims at grounds, routines and structures of media usage in old West Berlin in the 1980s. My study draws on the theory of structuration (Giddens). The empirical basis of this study are 70 biographical interviews. Participants were born between 1937 and 1971, recruiting followed the assumption that media usage of those who experience the building of the Wall was different from those who were born in or moved into the "normality" of the divided Berlin. The selection of interview participants was limited to people born until 1970 and excluded therefore the recollection of people who were children in the 1980s. .

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**Id:** 17847

**Title:** Reaction to the LDP's Push to Revise the Japanese Constitution: Application of Ellul's Propaganda Model

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** This paper applies the theoretical perspective of Jacques Ellul, as set out in *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes* (1965/1962), to examine why the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), despite years of effort, has had little success in shifting public opinion regarding constitutional reform, particularly in regards to changes to the Article 9 provisions, which is commonly called the "Peace Article." Ellul argues that propaganda is the use of media to transmit an ideological position and transform this ideology into a societal myth. Ellul rejects association of myth with falsehood and, instead, considers the term closer to the Greek origin as denoting narrative. Ellul's theoretical model provides a way to understand why the LDP has made scant progress in swaying public opinion since former Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro's 2005 call for revision of Article 9. While subsequent LDP administrations have pushed for revision, each time the public and opposition have pushed back. This can be traced to the ideological shift that occurred in Japan following the end of the war and during U.S.-led Occupation. During this period and in the immediate post-occupation period when the first photographs of the survivors of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, there was a concerted effort to recast Japan as a peaceful state. Part of this repudiation was the sentiment that has come together into a widely expressed national sentiment – "No more Hiroshimas." Totten and Kawakami (1964) traced the rise of the Gensuikyô3 (Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs) and the coalescence of support for the peace movement centered first on repudiation of nuclear weapons. This translated into support not only for the Article 9 provisions but for construction of the image of Japan as a peaceful state, one central to the postwar national identity (c.f. Trefalt, 2002; Yoshino, 1998). Ellul's model helps explain why subsequent LDP administrations have not been able to shift public opinion regarding Article 9 revision. This study reports on the examination of articles published from 2001 through 2017. Data come from two newspapers published in Japanese, the Asahi Shimbun and the Yomiuri Shimbun, and their English-versions, the Asahi Shimbun and the Daily Yomiuri and The Japan News. The latter is the name adopted for the Yomiuri media group's English newspaper in April 2013. All four newspaper databases were examined for articles about the Japanese constitution, the peace articles of the constitution (Article 9), use of Japanese Self-Defense Forces. Public opinion surveys regarding change to the constitution were also examined. Results are interpreted through Jacques Ellul's model.

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**Id:** 17922

**Title:** Ordinary and Necessary: A Critical History of the Tax Deduction for Advertising in the United States

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** This essay offers a critical history of the tax deduction that American corporations can take for advertising. This deduction was formally recognized in the American tax code in 1919 and has remained an important way that companies reduce their tax liability. The history of this deduction is complex and fascinating. While this is a widely taken for granted deduction today, it was a topic of great debate in the 1910s and earlier. In the 19th century, American publishers actually had to pay a tax for advertising placed in their publications. Rather than seeing advertisements as an “ordinary and necessary business expense”—the argument that finally prevailed in 1919—19th century legislators felt that distributing advertisements to the public was a privilege for which advertisers needed to pay the public they were addressing. The early 20th century United States saw a complex and heated discussion over corporate taxation that began with a legislative push to make corporate tax returns available to the public and to put a tax on advertisements similar to that in place during the 19th century. By 1919, however, corporate taxes were largely private and advertising was subject to the federal tax deduction that continues today.

My essay begins by exploring the early 20th century debate over and ultimate adoption of this tax deduction and seeks to sketch some of the ramifications of this deduction for the commercial media system that emerged alongside of it. By channeling public money back to advertisers, who then distribute it to radio, television, or magazine producers of their choice, the tax deduction for advertising has created a de facto public media system that operates without the oversight or accountability that often accompanies such systems. I conclude by tracing some attempted challenges to this deduction—all of which ultimately failed. Since it was put into place, several cities and states have attempted to eliminate this tax deduction or to introduce a levy on advertising similar to that of the 19th century. Louisiana, under the leadership of then Senator Huey Long, passed a 2% advertising levy in 1934, only to have the levy declared illegal by the Supreme Court, who ruled, in part, that newspaper corporations were “persons” and could therefore claim protection under the Equal Protection and Due Process of Law Clauses of the U.S. Constitution. The city of Baltimore attempted to impose a similar tax in 1958 as would Florida in 1987. The debate over the tax deduction for advertising is a fascinating piece of the larger history of media with important ties to arguments about the rights of corporations, as indicated by recent rulings such as *Citizens United*, and the relationship between economic regulation and freedom of speech.

**Id:** 18033

**Title:** Periodismo de opinión y discurso de género: análisis comparativo de las columnas de El País Semanal (El País) y Magazine (La Vanguardia) de fines del siglo XX.

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** En esta ponencia se presentarán los principales resultados de un estudio (mixto) cuantitativo y cualitativo sobre la escritura de columnistas españoles (de revistas dominicales) de fines del siglo XX. Partiendo de las siguientes hipótesis: en primer lugar, pensamos que entre los columnistas hombres y mujeres existirían diferentes temáticas, relacionadas con el referente al que cada uno alude en razón del género del autor. En segundo lugar, por esto mismo, pertenencia a un género u otro, existirían entre los columnistas mujeres y hombres diferencias estilísticas, con objetivos y fines diferentes para ellos y ellas.

Así, el objetivo de esta investigación fue caracterizar el discurso periodístico de columnistas mujeres y hombres de fines del siglo XX, con el fin de encontrar rasgos singulares de cada grupo y también, ver si existen diferencias o similitudes, tanto a nivel temático (asuntos tratados por unos y por otros) como en relación al discurso estilístico (figuras retóricas que emplean ellas y ellos, y la finalidad de su utilización).

El primer análisis, cuantitativo, tuvo como fin construir una base de datos de todas las variables que constituyen las categorías a estudiar. A partir de esta base de datos, que fue una especie de radiografía, se realizó el segundo análisis de tipo cualitativo, cuyo objetivo final es relacionar los distintos conceptos entre sí, preguntándose sobre el por qué y para qué de su utilización. En el estudio cualitativo hemos considerado la columna como la unidad máxima de análisis, entendiéndola como una forma de texto periodístico que se puede analizar como un texto literario. Por esta razón, se utilizan herramientas de análisis de discurso, con el fin de interpretar y desentrañar el sentido de estas columnas. La muestra estuvo constituida por un corpus de 54 columnas de opinión.

El aporte de este estudio fueron las herramientas metodológicas, cuyas categorías estuvieron sustentadas en una discusión interdisciplinaria entre el periodismo y la literatura con perspectiva de género. De esta manera, se pudieron alcanzar los objetivos propuestos y probar las hipótesis planteadas.

**Id:** 18045

**Title:** Los pioneros del periodismo ambiental en Colombia: rastreadores de estiércol y corrupción

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Esta ponencia pretende demostrar que el surgimiento del periodismo ambiental en Colombia fue paralelo al del periodismo investigativo en la década de 1970, así como respondió a la creciente preocupación mundial por la destrucción del planeta expresada en la Cumbre de la Tierra en Estocolmo, 1972, y a la nueva legislación ambiental del país.

Desde entonces, connotados periodistas investigativos han contribuido a frenar proyectos lesivos para el ecosistema y a denunciar a los corruptos, pero asimismo han corrido altos riesgos, dado que una de las causas del conflicto armado vivido en Colombia durante más de 50 años ha sido el control y la explotación de los recursos naturales.

En 1973, y al calor del debate por un proyecto turístico en el Parque Tayrona de la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, el periodista Daniel Samper Pizano de El Tiempo libró con sus reportajes la primera batalla contra el complejo hotelero. En 1976, Germán Castro Caycedo recopiló en el libro Colombia Amarga una serie de historias publicadas en el mismo periódico con denuncias como la del plaguicida usado en cultivos del sur del país, que no era otro que el Agente Naranja con el que Estados Unidos envenenó los campos de Vietnam y a su población. También Juan José Hoyos publicó en este diario, el de mayor circulación nacional, una serie de reportajes sobre los pueblos mineros del nordeste de Antioquia con las minas de aluvión más ricas del mundo y denunció el impacto ambiental de esa explotación descontrolada.

Igualmente, en las revistas de izquierda Alternativa (1974-1978) y El Manifiesto (1975-1978) encontraron eco las luchas ecologistas. En esta última, Rafael Colmenares y Alberto Donadio sostuvieron una novedosa sección de ecología. Con estos antecedentes, Samper Pizano y Donadio fundaron la Unidad Investigativa de El Tiempo en 1977, primera de esta naturaleza en América Latina, y con uno de sus informes sobre el tráfico de fauna colombiana que pasaba de Panamá hacia Estados Unidos ganaron el Premio Nacional de Periodismo Simón Bolívar en 1979.

Esta historia, inédita en nuestra literatura periodística, tendrá como marco conceptual los fundamentos del periodismo investigativo que alentaron a estos muckrakers criollos, quienes sorbieron tanto del escándalo Watergate como de la rica tradición del periodismo narrativo colombiano.

Desde la investigación cualitativa se hará análisis de contenido de las piezas periodísticas sobre medio ambiente y biodiversidad aparecidas en los impresos de Bogotá para identificar las técnicas de periodismo investigativo utilizadas. Desde una perspectiva crítica seguiremos a los historiadores ingleses Martin Conboy y Mark Hampton (2013), para quienes esta historia debe ser estudiada en el contexto nacional y global teniendo en cuenta las relaciones de poder. Las hipótesis resultantes serán complementadas con los testimonios de los periodistas, quienes contarán cómo hicieron la reportería y qué impacto tuvieron sus trabajos, todo con el fin de consolidar este capítulo fundacional del periodismo medioambiental en Colombia.

**Id:** 18085

**Title:** Whose stories matter' The Construction of Westerners' Eyewitnesses of the Nanking Massacre in Contemporary Films

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The Nanking Massacre happened in China during the Second Sino-Japanese War (July 7, 1937 – September 9, 1945). The Japanese troops captured Nanking, the capital of the Republic of China at that time, on December 13, 1937. Within a short period, they murdered a massive number of Chinese civilians and soldiers and raped women. After the World War II, the Nanking Massacre became one of the most important and sensitive episodes in China-Japan relations. In the 1990s, films such as *Black Sun: The Nanking Massacre* and *Don't Cry, Nanking* mainly retold the Nanking Massacre through the lens of Chinese victims; however, the major films about the Nanking Massacre emerging in the 2000s and 2010s started to show two new trends. First, the production groups, casts and targeted markets became global. Second, they all added new storylines to the Nanking Massacre: A group of Westerners created the Nanking Safety Zone and offered humanitarian aids to Chinese civilians and surrendered soldiers.

Through narrative analysis of the most recent films about the Nanking Massacre, John Rabe (2009), *The Flowers of War* (2011) and *A Foreign Perspective of the Nanjing Massacre* (2015), this paper examines the changes in structure, theme, and perspective of a memory narrative when a historical event goes through the process of being a local memory to a global one. The narrative shift in more recent films clearly indicates the economic importance of the global market for films. Sonnevend (2016) in her book *Stories Without Borders: The Berlin Wall and the Making of a Global Iconic Event* says that to reach the transnational audience, the narrative of a historical event should “resemble certain aspects of the original event” and also “represent something larger” and universal (p. 21). All three films depict the Westerners as innocent “outsiders” to local Chinese communities at first and then frame them as heroes who saved the Chinese people. Heroism is defined in these films as saving “others” who are different than the “self” in terms of race, nationality, ideology and language. The theme of “good humanity” makes these films appealing to the global market; however, the focus on Westerners obscures the suffering of the Chinese people and diminishes the historical specificity of the event. Finding these heroes for the historical tragedy will satisfy people, but may also stop people from further questioning the reasons for the tragedy. When Western viewers watch these films, they may identify directly with the Western characters in a way that diminishes their empathetic engagement with the victims, who are the racial others. In conclusion, this paper critically reflects on the role of media and the media industry in transforming the collective memory of a local historical event in a global context.

**Id:** 18169

**Title:** Representations of nature and nation in nineteenth-century Colombian newspapers

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Since colonial times, nature has played a pivotal role in shaping the European imagination of the New World. The latter has been represented as a world of nature, implying a lack of culture, which needed to be introduced and disseminated through European civilisation. Though present since the Renaissance, the idea that the American environment was responsible for putting a halt to civilisation in the continent and for triggering the degeneration of European émigrés came to be particularly important in the eighteenth century, among many Enlightenment thinkers. To make sense of the New World's supposed arrested development, the European philosophes put forth disparate environmental explanations, ranging from Buffon's idea that the continent's humid and sick climate was consequence of its geological youth, to De Pauw's understanding of the continent's poisonous and bare environment as by-product of its ancient and degenerate character. Montesquieu's position about the continent's ubiquitous savagery being a direct consequence of the fruitfulness and richness of its physical world also stood out as paradigmatic. Regardless of the avenue taken, for the savants participating in the 'Dispute of the New World', as the eighteenth-century debate about the quality of America's environment and people has been known since the publication in the 1950s of Antonello Gerbi's encyclopaedic eponymous book, the continent's environment - either fruitful or bare, young or degenerate- was unfit for civilisation. In this paper I analyse how influential intellectuals and journalists in nineteenth-century Colombia, both challenged and reinforced the European enlightened framing of the New World as a world of nature; as a world whose environment rendered virtually impossible the rising of civilisation. Looking at Colombian newspapers, published in the early and mid-nineteenth century, where travel writing, essays and other elite-authored texts circulated, I will trace the multiple meanings attributed to nature: nature as an overwhelming force constantly undercutting the work of man and thus as a major obstacle of progress; nature as something that needed to be subjugated and transformed; nature as the opposite of culture and yet, at the same time, as a source of inspiration for cultural production and for the shaping of a distinctive Spanish American and, particularly, Colombian national identity; nature as both cause of oppression and aesthetic value; nature as an argument to legitimise political and social institutions and to create hierarchical representations of difference; nature as a lens to construct the nation in terms of time and space. Analysing a range of sources, embedded in periodical publications which saw public light at the dawn of nation building, I will show how representations of nature were interwoven into elite discourses about the nation's political, social, cultural and racial identity. I will highlight the interconnectedness between representations of nature and representations of nation.

**Id:** 18216

**Title:** Evolución del contenido periodístico para dispositivos móviles: actualización y catacterización de sus fases

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** El periodismo, desde sus orígenes, ha estado vinculado a las innovaciones tecnológicas (Salaverría, 2010). La tecnología, que ha acompañado la conformación y evolución del periodismo moderno, ha protagonizado los grandes avances en los procesos comunicativos del siglo XXI. El resultado del impacto de este proceso señala que la comunicación mediada tecnológicamente de la sociedad red (Castells, 1996) mantiene un ritmo de cambio constante. La digitalización ha impulsado numerosas transformaciones periodísticas. Algunas de las más relevantes son las que tienen que ver con la producción multimedia (Deuze, 2004), el contenido generado por los usuarios, la participación de la audiencia (Singer et al., 2011; Carpentier, 2011), el periodismo móvil (Westlund, 2013), o la realidad virtual (De la Peña et al., 2010).

El comienzo del siglo XXI ha marcado un punto de inflexión en las relaciones entre la telefonía móvil, la comunicación y el periodismo. En este sentido ha tenido gran importancia la evolución de los sistemas tecnológicos, sobre todo gracias a la aparición del GSM, que abrió paso a la introducción de Internet en el móvil (Rojo, 2008: 162). En el año 2008, Juan Miguel Aguado e Inmaculada Martínez (2008: 108) crearon una propuesta de clasificación de tres etapas principales de la evolución del contenido móvil en los medios (2008: 108). Desde entonces no ha habido ninguna actualización que ayude a entender las nuevas características que ha propiciado el entorno tecnológico.

El objetivo de esta investigación es ofrecer una taxonomía de las diferentes etapas de evolución del contenido móvil durante los últimos diez años. Se establecen vínculos en el marco temporal entre la adaptación de los medios al nuevo escenario comunicativo y la aparición y popularización de tecnologías, dispositivos y servicios digitales.

Para ello se parte de una metodología histórico descriptiva, que “proporciona al lector una puesta al día sobre conceptos útiles en áreas en constante evolución” (Vera Carrasco, 2009: 64). El proceso comprende la investigación, el registro y análisis de interpretación de los sucesos del pasado con el propósito de descubrir generalizaciones que puedan ser útiles para su comprensión y la predicción del futuro.

Para llevarla a cabo se ha realizado una revisión sistemática de bibliografía en lengua inglesa, castellana y portuguesa, a partir de las principales bases de datos bibliográficas. Se han analizado, entre otros, los primeros estudios de índole cultural y sociológica de Ishii (2006), Lorente y Martín (2004) y Geser (2004), pasando por los primeros trabajos de los investigadores nórdicos centrados en el dispositivo móvil como soporte comunicativo (Ahonen, 2008; Vershinskaya, 2002; Oksman, 2004; Oksman y Rautiainen, 2002) hasta llegar a la producción científica más actual relacionada con los nuevos dispositivos y su implicación en el periodismo (Westlund, 2013).

Este trabajo actualiza y continúa la propuesta de clasificación de etapas de evolución del contenido móvil propuesta por Aguado y Martínez hace diez años, a la vez que proporciona una línea temporal multidimensional en la que confluye la adaptación de los medios a los diferentes soportes (iPad, tablets, Smartphone, smartwatch, Tv...) y servicios (redes sociales, big data, automatización, personalización).

**Id:** 18336

**Title:** The early correspondents: Multimodal narratives told through postcards from Kosovo 1900-1999

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Academic communication research on historical postcards is in its infancy, but the field is growing. In less than one hundred years, the postcard has shifted from a ubiquitous part of daily life to an obscure and occasional academic footnote and is only now beginning to re-emerge as a valuable documentary form for researchers. Postcards, with the combination of images in the front and short messages on the back offers a discovery of multimodal stories and accounts as told through a different kind of journalistic correspondents. This paper will present a historical collection of postcards as a vehicle for early multimodal communication in the Western Balkans. The data for the current analysis is from image analysis and text analysis of a unique collection of over 1,300 historical postcards from Kosovo, sent from Kosovo from 1900 to 1999. Since the late 1800s, Kosovo was occupied by the Ottoman Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Nazi Germany, Bulgaria, Italy, and Serbia. Military and civilian personnel left their mark in an, until today, unseen and unwritten part of history through sending postcards from Kosovo to their loved ones back home. Along with that, they sent personalized but still very important stories that represent a time capsule from the past events and accounts. Additionally, these postcards carry images of Kosovo and the representation of exclusive, unpublished images of Kosovo. This paper analyses how Kosovo's development is represented through the postcards' images of people, landscapes, architecture, and other visual content from 1900 to 1999. These images were either taken by external photographers or local photographers and were meant to show living conditions and developments of notable events in Kosovo. The images represent a multitude of ethnic, religious and national significance and they communicate fragments of the historic images that were used as correspondence material from the first Kosovo correspondents from abroad. The postcards were sent from soldiers based in Kosovo, but also from students, tourists, business people and from people living in Kosovo with relatives elsewhere in the former Yugoslavia. They show tourists landscapes with now non-existing architecture and infrastructure showing the old market, old mosques and churches. Besides the images, this postcard collection represents many fabulous written texts that are yet to be researched upon. Some of the questions that will be raised are; What are the Austro-Hungarian soldiers thinking of Kosovo and how do they transmit that to their loved ones; What do German soldiers tell their families about Kosovo during World War II, and what are the stories of Serbs from Kosovo going to Serbia? These postcards are the first draft of Kosovo's

modern history traveling abroad and are worth researching not only for its aesthetic and visual value but also for the narrations and storytelling of the past and how we can learn today of the narratives of the past through postcards.

**Id:** 18363

**Title:** [Panel] Praised and Forgotten Personalities in the History and Practice of Media  
[Presentation] Panel Description

**Session Type:** Panel Submission

**Authors:**

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**Abstract:** The interest for the history of the media can be traced back to a time prior to the 1920s when the word media started to be used to describe different means of communication. It was, however, after the emergence of what we now know as communication studies that we find the birth of systematic interest for understanding the history of different communication technologies and media institutions. Even though many important works (e.g. Briggs & Burke, 2009) have followed a social history approach, focusing on social structures and processes, in most western countries media history tends to be centered on technological developments and on media institutions and personalities. Therefore, it is no surprise that many works are devoted to the history of inventors, media executives and media practitioners.

The purpose of this panel is to discuss what leads to personalities working in the development of technologies and in media production to be either praised or forgotten in history. For this, the panel has assembled a collection of papers that focus on different cases that, when discussed together, will enrich the debate on how media histories have been/are being constructed, who is given the honour of becoming part of history and why, and who is forgotten and ignored. The panel will open with a contribution by Marc Raboy on a central - and praised- figure in media history: Guglielmo Marconi. This contribution sheds light on unknown characteristics of one of the first thinkers about global communication, demonstrating how a controversial figure involved in patent disputes and diplomatic rivalries became central to the history of communication. Also dealing with the development of the telephone, Carla Ganito's paper will address the role played by women in the widespread use of the technology, despite them being dismissed as unqualified and undesirable. The other three papers will look at media practitioners. Carlos Barrera will discuss the role of Antonio Calderón in the development of modern radio in Spain, unveiling how he became a part of history despite his reluctance to appear on the microphones. Nelson Ribeiro will demonstrate how the founder of the State broadcaster in Portugal, Henrique Galvão, faced an attempt at being erased from broadcasting history due to his political non-alignment with the Portuguese dictatorship. The closing paper, presented by Barbie Zelizer, will discuss how multiple journalists who produce scoops are forgotten at a very premature stage while their work is appropriated by better-known personalities that tend to be credited with the story while the true authors are forgotten and ignored.

**Id:** 18364

**Title:** [Panel] Praised and Forgotten Personalities in the History and Practice of Media  
[Presentation] The "Central" Role of Women in the Development of the Telephone

**Session Type:** Panel Submission

**Authors:**

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**Abstract:** Women played an important, although undervalued, role in the development of the telecommunications industry, as professionals and as lead users. The switchboards were for a long time exclusively operated by women. The first switchboard operators were in fact boys, but they lasted for a very short period as they were quickly considered ill suited for the job, "rowdy and restless, they took pleasure in insulting callers, pulling pranks and crossing wires". Young ladies were soon considered more patient, more compliant and less expensive. The first woman operator was Miss Emma Nutt in 1878 and she was the first to receive the nickname "Central". By the end of the 1880s it was an exclusive female job and thus remained for a century. The job was promoted as highly respectable and a new opportunity for women to work outside the home. Their low wages help maintain the telephone industry during the introduction years, so it is not far from ironic that women's uses of the telephone were dismissed as trivial, when it was women that operated the switchboards.

Companies prescribed specific uses for the telephone: business, appointments, protection, shopping, and personal conversations. But women continued to use the telephone for their own needs and with time that changed the way the industry addressed this technology. Among those unintended practices carried on by women was talking to friends, neighbors and relatives thus breaking their isolation and saving time. The studies of these uses enable us to understand that women played a very important role in the widespread use of the telephone, despite being dismissed as unqualified and undesirable. In all the studies, the telephone was shown to have evolved from a technology promoted and prescribed for men to a technology that became associated with women.

Nevertheless, this feminisation of the telephone carried with it a misconception of women's uses that were dismissed as gossip, chit-chat, frivolous and thus object of reprisal or jokes. Another interesting conclusion from all the studies is that the role of "hello girl" from when women operated the switchboards seems to have prevailed across time with women playing the role of operators in the home, women regard the telephone as part of their job, of their responsibilities.

**Id:** 18366

**Title:** [Panel] Praised and Forgotten Personalities in the History and Practice of Media  
[Presentation] Antonio Calderón, a Broadcast Radio Pioneer in Spain

**Session Type:** Panel Submission

**Authors:**

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**Abstract:** If we leave aside the technological and entrepreneurial aspects and focus on broadcast programming content, Antonio Calderón (1915-2006) is widely recognized as the creator of modern radio in Spain. In 1933, while still quite young, he started to work in 1933 in Unión Radio, a privately-owned radio network, editing commercials. He soon became familiar with this new mass medium. After the civil war (1936-1939), he continued to work in "Cadena SER", the new brand of Unión Radio which was somehow under suspicion by the new dictatorship. There he developed his professional career until his retirement in 1979.

Strictly speaking he was not, and he never wanted to be, a radio star. His voice was barely listened on the air, because rather he worked as scriptwriter and program director, almost always behind the scenarios. Usually considered as a pioneer of modern radio broadcast in Spain thanks to his innovative contributions, he was the director of Teatro del Aire (Theater on the Air) with a splendid team of actors, and adapted classical works of renowned Spanish writers such as Cervantes and Pérez-Galdós. In October 1955, Cadena SER broadcasted his adaptation of El Quixote, that consisted of 71 episodes of approximately 20-30 minutes each. In the midst of a hard postwar period, he created the radio as spectacle, greatly contributing to become the most popular mass medium.

With the passage of time, he even dared to defy the censorship by broadcasting news, until then a monopoly of state-owned Radio Nacional. He did it first in 1962 creating the morning show Matinal, and in 1972 with the night magazine Hora 25, which is still on the air; in both cases through imaginative formulas to "disguise" the news within other formats. Later on, two years after the death of Franco, a government decree suppressed that monopoly, and he decided to organize the first news services of a commercial radio station in Spain since the 1930s.

He defined radio as *la vida que suena* (the sound of life). This concept summarizes how he felt what this medium should offer to the listeners to capture their attention.

**Id:** 18367

**Title:** [Panel] Praised and Forgotten Personalities in the History and Practice of Media  
[Presentation] Erased for Political Reasons: the Portuguese dictatorship and the founder of State Broadcasting

**Session Type:** Panel Submission

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**Abstract:** Compared to most European countries, Portugal had a late start in broadcasting and the first stations emerged as private enterprises. It took the government until 1933 to decide to establish a State broadcaster that only initiated regular broadcasts in the summer of 1935. Furthermore, during its initial years the State broadcaster had to face serious budget limitations imposed by Salazar's government that, contrary to other contemporary dictatorships, was not enthusiastic about the new medium.

The mission of managing the State broadcaster with limited resources was first attributed to Henrique Galvão, who acted as Chairman of the station between 1935 and 1941. During these years, not only did he structure programming and established the main procedures that were to rule the station, but he also took a series of measures that allowed the State broadcaster to produce news and entertainment features targeted to the Portuguese overseas territories. His disagreement with Salazar's colonial and broadcasting policies led him to abandon the post of Chairman in 1940. He was then replaced by the Director of the National Propaganda Secretariat, António Ferro, that not only transformed the broadcaster into a powerful propaganda tool but also worked to erase the legacy of his predecessor. As the paper will demonstrate, forgetting Galvão's work in setting up the State broadcaster became even more important after 1947 when he presented a report at the National Assembly, denouncing and condemning forced labour in the Portuguese colonies, and accusing the government of totally ignoring the "shameful outrages" taking place in territories under its administration.

The effort of Salazar's government to erase Galvão legacy as one of the first and most influential broadcasting managers in Portugal produced its results and still today most history books ignore his role in putting together the State broadcaster in the 1930s.

The case of Henrique Galvão will be used to discuss how personalities working on the media can be forgotten for political reasons while others closer to the political status quo get praised for their contributions.

**Id:** 18368

**Title:** [Panel] Praised and Forgotten Personalities in the History and Practice of Media  
[Presentation] Who and What Get Forgotten in the News, and At Which Cost

**Session Type:** Panel Submission

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**Abstract:** With the current predilection for fast news, the disappearance of aspects of newsmaking from the evolving news record can easily be attributed to an insatiable and increasingly relentless news hole. But the forced and somewhat predictable disappearance of local journalistic personalities, of the initial shaping of news events and of instantaneous commentary on issues yet-to-evolve suggests that an insistence on forgetting that keeps pace with ever-faster technologies may be central to newswork itself. It may also be undermining what is most valuable about journalism. This presentation will consider the ways in which aspects of journalistic work get systematically forgotten in the global flow of news, particularly when the news record involves crisis. In arguing that the initial who and what of the news are systematically shunted from the news record that ensues, the presentation tracks how credit for the scoops of multiple journalists gets lost and appropriated by better-known personalities; how local dimensions of news stories get strategically sidestepped as the narrative enlarges in geographic space; and how the initial understanding of complex issues give way to routinized formula that make sense on a broader but more simplified presentational stage. Though journalism has often been touted as history's first draft, this presentation suggests that integral aspects of that first draft are being prematurely lost in the making of news, and that much of that loss has to do with forgetting.

**Id:** 18437

**Title:** Marxism endangered and Marx revived: Revisiting the "two Marxes debate" in China, 1988-1992

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The doctrine of Marxism theories, orthodoxy in China's both political economy order and intellectual discourses since the Communist Party of China (CPC) took office in 1949, however, has undergone great transformations since the late 1970s. Along with the global ideological shift to the neoliberalism, intellectuals in China embraced their well-known era of enlightenment—the emancipation of thoughts—in the following decades.

Once a tenet elucidated by Chinese official only, Marxism was for the first time publicly debated in the late 1980s of the post-Mao era. Accordingly, the orthodox Marxism's domination as well as the CPC's legitimacy inherited from its revolutionary history was at the margin of going crackdown leastways in theory.

The acclaimed "two Marxes debate", triggered by the previous notion of reinventing the Young Marx in academic circles, made its debut in China's best-known media outlet, the People's Daily on May 27, 1988. The contestation, which lasted for about four years before Deng Xiaoping's reform tour in 1992, questioned the potentiality of China's socialist approach in political economy as well as ideology. By citing works of Marx in his early times together with Western Marxist thinkers such as Antonio Gramsci and Georg Lukács, it enquired whether China should insist on Marxist-Leninist revolutionary mode of modernization—the so-called Mature Marx way—or divert to a moderate humanistic Young Marx version.

Considering that the media spectacle rooted profoundly in China's domestic political economic and cultural crisis, e.g. the high inflation in 1980s and the 1989 Tiananmen protests, and a global shift to the neoliberalism order, this paper will historicize the debate by contextualizing the media narratives in a social-political-economic and ideological settings. By using the methodology of interviews, archival studies and critical discourse analysis, this paper aims to map the correlations between media, intellectual thoughts, mass communication and public politics in contemporary China. It tries to answer three questions: 1) How did the media discourse interact with the social and political economy factors; 2) What are the implications of the debate on contemporary China's theoretical cognitions and interpretations on Marx theories; 3) How did the Chinese intellectuals construct the Western thoughts into their imagined domestic social order and global identity?

It claims that the two Marxes debate endangered the orthodox Marxism theories while dialectically emancipated Marxism by re-examining the early works and whole pictures of Karl Marx and Marxism school. Whether owing to the revival of Young Marx and the establishment of cultural

studies, or the reconstruction of Marx's epistemological approach and the trace of Mature Marx's revolution theories, Marxism endangered and Marx revived are two identical and dialectical processes in Chinese media and political economy discourse worthy of further illustrations.

**Id:** 18444

**Title:** U.S. Foreign Information Policy toward Okinawa during Eisenhower Administration: 1957 as a turning point of the Cold War

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Eisenhower Administration (1953-1961) marked the turning point regarding the U.S. foreign information policy toward Okinawa, southernmost islands of Japan, which was under the U.S. occupation during 1945-1972. Throughout the Cold War, as Nicholas Cull's wrote, United States Information Agency established in 1953 was the major asset for the U.S. public diplomacy, disseminating its foreign policies and information. However, Okinawa in which the U.S. martial laws was effective after the World War II, such civilian agencies as USIA and Voice of America were only allowed the operations with the permission of the U.S. military commanders. In this sense, the garrison islands were understood as an exception of the U.S. public diplomacy policy during the Cold War period.

The U.S. policy toward Okinawa was not only a part of the "foreign" policy planning process toward Japan determined at Department of State but also a part of the "military" policy of the Department of Defense and the U.S. Chiefs of Staff authorized at the Executive Branch even after Korean War ended in 1953. Why the U.S. needed the administration authority over the Okinawa? Although the previous studies have centered the military development, the information policy has been rarely discussed. In reality, the U.S. information services had crowded into the small islands and worked as an information hub for the coming Vietnam War and other information strategies for East Asian countries. In and around 1957 specifically, the U.S. administration of Okinawa was transformed from "a military type" led by the World War II psychological warfare groups into "a civilian type" or USIA's public diplomacy focusing on cultural and educational exchanges.

Eisenhower administration reinforced the cultural and educational exchanges between the U.S. and Okinawa. Professional public affairs officers who majored journalism and mass communications arrived in Okinawa and U.S.-sponsored Japanese language magazines, television programs and cultural exchange started. The Defense Department attempted to use these programs for promoting the better understanding of the U.S. and Okinawan people but that did not necessary work well for the U.S. aim for maintaining the administration authority over the Okinawan people. This paper will discuss the transformation process based on the primary sources of the U.S. national archives regarding the information policies toward Okinawa.

**Id:** 18526

**Title:** A brief history of the 'revolutionary' audiocassettes in the Middle East: Islamism vs the Left in 1970s

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Audio cassettes were crucial witnesses and catalysts of major political developments in the Middle East throughout the 1970s and 1980s. As one of the first portable, fluid (especially blank cassettes), and individualised audible media technologies, the cassettes had become a ubiquitous object across urban middle classes in major hubs of the Middle East, and generated a significant international industry, where the exports of blank cassettes from Europe shaped and strengthened the grassroots cultural and political movements especially in countries like Iran, Turkey and Egypt throughout the 1970s.

The political power of this small sound technology in mobilising crowds, and spreading the ideas and ideology of political Islam across middle and lower classes (Sreberny and Mohammadi, 1994; Eickelman and Anderson, 2003), as well as producing the affectivity of revolutionary Islam has received significant scholarly attention (Hirschkind, 2009). These research proved that this small media were quite essential to the production of hegemonic power of political Islam in the region which currently reigns the whole political atmosphere of the region.

In this research, I will push the discussion to another direction, and investigate the role of audiocassettes in the political history of the Left in the region, by largely focusing on the discourses and practices of leftist circles mainly in Turkey in the 1970s. Analysing the ways in which the left has imagined, practiced, and organised (or not organised) political action around this small medium in comparison to the Islamists, I will attempt to show the ways in which the left and the Islamic forces alike envision and engage media technologies to carry out their political struggle. In doing so, I seek to provide a comprehensive and comparative analysis of two significant political movements, Islamism (which has eventually dominated the region), and the Left (which has its hegemonic power in the region after the late 1970s) in relation to their approach, tactics and strategies to this particular 'small' and yet powerful medium. This project, I believe, can shed lights into the history of social movements in the Middle East, and to the political history of media technologies in broader terms.

Eickelman, D and Anderson, J (2003) *New Media in The Muslim World: The Emerging Public Sphere*, Indiana: Indiana UP.

Sreberny, A and Mohammadi, A (1994) *Small Media, Big Revolution: Communication, Culture, and the Iranian Revolution*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Hirsckind, C (2009) *The Ethical Soundscape: Cassette Sermons and Islamic Counterpublics*, Columbia: Columbia UP.

**Id:** 18550

**Title:** Becoming Modern: Post-Colonial Women, Radio and Ideologies of Domesticity in Ghana

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The colonial mission of “civilising” Africans took various forms and in the mid-1930s radio became instrumental in the pursuit of this enterprise. Positioned as a modernisation tool, radio was aimed at providing education, information and relaxation and connecting colonial populations to cultures outside their own. A dominant culture transmitted by radio but which has remained dormant in African radio historiography is the Victorian ideology of domesticity and separate women’s sphere. The ideology sought to shape the status of middle-class Ghanaian women as housewives and managers of the domestic space and men as breadwinners and major actors of the public sphere. From the late 1940s, special programme spaces were created on Radio Ghana for women in English and local languages and named ‘Women’s Radio Magazines.’ The programmes were expected to serve as channels for disseminating gender ideologies about women’s roles in a modernising society. This paper evaluates the impact of Victorian-styled domesticity on post-colonial women’s lives by examining “talks” broadcast as a segment on the English programme, Women’s World, between 1960 and 1970. Synopses of the segment were published in the programme journal of Ghana Radio Review and TV Times (GRRTVT). This paper demonstrates that one of the ways in which post-colonial Ghanaian women negotiated their experiences of domesticity and modernity was by engaging with radio as audiences, participants and contributors to content. Contributors to the talks segment on Women’s World were educated women who wrote and presented the segment in differing capacities as housewives, mothers and career women who were aware of the complexities of the changing roles of women after independence. Radio’s reflexive and constructive roles as well as its role in according status, honour and voice have been well documented within radio historiography in other cultures. Also well documented is radio’s dual nature as a medium that transverses both the public and private spaces. In this paper, I argue that as agents of change, post-colonial Ghanaian women appropriated the magazine genre as a resource to subvert Victorian values of domesticity, and negotiated their integration into “modern society” strategically by advocating more equitable gendered relations within a predominantly patriarchal domestic space. They also sought to bring the voices of women from diverse levels of power into the public space. This study brings another perspective to arguments about the negative impact of Victorian style domesticity on the status of African women.

**Key words:** Modernity, Radio, Post-colonial Ghanaian women, Radio Talks, Women’s Radio Magazines, Victorian Domesticity.

**Id:** 18551

**Title:** [Panel] Praised and Forgotten Personalities in the History and Practice of Media  
[Presentation] Guglielmo Marconi and the paradox of communication

**Session Type:** Panel Submission

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**Abstract:** Over a 45-year period, from 1895-1937, Guglielmo Marconi was at the centre of every major technical innovation and marking event in the development of electronic communication. Inventor, entrepreneur, politician, diplomat and lobbyist, Marconi, more than any other single individual, shaped the age of electronic media.

Marconi was arguably the first truly global figure in modern communication. Not only was he the first to communicate globally, he was the first to think globally about communication. He was certainly not the greatest inventor of his time, but he brought about a fundamental paradigm shift in the way we communicate. The communication explosion of the 21st century would have been unthinkable without him.

Historically, Marconi stood at the interface between national sovereignty, colonialism, imperialism and transnational governance mechanisms. By 1900 Marconi was an international media celebrity, a controversial figure involved in patent disputes in several countries and the diplomatic rivalries between the Great Powers of the day. He was also at the epicenter of government attempts to constrain communication. Marconi and his company were key players in all of these early negotiations, which established the basis for the global governance mechanisms that characterize the modern worldwide electronic media system.

That said, Marconi was also keenly aware of the contradictions inherent to his undertaking. His experience dealing with the academic scientific community, the European political class, the avatars of high society, and venture capitalists out to make a fast buck considerably sobered his approach and especially his views of communication the longer he worked in this field. Towards the end of his life, Marconi was beginning to develop a critical view on the uses, misuses and abuses of communication - especially information media. And then he died, an enigmatic figure to the very end.

In the eighty years since his death, Marconi's legacy has been praised, ignored, appropriated and misappropriated by the political, economic and scientific interests he engaged with during his life and career. As an example of the importance of historical biography, Marconi's story is also emblematic of what I call "the paradox of communication".

**Id:** 18686

**Title:** Re-producing Landscape: the representation of nature in late Qing pictorials

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Landscape painting is traditionally at the top of the hierarchy of Chinese painting styles. It is associated with refined scholarly taste and emphasizes harmony with the natural world. In particular, late Qing dynasty witnesses a significant change in the representation of landscape in Chinese visual media, specifically in pictorials, or illustrated journals. Along with the urge to be accessible to and resonate with the masses, the transit of realism and the pursuit of modernity are all indicators of a shift in the perception and interpretation of landscape in the pictorial: its nature of being news media implies a more direct hermeneutic space and the result is to offset the profoundly abstract and idealized nature of landscape in traditional paintings. Previous studies on pictorials tend to focus on textual dimension and rarely examine its visual practices from the perspective of nature, or landscape, which is a drawback of researches that simply mentioned landscape as image backdrop or briefly touched upon the subject. Based on careful analysis of visual narrative of the pictorials, this paper understands landscape as the aesthetic ordering to organize the movement and placement of the illustrated figures in indigenous and occidental scenes. Researchers on Chinese media history pay special attention to Shanghai as the publishing center in modern China, while this research highlights the margin of the empire, focusing on Guangdong where pictorials are born and contribute to the first success of Chinese populist movement. Compared with the relative complacency of the Shanghainese to the engagement of Western power, the populist movement manifests how vocal the Cantonese are in their anti-imperialist sentiments. Taking Shishi pictorial (時事畫報) as a main example, this paper investigates two aspects of changes in the representation of landscape: on one hand, pictorials imply a superstitious nature of landscape through recurring narratives of geomantic omen that caused conflicts over infrastructure construction such as telecommunications and railways, as well as mineral mining between local residents and foreign merchants. In order to achieve the goal of enlightenment, pictorials or rather early Chinese news media intend to discover or even produce “current malpractice (時弊)”, as not only the content of news stories, but also the object to be transformed. Consequently, the relation between human and landscape is presented and interpreted as superstitious. Moreover, related local customs are bound to be corrupt, which turn into problems to be overcome and eliminated; on the other hand, landscape tends to be stereotyped as backward, uncivilized and disastrous by recurrent themes that “corrupt customs (陋習)” cause injuries and deaths in suburb or rural regions and overseas Chinese workers are tortured by their foreign employers in the wild. In one interesting example, two American men are smoking opium (one of the serious corrupt habits) between mountains and rivers which was depicted in the Chinese traditional painting style. Landscape then entails an ideological dimension, namely, it is associated with the political question of resistance against imperialism.

**Id:** 18697

**Title:** The Media Strategy of the Empire Crusade, 1929-1932

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The press baron Lord Beaverbrook launched the Empire Crusade in 1929 in an attempt to introduce imperial preference throughout the British Empire, which he believed would create stronger social and political ties between imperial nations. The Crusade failed in its immediate goal, resulting in the movement becoming largely forgotten. However, throughout the 1930s Britain introduced protectionist trade policies, and the role of the Crusade in providing a foundation for this process has been underappreciated. This paper draws on extensive archival research and analysis of digitised newspaper collections to argue that the Crusade was an interesting attempt at the creation of a truly popular movement, and explores the way those that ran the campaign used the media to influence popular attitudes to protectionist economic policies and imperialism in interwar Britain.

Originally aimed at getting the Conservative party to adopt an Empire Free Trade policy, the Crusade soon became more ambitious. Beaverbrook enlisted fellow press baron Lord Rothermere to launch the United Empire Party. Controlling a large swathe of the British press – including the Mail and Express – they propagandised, ran by-election candidates, and cultivated links with specific demographics such as farmers and the remnants of the earlier Tariff Reform movement. The two press barons and their associates utilised a range of communication channels aside from their newspapers, including public speeches, political rallies and widely circulated pamphlets.

A completely overlooked aspect of the campaign has been Beaverbrook's attempt to expand it from political pressure group to wider social movement. Beaverbrook's speeches around the country attracted large, enthusiastic crowds, his success aided by research into Hitler's popular allure, which both of his major biographies conspicuously fail to document. Both at these public events and in the pages of the newspapers the campaign crafted a potent nationalist language, which has interesting parallels with the rhetoric of contemporary populist movements. Beaverbrook strategically used his newspapers to amplify the public's perception of its popular support. This included methods through which the membership count of the campaign was inflated, which show striking similarities to the more modern phenomenon 'astroturfing'.

Despite these underhand tactics, the campaign was successful in popularising protectionist economic policies and a greater enthusiasm for the empire. The paper shows how the campaign enjoyed great success in areas where the press barons' newspapers were widely circulated, and how this influenced a committed core of local Conservative Party association members to pressurise the party's MPs. The paper finishes by arguing that media influence cannot be evaluated by looking only at narrow criteria such as election results, which led to the traditional interpretation of the Empire Crusade as being a failure. Instead, the impact of press campaigns on deeper cultural

attitudes need to be recognised, and the Crusade provides a useful case study concerning the promotion of nationalism and populism.

The Empire Crusade has echoes and resonances with later political movements, including the Brexit campaign. Now seems an ideal time to re-evaluate its legacy.

**Id:** 18726

**Title:** 'How to reconcile order which is not oppression with freedom that is not license' Charlie Hebdo and the question of free speech

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Hara Kiri was created in 1960 by François Cavanna and George Bernier to challenge the post-war moral austerity of Gaullist France through graphic images, drawing on scatological, sexually explicit material, and elements of the grotesque. The term *bête et méchant* was coined to label Hara Kiri's satirical ethos in 1961, and subsequently applied to Charlie Hebdo's until 1982. The editors' approach aimed to break taboos, advocate for a free society, and provide journalism that transcended mediocrity. By emphasising the lewd and the grotesque, and casting its satirical net wide enough to encompass a wide range of meanings, Hara Kiri demonstrated its capacity to produce humour that could both captivate and alienate the reader. It had elements of satire but it was not unequivocally satirical. It displayed an anarchic spirit but was not anarchist. It attacked the Catholic Church but anticlericalism was not its sole self-proclaimed identity. It was a publication that did not lend itself to a rigid structure and typology.

This paper draws on extensive archival research and analysis of Hara Kiri and its sequel Charlie Hebdo, and centres on the narrative and the visual with a special emphasis on the covers, editorials, and selected stories from 1960 to 1982 to demonstrate the unique and novel brand of humour which served as a vehicle for the overarching amoral spirit of the publication. A satirist often propagandized for his own way of writing satire. He could define it in moral terms, or in terms of wit, humour, self-derision, iconoclasm or the carnival spirit. At the centre of Charlie Hebdo's tenacity is its hybridity in style and fluidity in discourse which gave it leeway and liberty to call its brand of humour whatever it wanted. This fluidity was also due to a desire - mainly by its editors - to have an overlap with, or indefinite lines between humour and satire, moving freely between the two fields. Like a catch-all category of press, the publication called itself something that did not place a label on its identity, and there comes the question of responsibility versus conviction.

Over recent years, Charlie Hebdo has faced consistent criticism that its cartoons depicting minority groups feed into wider discourses of discrimination that promote social exclusion and violence. This paper examines whether, and how humour can transcend the Manichean terms that dominate the debate around free speech, and discourses of hate/ hate speech. This paper positions the amoral tone of the satire featured in the publications within the larger academic literature on theories of humour, specifically malicious humour. It will discuss Hara Kiri's own doctrine which posited that satire did not require thematic unity, formal clarity, and most importantly, a moral function. The paper finishes by demonstrating how the pursuit of artistic freedom shown by Charlie Hebdo and Hara Kiri's graphic, thematic, and verbal satire re-evaluates the moral and social acceptability of the comic.

**Id:** 18733

**Title:** Work and the Ordinary Making of Clandestine Communication by Communist Sailors in Southeast Asian Waters in 1920s

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** This paper examines the processes by which ordinary people organized the communist anti-colonial movement in the Dutch East Indies in 1920s. Discussions of revolutionary movements often focus on the role of leaders and emphasize their grand successes and failures, rarely paying attention to the ordinary process of its day-to-day making. Existing historiography of early Indonesian communism, for example, has centered around party leaders, party building, and major events (McVey, 1965; Shiraishi, 1990). In contrast, I focus on the movement's daily media production—newspapers, letters, brochures, meetings—in the context of the movement's transition from a popular resistance to a clandestine movement following the 1926/7 revolt in Java and Sumatra by tracing the story of communist sailors in the Southeast Asian water.

In the history of communist anti-colonial struggles in colonial Indonesia, seamen played a key role in connecting the local anti-colonial struggle with the global communist movement. One exiled leader, Semaoen, formed the SPLI (Indonesia Seamen Union) in Rotterdam in 1924, helping Indonesian sailors organize globally and join the Comintern's International Seamen's Club. In conditions of widespread illegality, their roles as messengers were essential in keeping communication going among prosecuted groups. They were the means for sending letters, newspapers, leaflets, and other documents between Indonesian revolutionaries in the Indies and exiled leaders as well as the Comintern in Southeast Asian mainland, China, and Europe. Additionally, these sailors were among the first recruits to study in Russia, largely due to the skills they acquired working on international vessels. In the aftermath of the 1926/7 revolts, some communist members fled the Indies as sailors to neighboring Malaya and sought to found a communist party there.

This paper analyzes the clandestine activity of the sailors within the framework of "labor," arguing that social movements are developed often through mundane, daily, boring, and, at times, dangerous work, but rarely as a grandeur, celebratory or sexy endeavor. In this paper, I ask: what does understanding revolutionary media production in terms of work reveal to us about the nature of community organizing and resistance? Expanding on Karl Marx's concept of "labor" (1978 & 1992) and Raymond Williams's "means of communication as means of production" (1980/2005), this paper sheds light on the different nature of labor that community organizing and community media production offer. This paper contributes to the discussion of sustainability in the history of community organizing and in the production of social movement media, minority media, and radical media (Downing 2001; Cammaerts et al 2013) by developing the concept "labor" and

“work” as a method to understand how space and time are repurposed and re-appropriated for contentious politics and to imagine a different kind of work that resists capitalism from within.

**Id:** 18837

**Title:** Nothing But the Nation' The representation of German "political" migrants in the newspapers of the Czech right-wing parties in the period 1933-1938

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The paper focuses on a period between the two key moments of European and Czechoslovak history of the 1930s: the rise of Adolf Hitler to power in Germany and the Munich Agreement. Taking power in Germany by the Nazis led to a massive migration of certain groups of German society, especially into advanced democratic countries where they could find support and employment (the fate of the people associated with the Frankfurt School can be a good example). Like today, the issue of migration (or rather emigration) was one of the important topics of social and media discourse in this period. The historical and cultural framework was, of course, somewhat different (it was mainly political migration of left-wing Germans and German Jews, but there were also some Catholics or people who were in the past close to Adolf Hitler and his movement) nevertheless, we could find some media frames that are comparable to today's framework of migration issues not only in the Czech but also in some other (Central) European media. A key topic across almost the entire political and media spectrum (we will talk mainly about the Czech press, which was strongly politicized at that time, and was often a partisan press) was the theme of maintaining and strengthening the Czech nation and Czech culture in opposition to the "hostile" German culture. The right-wing media (the spectrum of which was very broad, from the media of traditional conservative parties more or less involved in Czechoslovak governments, to the political movements looking for models in Italian fascism with mottos like „Nothing But the Nation”) then added to the media discourse about migration other frames of which the most radical was the relationship of migration to radical left (communism), and last but not least, of course, also to Judaism and Jewish culture. In both cases, these frameworks were used as a reason for a cautious, wary, or directly reluctant and hateful attitude to a certain part of migration from Germany. Like today, the issue of migrants was also used for internal Czechoslovak political struggle and similar frameworks appeared again: multiculturalism, liberalism, humanism, and so on. Conceptually, the paper will be mainly grounded in the concepts of framing and agenda setting. Based on the heuristic analysis of relevant sources and the content analysis of selected newspapers representing the right-wing part of Czech society in the selected period, the author will attempt to identify the main frames connected to the German immigrants in the selected right-wing media during this period. The results of the analysis will be presented in an appropriate political, social, economic and cultural context. At the end of the paper, basic parallels will be outlined with the contemporary representation of the issue of migration in the Czech media.

**Id:** 18844

**Title:** HISTORY OF MEDIA CONFRONTATION: COMPARING "RED' AND "WHITE' POSTERS OF RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The first decades of the twentieth century became the period of the rapid mass persuasion advancement in Russia; and therefore, the years of the October Revolution and Russian Civil War (1917-1922) can be regarded as the time of ideological practices accumulation which is important for visual propaganda mechanisms understanding. One of the main ideological weapon types at the beginning of 20th century was political posters. The poster visual patterns help to understand how the boundaries between social groups that used to form one national country have strengthened. Poster designers of both sides – the Reds and the Whites - used the signs of several visual languages of the early 20th century. Author is interested in observing how a language of images not only supports communication, but it also models the reality. Signs of different languages manage the world mapping. The author's conclusions about the "red" and "white" posters are based on modern cognitive studies explaining the reception and interpretation of images. Poster images are compared both in terms of visual clichés, visual metaphors, and in terms of the use of the signs from four visual paradigms of the early 20th century – the icon, the lubok, the caricature, the avant-garde art.

Firstly, visual patterns of an icon in posters are a direct look, a plane perspective, bright colors; thus they bring an image even closer to viewers, as if, an image seems to attack viewers. Compositional techniques which came from iconography also played a great role.

Secondly, the special contribution of lubok form into poster development was manifested in modeling the dynamics of actions and events. The chronotope of the Civil War posters was largely created by an elaborate method of image framing.

Thirdly, the caricature language made a significant contribution to the creation of satirical portraits of Russian political leaders. Poster should give the protest and rejection of opponent power.

At last one of the new art trends was soviet constructivism whose representatives poeticized the functionality and strength of machines. Mainly due to constructivism machine metaphors and industrial symbols filled the "red" posters.

"Red" posters often modeled the image of the future society by the language of avant-garde art; while the "white" poster designers had not such graphic language for describing the future although they had a very expressive language for describing the calamities of the country. The author suggests that the range of symbols which were used in posters creation had an impact on the power of persuasion.

**Id:** 18909

**Title:** History of the IAMCR: Institutional networking in an expanding field

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The first history of the IAMCR was prepared for the 50th anniversary conference in Paris in 2007 and published as a glossy magazine of 27 pages entitled "IAMCR in Retrospect", distributed to all participants and later put onto the IAMCR website <https://iamcr.org/in-retrospect>. There the history is presented in six phases: Preparation 1946-57, Foundation 1957-64, Consolidation 1964-72, Growth 1972-88, and Challenges after 1990. The authors intended to continue working towards a book-length treatment of the history of the Association, seen in the context of the development of the field. However, the authors were preoccupied with other commitments, allowing only article-size elaborations of the 2007 brief history (Nordenstreng 2008; Hamelink and Nordenstreng 2016). The 60th anniversary at the Cartagena conference in 2017 finally provided the impetus for the book project, now scheduled to be completed in 2019.

The paper will give a progress report of the current book outline and raise some general questions – both about writing histories of international organizations (e.g. Nordenstreng & al., 2016) and about analyzing the development of different fields of research (e.g. Backhouse & Fontaine 2014). The paper will also discuss the controversy raised by Meyen (2014) about the role of the IAMCR in East-West relations.

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**Id:** 18916

**Title:** Two sides to every story: the role played by the victims of brazilian dictatorship in the media and in the Truth Commission

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** In this paper I investigated the role portrayed by the victims in the work of the National Truth Commission (NTC) in Brazil and how it was framed in the news media. It is important to highlights that NTC worked between 2012-2014, after 30 years since redemocratization in Brazil and present their conclusions about civilian deaths and disappearance after 50 years since the military coup d'etat in Brazil. Thus, the first official report in brazilian history involving the struggle for memory and justice was affected by the time lapse and the lack of documents. In this scenario, the testimonies at public hearings held by NTC was pointed out by the commision itself as an important source of information.

These considerations points towards the central place of the victim and their testimonial. The goal of this paper is to understand how it affects the collective memory about the brazilian dictatorship. Hence, I ask: i) who was the victims heard in the public hearing and in the newsmedia involving the NTC? ii) how the victimd was identified? iii) what are the content of their stories that appears in the newsmedia? In this work, I articulate the concepts of struggle for recognition (HONNETH, 2003) and public memory (JELIN, 2002). Struggle for recognition involves a process in which individuals aspire to self-realization within the everyday practice of social relations through shared meanings of injustice. I am especially interested in the discussion of collective semantics in the process of a struggle for recognition, because I believe that the life stories that are highlighted in the Truth Commission's activities are revealed as important elements in the configuration of the collective semantic of the struggle for recognition for memory and justice.

To develop this research I analyzed personal stories officially heard by NTC that were found in the following discursive arenas: (1) in the public hearings conducted by (NTC); (2) on NTC's Facebook posts; (3) on two national newspaper (O Estado de São Paulo and Folha de São Paulo). In these material I was interested in identify: i) who is the actor of the speech act; ii) who is the subject of talk and iii) what their claims of recognition are about. The analysis pointed out the existence of a circulation of the collective semantic involving the struggle for recognition for memory and justice along the three discursive arenas, but with its own characteristics. While newspapers centered their coverage on the clarification of military's actions, the Commission's official Facebook page sought to give more visibility to family members, revealing a race for perspective in building public memory. The findings reveals the difficulty to broaden the meaning of who were the victims. Also, it stresses the theory of recognition regarding the possibility of self-actualization of the subjects when the public debate is crossed by a deeply society division.

**Id:** 18951

**Title:** Independent, local and community: a historical view of preserving culture, social inclusion, and the economy in Canadian radio

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Canadian radio started without networks or government support. The self-sustaining broadcasters slowly became affiliated with networks and independents were bought by larger media groups. The independent spirit of the early radio stations however, has survived and continues to be a part of the organization of community and small independent radio stations across the country. In 2009, the CBC's budget cuts that resulted in the elimination of minority language broadcasting and smaller market community programming was met with a firestorm of protest. Similarly the regulation of "enemy" language broadcasts during the Second World War was met with criticism from communities accustomed to programming not in English or French. The movement of the CBC to the Canadian North in 1958 was resisted, because it threatened languages in the North such as Inuktitut. Regulations tended to favour the small community broadcasters, but they faced the same challenges for the last century. This review of the intersection of community and radio will examine radio's evolution in the face of a lack of funding, need for community, and technical change.

Contemporary Canadian radio is rooted in the historical role of radio and its ability to connect in areas that want to focus on the local rather than just the national. In communities that are not connected to the rest of Canada by roads, the radio first and then other media provide a lifeline. This work will be an assessment of local issues and culture and the impact of regulatory change or lack thereof over the last century. Language and sustainability of community through these broadcasts is essential to the survival of the communities. The turn to community radio with campus, Native A and Native B allowed for a formalization of the pre-existing informal community and independent radio in the 1970s. This structure is currently being reassessed as the Canadian Radio-television Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) implements its Three-year plan 2016-19.

This work draws on archival, policy, renewal applications, and interview research to trace the evolution of the independent/community station to become the formalized community stations.

**Id:** 19063

**Title:** Fallen, Broken Places: American Imperial Journalism And Thomas W. Knox's Traveller Books for Boys

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** After a controversial career as a Civil War correspondent, Thomas W. Knox chronicled his journeys to the far corners of the earth in his Boy Traveller book series, which served to teach older boys and young men all the ways the men of Knox's generation thought the developing world was inferior to their own culture. Knox had fought for the Union and been a pioneering anti-slavery activist who tried to establish a plantation for freed blacks in Louisiana, until it was sacked by Confederate guerillas. But his book series sought to indoctrinate young American readers into their role as colonizers. His own conflicts, internal and external, offer a remarkable reflection of a tumultuous and formative period of American history and the roles played by its journalists and storytellers.

In recognizing the importance of imperial travel writing to the development of literary journalism and foreign correspondence, our study draws from three seminal works that erected a theoretical framework for understanding the genre: Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), the work that in large measure gave birth to the discipline of postcolonial studies, Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992), and David Spurr's *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing and Imperial Administration* (1993). Spurr identifies twelve "rhetorical modes" of the genre, and we apply three that merit attention here: "classification" (the arrangement and distribution of facts); the imperial "gaze" (what the writer chooses to see, and not to see); and debasement (ways of seeing the Other as something less than ourselves).

Knox's encounters with the American experience of his day--the war against slavery and westward expansion--shaped his views of the world. One theme that emerges in Knox's life and works is a clear difference between America's global ambitions and those of the Europeans: In the latter, we don't see a nation's internal divisions playing out on the world stage as we do as those of the vast, noisy, and deeply conflicted land of the United States.

Americans like Knox believed that their nation's own unique experience with colonialism, their enlightened faiths in pluralism, democracy and self-determination, their ingenuity and the raw muscle of American business all made them different. But as Said notes: "Every single empire in its official discourse has said that it is not like all the others, that its circumstances are special, that it has a mission to enlighten, civilize, bring order and democracy."

Whether it's changes in Knox's views or the difference that America will make in the world, much of what seems in conflict here really isn't: Essentialist views of race and historical explanations of why another culture is inferior both come to the same conclusion. The humanist impulse to "uplift" another culture and raw imperial desires to simply exploit it tend to have remarkably similar results. Likewise, the notions that Americans can do these things differently, we can do them right, we can do them because we are exceptional aren't really exceptional ideas at all.

**Id:** 19205

**Title:** 50 years of the massacre of Tlatelolco in Mexico: the reconstruction of the collective memory of the citizen, student, worker and trade union movement in 1968, based on the audiovisual story from the documentary film-maker Carlos Mendoza.

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The decade of the 60's represents social struggle, revolution and effervescence; It expressed the critical thinking of citizens, above all Western, towards the government. The spring of Prague and the May of 68 French are some of the most alive and present stories in our imaginary. However, the Latin American countries experienced their own convulsions and in some cases the damage count has not yet been finalized or even started. Mexico had its own spring and its own May of 1968 composed of students, workers, housewives, peasants and trade unionists who demanded a better government and the overthrow of the right-wing party. The social struggle had its most critical moments between May and October, months in which the participants suffered repression, constant violation of their fundamental human rights and the disappearance and death of, still do not know how many, people. One of the crudest moments was on October 2 in which died and disappeared, perhaps hundreds - there are no official numbers- of participants in a manifestation in the plaza of the Tres Culturas of Tlatelolco in Mexico City. Fifty years after what happened, silence, repression and negligence have been the answers to the families that are still asking for the truth to be known and for justice to be done.

The obscurantism around this massacre combined with the different actions - of a more citizen than governmental nature - for trying to reconstruct a bloody episode in the history of contemporary Mexico motivated the production of documentary audiovisual products in order to reconstruct the collective memory from the testimony audiovisual. In this effort there have been around 15 documentaries in the last 20 years.

Our research aims to analyze the construction of the collective memory of the Mexican 68 movement based on the audiovisual narration of four documentaries directed by the filmmaker Carlos Mendoza. Mendoza's work is one of the broadest, most complete and representative audiovisual discourses on the subject. The methodology used is qualitative and the tools are the narratological and semantic study of the documentaries and the in-depth interview. The investigation is a work in progress that consists of three parts: in the first, a study of the narrative of the four documentaries was made. In the second one, the story constructed by applying semantic networks will be analyzed to know the relationship between the facts, the social actors and the spaces represented. Finally, there will be an interview with the director of the documentaries to obtain the author's vision. The analysis of the documentaries is done from two perspectives: as an individual story and as a work as a whole.

The narrative of the four documentaries reaffirms the role of documentary in society as a genre that reconstructs and recovers the collective memory of social historical facts. In this case, Carlos Mendoza's documentaries are an exercise in historical memory that recovers a somber episode from Mexico.