



Tracing Entanglements in Media History

The Old Bishop's House, Lund University

May 17–19, 2017

Wednesday May 17:

18 Registration and reception with tapas (Old Bishop's House)

Thursday May 18:

9.00–9.30 **Welcome and opening session (Main Auditorium, SOL)**

Introductory remarks by Marie Cronqvist & Charlie Järpvall

Welcome remarks by Johannes Persson, dean of research, Joint faculties of HT

9.30–10.30 **Keynote I** (chair: Hugh Chignell)

Michele Hilmes (University of Wisconsin-Madison): 'Spies, Commies, and Hairdressers. The Perfidious Entanglements of Media History'

10.30–11 Coffee (Old Bishop's House)

11–12.30 **Session I: Materialities** (chair: Alexander Badenoch, room: 3rd floor)

Päivi Timonen (University of Helsinki): 'Ceremonial gift-giving in state visits'

Johan Jarlbrink (Umeå University): 'Paper flows. Wood pulp and politics around 1910'

Martin Karlsson (Stockholm University): 'Between presence and representation – an exploration of Mayday in early Swedish cinema'

Espen Ytreberg (University of Oslo): 'Mediated simultaneities and the 1914 Oslo centenary jubilee exhibition'

Session II: Entangled identities (chair: Ulrika Holgersson, room: 2nd floor)

Balázs Sipos (Eötvös Loránd University): '"Modern girl around the world". Transnational media representation and transcultural conflicts in the interwar Hungary'

Aline Maldener (Saarland University): 'Entangled youth mass media in 1960s and 70s Western Europe'

Emilia Ljungberg (Karlstad University): '"We are a travelling people". Travel journalism and the entanglements of a modern national identity'

Ina Ėmužienė (Vytautas Magnus University): 'Lithuanian-American radio and TV. Connection, identity and heritage'

12.30–13.30 Lunch

13.30–15.30 **Session III: Transnational agency** (chair: Laura Saarenmaa, room: 3rd floor)

Emil Stjernholm (Lund University): 'An entangled agent. Gösta Werner and the production of German film propaganda in Sweden during WWII'

Kate Terkanian/Hugh Chignell (Bournemouth University): 'Nesta Pain at the BBC. The entangled producer'

Stephanie Seul (University of Bremen): 'Trans-medial entanglements in the wartime oeuvre of Alice Schalek. War journalism, photography, books and public lectures (1915–1917)'

Mariah Larsson (Linnaeus University): 'Porn travels. Transnational entanglements of pornography in the pre-digital era'

Saniya Lee Ghanoui (University of Illinois): 'Curious circuits. The transnational controversies over sex education and *I am Curious (Yellow)*'

Session IV: Entangled politics (chair: Patrik Lundell, room: 2nd floor)

Nelson Ribeiro (Catholic University of Portugal): 'West/East Entanglements during the Cold War. Shortwave broadcasting as a tool of (counter)propaganda'

Tony Stoller (Bournemouth University): 'Entangled milestones in post-war political history through classical music performances and radio broadcasts'

Ulf Zander (Lund University): 'Great patriotic media. Transnational film, nationalistic politics – the case of *The Brest Fortress/Fortress of War* (2010)'

Helena Lima (University of Porto): 'The binding of Portuguese speaking audiences and the war propaganda effort. The British illustrated press for Portugal and Brazil during WWI'

Anne F. MacLennan (York University): 'Entangled media policy and history. The development of broadcasting policy and practice in Canada framed by international precedents'

15.30–16 Coffee

16–18.00 **Session V: Transmedia** (chair: Alina Laura Tiews, room: 3rd floor)

Katy Vaughan (Bournemouth University): 'Walter Goehr's *Malpopita*. Germany's first radio opera'

John Wyver (University of Westminster): 'Theatre and television tangled together in Britain, 1930–60'

Yuliya Komska (Dartmouth College): 'The visual turn in the transatlantic memory of Radio Free Europe'

Gert Jan Harkema (Stockholm University): 'Of the lamp and the light. *Aladin ou la lampe merveilleuse* (1897–98) between stage and screen'

Jamie Medhurst (University of Aberystwyth): 'The entangled history of pre-war television in Britain'

Session VI: Perspectives on media historical methodologies (chair: Christoph Classen, room: 2nd floor)

Merja Ellefson (Umeå University): 'Minority media and methodological nationalism'

Sigrun Lehnert (Hamburg Media School): 'Tracing entangled media history in archives'

Suzanne Langlois (York University/Glendon College): 'On distant shelves. The sounds and images of the filmstrip *UNRRA goes into action* (1945)'

Sofi Qvarnström (Lund University): 'Rhetorical perspectives in media historical research'

19.00 Dinner buffet

Friday May 19:

9.00–10.00 **Keynote II (Main Auditorium, SOL)** (chair: Christoph Hilgert)

Simo Mikkonen (University of Jyväskylä): 'Battle for headlines and audiences? Entangled media histories and cultural exchange in the Cold War'

10.00–10.30 Coffee (Old Bishop's House)

10.30–12.30 **Session VII: Media Circulation 1** (chair: Kristin Skoog, room: 3rd floor)

Alexander Badenoch (University of Utrecht): 'Translating the top 40. Charting the borders of pop music in 1960s Europe'

Olof Hedling (Lund University): 'The entangled media geographies of the Nordics. Scandinavian production practices through the prism of audio-visual Nordic Noir'

Valérie Robert (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle): 'Audiovisuel public or *Staatsrundfunk*? The Entangled Representations of French Public Broadcasting in the German Press'

Pol Dalmau (European University Institute): 'Cultural transfers across media systems. Circulation of journalistic practices between England, Italy and Spain in the late 19th century'

Gene Allen (Ryerson University): 'The international news system as entangled history. The view from Associated Press, 1918–1950'

Session VIII: Entangled journalisms (chair: Johan Jarlbrink, room: 2nd floor)

Anne-Christin Klotz (Freie Universität): ‘Berlin Warszawa Express. The Polish-Jewish press as transmission belt between the Jewish communities in Berlin and Warsaw during the rise of National Socialism in 1933’

Mike Meissner/Philomen Schönhagen (University of Fribourg): ‘The entanglement of public relations and journalism in the 19th and early 20th century in German-speaking countries’

Nermeen Alazrak (Cairo University): ‘Entangled socio-political and transnational frameworks of Egyptian press legislations. A historical multidimensional study (1828–1960)’

Ulrich Brandenburg (University of Zürich): ‘German conspiracy or Middle Eastern fantasy? The question of origin in a transnational hoax of 1906’

12.30–13.30 Lunch

13.30–15.30 **Session IX: Media Circulation 2** (chair: Jamie Medhurst, room: 3rd floor)

Christoph Classen (Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung, Potsdam): ‘Three times a Sandman. Competition, copying, and exchange between children’s television in East- and West Germany’

Marie Cronqvist (Lund University): ‘From communist hero to beloved capitalist. The cultural transfer of the GDR children’s programme *Unser Sandmännchen* to Sweden in the early 1970s’

Helle Strandgaard Jensen (Aarhus University): ‘Selling *Sesame Street* to Europe. Not as easy as you think!’

Andre Dechert (University of Augsburg): ‘“Invisible” agents of transnational entanglement. Producer representatives and US-American TV series in West Germany, Switzerland and Austria, 1950s–1960s’

Hans-Ulrich Wagner/Philipp Seufferling (University of Hamburg): ‘Documenting forced migration on screen. Entangled histories of refugee documentaries in Germany and Sweden’

Session X: Entangled public spheres (chair: Sune Bechmann Pedersen, room: 2nd floor)

Natalia Konradova (Freie Universität): ‘First contact. Soviet Union goes Usenet’

Ragni Svensson (Lund University): ‘Nordic book café culture in the 1970s’

Heidi Kurvinen (University of Oulu/Stockholm University): ‘Entanglements of radical gender role ideology in Finnish and Swedish media of the 1960s’

Alina Laura Tiews/Christoph Hilgert/Gloria Khamkar (University of Hamburg/Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität/Bournemouth University): ‘Airtime for newcomers. Radio’s contributions for making migrants feel at home in a new homeland’

15.30–16 Coffee

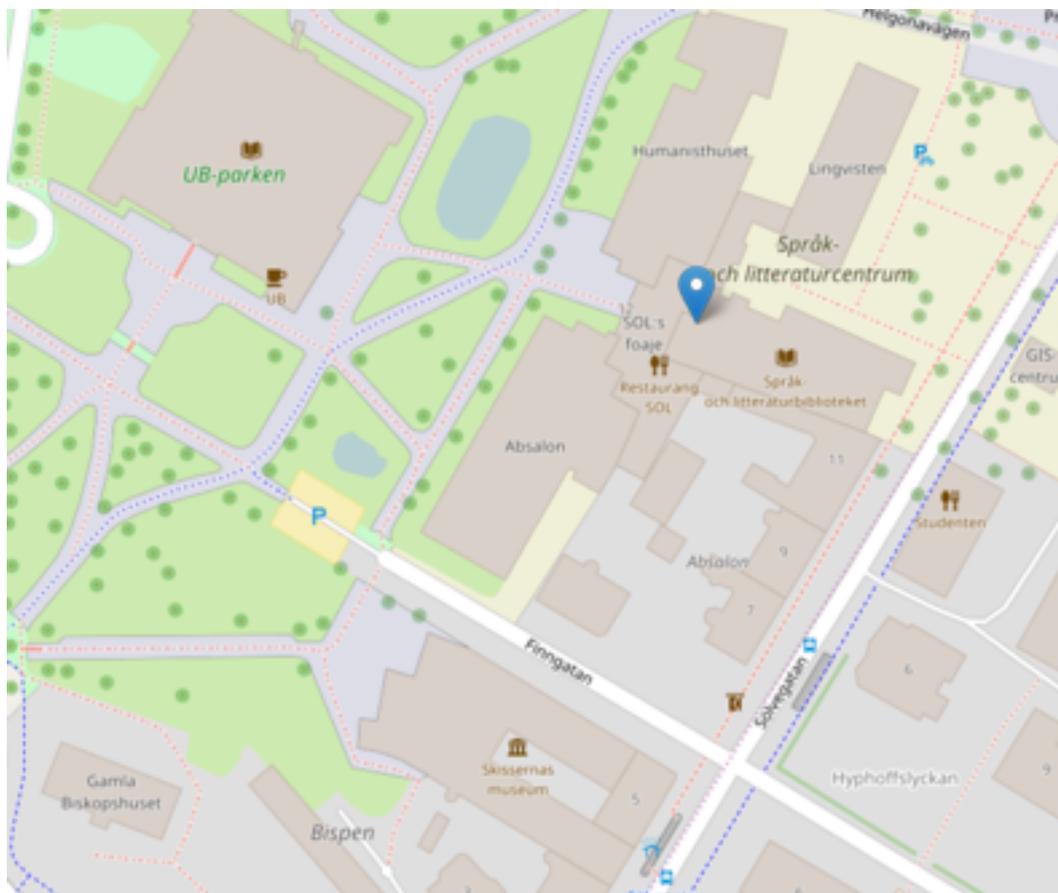
16–17.30 **Concluding remarks** (chair: Hans-Ulrich Wagner)
Michele Hilmes, Jamie Medhurst, Simo Mikkonen

19.30– Dinner banquet

How to get there

Main Auditorium, SOL (Humanisthuset, 1 floor, Hörsalen)

Old Bishop's House (Gamla Biskopshuset, Biskopsgatan 1)



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To all participants – a warm welcome to Lund!

This conference is arranged by the unit for Media History at Lund University in close cooperation with the Centre for Media History at Bournemouth University, UK, and the Hans Bredow Institute for Media Research in Hamburg, Germany. Since 2013, these three sites have been collaborating within the network 'Entangled Media Histories (EMHIS)'. EMHIS, and this conference, is generously funded by the Swedish Foundation for International Cooperation in Research and Higher Education (STINT).

EMHIS homepage: <http://emhis.blogg.lu.se>

Facebook: <http://www.facebook.com/emhisproject/>

Twitter: <http://twitter.com/EMHISproject> (conference hashtag #EMHISLund17)



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Keynote 1

Spies, Commies, and Hairdressers: The Perfidious Entanglements of Media History'

Michele Hilmes, University of Wisconsin-Madison

While national media proclaim themselves proudly, their histories celebrated in full view, the places and spaces where transnational and transmedial communication take place tend to be located on the margins of mainstream histories, and often on institutional and social margins as well. Rudolf Arnheim, early in broadcasting's history, could hail the border-transcending properties of radio, and film was celebrated as the universal language, but as we know each of those tendencies sparked more resistance than embrace. Nations attempted to barricade airspace – even as shortwave propaganda cast its invisible tentacles around the globe. Cinema indeed circulated, but the domination of Hollywood film soon brought countermeasures that insisted on a more national future for film. When television emerged, more national in its scope and address than any previous medium, tremendous efforts were made both to wall it off from radio and to resist the influence of the film industry. Transnational media and the transmedial strategies they often required troubled the boundaries policed by the mainstream, operating sometimes in secrecy and sometimes in obscurity, or sometimes in a glare of negative publicity that worked to blur the traces of their existence in the historical record.

But in shadowed corners of history, often in times of stress and in out-of-the-way locations, certain people and organizations sprang up precisely to transgress those boundaries. This presentation will engage with the difficulties involved in researching transnational and trans-platform media by investigating two highly productive but largely forgotten places in which creative people, themselves often from marginalized or disparaged groups, struggled in the interstitial spaces between institutions and technologies to produce transnational programs during the complicated era of the Cold War: the Broadcasting Foundation of America and the drama/documentary division of United Nations Radio.

The Broadcasting Foundation of America (BFA) originated in 1955 at the height of the Cold War as a United States Information Agency-supported effort to foster international exchange in radio. Its history is marked, first of all, by the dedicated leadership of two women – Chloe Fox and Eleanor McKinney – long overlooked by history, whose affiliation with left-wing causes and dedication to the cause of international exchange in radio broadcasting built the BFA into a below-the-radar but substantial contributor to both transnational and transmedial broadcasting. With a short period of prominence as the International Division of the US's nascent public broadcasting network NET, the BFA was spun off as television moved into central focus, yet it continued into the 1970s as a distributor and producer of international radio programs, linked to the Pacifica network of stations. United Nations Radio was founded in 1949 and that same year hired "radio's poet laureate" Norman Corwin to direct its drama and documentary division. Pulling together many radio writers, producers and performers who had been expelled by the commercial networks under the blacklist, Corwin and his crew went on to develop some of the most significant – and long overlooked – programs in the US documentary tradition, also innovative in their use of developing recording and distribution technologies. Its history is only now beginning to be written, despite its prominent institutional setting, as contemporary researchers take up the archival challenge presented by such perfidious entanglements of politics, history, and media.

Session I: Materialities

11.00–12.30, room: 3rd floor (chair: Alec Badenoch)

Ceremonial gift giving in state visits

Päivi Timonen, University researcher, Consumer Society Research Centre, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Helsinki

The aim of this article is to study the performative aspects of state visits by focusing on ceremonial gift giving at particular events – the ceremonies of Finnish President Urho Kekkonen on his high profile state visits and return visits with all their diplomatic and public significance during his first term of office (1956–1962). The study of political ceremony has grown to include a variety of new directions from multiple disciplines such as politics, historical institutionalism as well as perspectives of political anthropology and performance studies (e.g. Rai & Johnson 2014). As Paulman (2000) has shown, the carefully planned ceremony of state visits represents a significant role in the public performance of modern state practices, and these rituals were extremely political. All ritual has its core in performative acts. Rather than focusing only on talking, Alexander (2004) points out that the success of political communication depends also on a script prepared for walking and performed so that meaning can be transferred to the audience of observers. The model of performance that he developed allows me to frame state visits empirically. I will focus on elements of the performative act, which are time, space, actors, audience and gifts, as material that allows interrelated ceremonies. I am interested in materiality, and I pay attention to the role of gifts in illuminating the development of objects in political communication.

New technical equipment, such as newsreels and recorded and broadcasted visits, enabled the spread of images. Newsreels provided a new avenue for a visual form of political communication that was qualitatively different from pictures in newspapers and closer in nature to communication in public spheres. In Finland, newsreels had a large audience for political communication as it was mandatory to show them in movie theatres before the main film (Lammi and Timonen 2013). The benefit of newsreels was that they offered a strong institutional avenue to official politics and gave fairly open access for political authority to the media. State visits were spectacles of official politics where all practices are predictable, highly structured and easy to control.

During his first term in office, Kekkonen was obliged to strengthen his weak position both in Finland and abroad. His state visits were a part of his foreign policy, and at the end of his first term, the visits to neighbour states and overseas were core activities of diplomacy. In the newsreels of the period, this led to a constant stream of news about official visits to both the Soviet Union and Western countries.

I begin with features of giving and receiving and ask how gifts impinged upon state visits. In clip after clip, people saw the visual image of a virile and elegant president in airports, railway stations or banquet rooms with other state leaders. These ceremonies personalized the president and gave these events a tone of constant glamour. Political communication through newsreels attempted to inform people of issues in foreign policy and to increase trust in coping during the Cold War by including visual images of the president as trustworthy and able. Moreover, the president demonstrated messages both to the East and the West in the newsreels.

The Finnish case shows that the activities of the president formed a never-ending exercise of welcoming events and ceremonial take-offs with honorary companies, handshaking and gifts. Here, I deal with three issues that are important for the subject of the analysis undertaken in this article that allow the gift giving in state visits to be viewed as a part of the political performative culture in the Cold War Europe. The first involves mass media in the process of consensus building; the second involves the role of the qualities and personal charisma of leaders in times of political and economic turbulence in post-war Europe; and the third issue involves the role of urbanism and technology that worked not simply as passive scenery, but played a more dynamic role in the daily mediation of political and cultural performances.

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Paper flows: Wood pulp and politics around 1910

Johan Jarlbrink, University of Umeå, Sweden

Newspapers have most often been analysed as texts and images. Much research is focused on dominant papers in Great Britain, France, Germany and the US, as these countries are central to international news networks. But newspapers are not only made out of news – just as digital media are much more than “data”. If newspapers are understood also as paper products, the analysis of news flows must be supplemented by examinations of paper flows. When wood pulp took over as the main ingredient in newsprint heavily forested countries like Canada, Finland and Sweden became key producers on the international market. “Scandinavian pulp enjoys quite a monopoly in the British market”, a trade journal reported in 1898. In this paper I will trace a part of the paper flow originating in northern Sweden, and the entangled nature of such a flow. The Swedish export of paper to the Ottoman Empire in the early 20th century, and the politics and chemicals involved, will be used as an illustrative case. A liberalised press legislation following the Young Turk Revolution created a demand for newspapers in the Ottoman Empire – but there was not enough paper material available for printing. Swedish exporters of paper followed closely what took place in Constantinople, and managed to defeat the competitors. The number of journals and newspapers in Constantinople is said to have increased thirtyfold after the revolution in 1908 – and most of them were printed on Swedish paper. There was a downside to this success, however. Around the paper mills in northern Sweden people started to complain about air and water pollution. The analysis will focus on the key actors involved and how the paper product established a connection between the production site in one part of the world and the context of news consumption in another: How a liberalised press in one country could cause polluted rivers five thousand kilometres away.

Between presence and representation – An exploration of Mayday in early Swedish cinema

Martin Karlsson, PhD-student, Media and Communication Studies, Department of Media Studies, Stockholm University, Sweden.

Uricchio (2005) has suggested that the genealogy of film apart from storage media such as the phonograph, also has been entangled with precedent transmission media such as the telegraph and the telephone. According to Uricchio, this proposition urge us to rethink what Husserl understood as the defining crisis of modernity, and the blame he attributed to *technicization* (*Technisierung*) for breaking down object-subject relations. More specifically, Uricchio argues that an alternative reading of cinema history would suggest that the emergence of cinema did not follow a linear route to *representation* and “canned drama”. But was also coupled with (failed) anticipations of overcoming the subject/object divide through remediation of televisual-like *presence*. The concepts of technicization, presence and representation also actualize questions about media, democracy and social change (cf. Cumiskey and Hjorth, 2013; Pecora, 2013; Scarry, 1999). According to some of Husserl’s predecessors, for instance, cinema and technicization did not contribute to political emancipation (cf. Adorno and Horkheimer, 1979). Yet, in light of Uricchio’s suggested reading, it also feels tempting to rethink the democratic pessimism that permeates such understandings of technicization and media history, especially since the emergence of cinema coincided with so many other social, cultural and political changes. In this paper, I will use Uricchio’s propositions as a point of departure for an exploration of the practices employed in the production of actualities by the Swedish company *Svenska Biografteatern* (Swedish Biograph), between 1908 and 1914. The aim is to analyze the *mis-en-scène* and montage of the shots in eight actualities that are depicting Mayday demonstrations by the Swedish labor movement. The intention here is to discern and define traces from these entangled materialities in the actualities, and explain how it is possible to (re)read the role of cinema and technicization in the process of social change at the turn of the last century. One of the conclusions from this exploration is that the role of technicization perhaps should be read through the critical lens of Husserl and later critical theorists, seeing how the Mayday actualities clearly could be interpreted as “canning” the labor movement in a limited set of perpetuated shots, which contain their public appearance. A practice that would inscribe cinema in a history about media, democracy and social change where social movements seldom have been represented as something other than homogenous masses (cf. Jonsson, 2013; Memou, 2013). Another conclusion, however, is that such a reading could risk to overshadow the subtle, yet arguably visible, traces of a media history that was not determined by soulless instrumentalization alone, and that can be found in shots that are characterized more by a sense of live-like presence, ambiguity and interaction between camera and demonstrators. Although televisuality never actually materialized in early cinema, Uricchio argues that it survived as a fantasy and resource for future attempts at combining vision with real-time transmission. The question is if it would not be possible to think of the Mayday actualities in a similar way? That is, at least partially, as sketchbooks for ideas and fantasies about technological and political possibilities that did not pan out, but nonetheless survived and became entangled with future utopian dreams and attempted realizations of media, democracy and social change (cf. Butler, 2012).

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Mediated simultaneities and the 1914 Oslo centenary jubilee exhibition as a historical media event

Espen Ytreberg, University of Oslo

The exhibition tradition of the 19th and early 20th century is particularly associated with globalising giant events like the Crystal Palace Great Exhibition in 1851, and the 1893 Chicago World's Fair. However this tradition also included a great number of regional and national exhibitions. In effect, exhibitions constituted perhaps the period's most widespread and important form of historical media event (Bösch, 2010; Ytreberg, 2017). Running coverage in the periodical media was extensive. As examples of the latest and most advanced technology, the media were themselves on display. The entertainment sections of the exhibitions, which grew steadily in importance over time, in themselves constitute a key chapter in the early history of the entertainment industries. And importantly, these were events of crowd gathering and crowd communication on an unprecedented scale.

The media and crowd communication aspects of the exhibitions have been much discussed by historians of culture, ideas and the media (seminally, Benjamin, 1992; Simmel, 1991; see also e.g., Ekström, Jülich, & Snickars, 2006; Geppert, 2013; Gunning, 1994). This paper discusses the ways that one of the early 20th century exhibitions was facilitated via mediated and interpersonal forms and experiences of simultaneity (Kern, 1983). It starts from a view of the exhibitions as facilitated by an ensemble of interconnected media, and uses the concept of simultaneity to explore how these media worked together with crowds. The argument is that a sense of simultaneity was built via a coordination of media affordances and coordinations of crowd movement, to produce a sense of shared eventfulness.

This argument is developed via a discussion of the case of the 1914 Oslo Centenary Jubilee Exhibition. This was a national exhibition on a much smaller scale than its London, Chicago and Paris counterparts. Generalisability remains undetermined in this paper, then. However, the Oslo exhibition worked within a template for exhibitions and their mediation that was by this time well

established; hence the aim is to suggest some patterns that are unlikely to be unique to the Oslo case. The discussion is based on a detailed empirical case study, reported more extensively in Ytreberg (2014).

The paper will concentrate on one key event within the event: the exhibition's opening ceremony. This involved an extensively planned media coverage by periodical and audio/visual media. Also, it involved two crowds that were synchronized around the opening ceremonies, in the sense of being temporally aligned and ordered (Jordheim, 2014). One was the gathering crowd of ordinary visitors that filled the streets by the entrance to the exhibition on the opening day, May 15, 1914; the other was the elite crowd invited to the opening ceremony. A sense of simultaneous co-presence was created between these two, as well as with the national readership of periodical media reporting on the opening before and after it happened.

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Session II: Entangled identities

11.00–12.30, room: 2nd floor (chair: Ulrika Holgersson)

“Modern girl around the world”: Transnational media representation and transcultural conflicts in the interwar Hungary

Balázs Sipos, Eötvös Lorand University

Transnational history has many various approaches and methodological programmes. It could be either a “label” (only a dimension of examination among other much more important dimensions) or the main feature of monographs and articles (Tyrell 2009, 453-474). One of the topics of transnational (or entangled) history is the so called Americanization.

To some extent Americanization was a media phenomenon which formed the gender relations in national contexts. The American popular media outlets and the advertisement of the American merchandises effectively conveyed the idea and the type of the “modern girl” whose had its own different national variations (modern girl, flapper, *garçonne*, moga, schoolgirl, vamp, *neue Frauen*) due to the different cultural traditions and the different ways of modernization (Weinbaum et al 2008).

The postwar situation made the presence of the “modern girl” and its types (like “flapper” or “*garçonne*”) in Hungary stronger (Szerb 1992 [1934], 475). The foreign feature films presenting these new and easy-to-access genres had great impacts and the so called *garçonne* films by studio Svenska and the American flapper-films were especially popular.

The massive presence of “modern girl” caused “transcultural conflicts” (Beck 2000, 10-12) in Hungary. The reason for it was a political one. The rightwing and nationalistic authoritarian political regime in Hungary after WW1 propagated the traditional gender relations and the self-sacrifice of the “Hungarian lady”. The mainstream media of the political regime promoted the figure of the plump woman who was expected to give births several times so that her sons would fight for Hungary (Balásházy 1933, 94-96). In the meantime the “mediated” boyish looking and thin women (the female characters of novels and feature films from abroad) had erotic problems, love affairs and their aim was to be emancipated (Sipos 2011, 77-82).

The Hungarian popular media tried to adapt the foreign media outlets: the Hungarian translations of the novels were published, the foreign plays were staged. These books, plays and feature films from abroad were promoted by dailies and weeklies and were interpreted by Hungarian journalists, writers in order to put these productions into the Hungarian cultural context. Meanwhile the right wing and conservative national journals wanted the censorship to ban these productions (DiCenzo et al 2017).

The interwar gender situation in Hungary can be described as a period of cultural and political conflicts in which the foreign popular media showed an alternative (westernized) way of life and connected it with liberty. These transcultural encounters and conflicts can be studied through the American flapper-films (American Ms *Lerbier* 1925, 61) and other examples such as the American musical titled “The Student Prince” and the French novel, feature film “*La Garçonne*”. These

examples can be analyzed using the terms of “in-group” or “We-group” and “out-group” or “Others group” (Bernasconi 2000, 179-180).

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Entangled Youth Mass Media in 1960s and 70s Western Europe

Aline Maldener, Saarland University

Youth as trouble. This is what the majority of research on „youth culture“ has been focused on yet. Non-compliant up to deviant juvenile (sub-)cultures, their ways of community building and agitation, their lifestyles and consumption habits have already been widely discussed in historiography.¹

This paper however, addressing results from my ongoing PhD-project, tries to shift the focus on a transnational kind of „popular youth culture“ of the 1960s and 70s understood as “juvenile mainstream” and “taste of majority”, as a kind of popularised, highly commercialised, politically “eased” and inter-generationally consensual youth culture that is not just represented and dispersed but also actively created by youth mass media like high selling printed magazines, widely viewed pop music television shows and pop music films in cinema that were huge box office hits.

¹ Detlef Siegfried, *Time is on my side. Konsum und Politik in der westdeutschen Jugendkultur der 1960er Jahre*, Göttingen 2006; Detlef Siegfried und Axel Schildt, *Between Marx and Coca-Cola: youth cultures in changing European societies, 1960-1980*, New York 2007; Jon Garland et al, Introduction. Youth Culture, Popular Music and the End of ‚Consensus‘ in Post-War Britain, in: *Contemporary British History*, 26/3, 2012, S. 265–271, here S. 267; Anne-Marie Sohn, *Âge tendre et tête de bois. Histoire des jeunes des années 1960*, Paris 2001.

These youth mass media – that is the hypotheses – are highly amalgamated and create an entangled “youth mass media ensemble” embracing mainly Western but in some way also Eastern European states. This “entangledness” is constituted in two ways:

- 1) As intermediality: Youth mass media of different genres, which means printed magazines, films, radio and television broadcasts, are connected in terms of their contents, actors and audiences, either intranationally or transnationally.
- 2) As transculturality: Youth mass media, regardless of their genres, overcome national framings, again concerning their contents, actors or audiences. Thereby they function as “popular cultural agents of Europeanisation” that create a common space of youth mass media by cultural transfer.

Ad 1.) Entangledness as intermediality

The reception of youth mass media during the 1960s and 70s was multiple: Youngsters used the whole range of magazines, radio and television broadcasts as well as cinema movies. Therefore, youth mass media institutions often cooperated in many ways to strengthen their shared user community. The most prevalent form of intermediality was the connection between youth magazines and certain broadcasting stations.

Ad 2.) Entangledness as transculturality

This kind of youth mass media entangledness is multifaceted and more complex. Therefore, it is discussed on the basis of four aspects.

a) Programmes exchange in music television shows

Pop music shows in television as high outcome but low budget productions worked together either directly with the management or indirectly with record companies that contracted singers and groups they wanted to engage for their shows. So mostly they recorded or enabled live performances in their studios themselves, but sometimes they drew on establishing shots from broadcasting colleagues from abroad, especially for stars whose fees they could not afford or that were not available for a gig. During the 1960s, this programme exchange was quite a “one way street” from Britain or the US to Continental Europe. In the 1970s, however, this transfer became more and more mutual.

b) Co-productions in music television shows

Mostly as “special events”, but sometimes as long-lived formats in series, European broadcasting stations produced pop music television shows or radio programmes as a joint venture. Generally, these youth media formats were quite similar in terms of conception and structure in all Western European countries so that their producers shared a certain expertise on techniques, aesthetics and style and therefore cross-fertilized by co-producing.

c) Expansion and production especially for foreign markets

To expand their business and to fill a gap in the offer, publishing companies sometimes tried to place their youth magazines on foreign markets – in a culturally adapted version. Whereas magazines for younger girls e.g. were quite popular in the British youth paper press since the 1950s, they succeeded in Germany not until the late 1970s.

d) Transnational contact exchange

A crucial instrument for the transfer of popular culture by youth mass media were pen pal and contact exchange platforms. By answering advertising in youth magazines or writing letters to radio stations, young media users had the opportunity to get in touch with adolescence from abroad.

Youth mass media thereby created a transnational communication community – sometimes even between young ones from Western Europe and the “Eastern bloc”.

“We are a traveling people”: Travel journalism and the entanglements of a modern national identity

Emilia Ljungberg, Karlstad University, Sweden

Modernity has long been a part of a Swedish national identity and travelling has been central to this construction (Schough 2008). Tourism research has analyzed how modern nations are marketed to attract tourists from abroad and how domestic tourism has been used in the construction of national identities. Less attention has been given to the construction of outbound tourism as a central aspect of how a nation becomes modern. The paper studies Swedish travel journalism in the 1930s when older forms of masculine colonial travel shared space with modern tourism trips. I discuss how tourism was imagined as fostering a modern identity for the Swedes in the light of how Sweden was perceived by foreign journalists, travelers and commentators, for example described by Eriksson in her article about the centrality of modernity to how Sweden was perceived in the interwar years (2010).

The interwar period has been seen as a decisive point of change, not least in Paul Fussell’s analysis of British travel narratives in which he claims that the interwar years were the final age of travel after which only tourism is possible (Baranowski and Furlough 2001). In the 1930s Sweden was perceived as rich and prosperous. The transformation from an agrarian to an industrialized society was further established (Grinnell 2004). It is also around the 1930s that a Swedish national identity is connected to ideas of modernity. Sweden was increasingly seen as being the most modern and rational nation. The desire to be modern became central to the state ideology of the nation and a Social democratic welfare state.

In *Dagens Nyheter* in the 1930s tourism was discussed as a matter concerning the modern nation, rather than being something that concerned the individual. To travel was practically a duty and something that would make the Swedes healthy, modern and worldly. It would also foster proper national sentiments. A Swedish national identity was imagined to be unique by having a specific position of distance and rationality in relation to the foreign. I emphasize how modernity was created by contrasting a Swedish national identity to other countries, as an expression of Swedish exceptionalism (Schough 2008).

In the paper the focus is on how a Swedish national identity is constructed in relation to modernity, by both Swedes and foreign travelers to Sweden. According to Eriksson travelers to Sweden regarded the country as “a paragon of modernity”, not by emphasizing progressive politics but cleanliness and racial whiteness (2010). My paper highlights the similarities and conflicts in how Sweden was imagined as modern from both foreign and Swedish perspectives. This comparison also serves to highlight the many different meanings of modernity, as well as the many conflicting strands that make up a national identity. The paper seeks to answer questions of how a modern identity was defined through tourism mobility, for example in anxieties around class distinction and correct ways of traveling.

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Lithuanian-American radio and TV: connection, identity and heritage

Ina Ėmužienė, Vytautas Magnus University

During the Second World War, Germans and Soviet forces occupied Baltic States. Millions of refugees spread over Europe; millions had to endure imprisonment as forced labourers during occupation. In 1945, the majority of them dwelled in Displaced Persons (DP) camps in Germany, among them also many Lithuanians. Many moved on to the United States, where one of the biggest Lithuanian communities in the world was soon established. While Lithuania were under soviet occupation, Lithuanian-American community was aiming at the use of all technological achievements in order to develop social community life, to maintain and form Lithuanian identity on the American soil. Radio and TV media was used often.

Radio and television programs of ethnic minorities, especially the programs of Eastern Europeans who scattered across the globe after the Second World War have been yet little analysed. Case of inner communication of Lithuanian radio and TV in US was forgotten too. The purpose of this presentation is to represent and to analyse the case of Lithuanian minority radio and TV communication and its connections with occupied homeland, "foreign country" – US and Lithuanian American community. Focusing research on media influence for community and identity.

The paper is divided into three parts: first the research field, how Lithuanian diaspora radio and TV broadcasting looked like. Brief information about sources used in the research. The main part is concentrated on radio and TV influences and connections with occupied Lithuania, US and American Lithuanian community.

From 1939 to 1990 more than 50 Lithuanian radio and 2 TV series operated in the United States. Radio and TV communication was based on the separate, short radio and TV series. Varying from 15 min. a week to 1 or 2 h. every day. I would mark out five different types: *pop-radio* series, mostly oriented to Lithuanian music and some announcements; *religious radio* series, with homily of the pastor and Lithuanian origin church information; *Pro-communist radio* series, the one case of Detroit Radio club; *Social radio as "empires"*, the ones made daily broadcasting and gathered community of Lithuanians around they work; *and the TV series*, as main tool to visual, cultural heritage.

This study is based on variety of sources: written sources such as periodic, letters, printed flyers, radio text's, radio journals, manuscripts and notes; visual, mostly pictures and audio-visual material; sound, taped radio show, interviews; oral history sources and memoirs; eves some artefacts.

Specifically, in this paper, I will put a closer look at the case of Detroit Lithuanian Radio club, as the only case of Lithuanian pro-communist radio show and the opposing American Lithuanian Voice radio show and its effort to shut down pro-communist radio show. I am briefly discussing and Social radios as “empires” concept to clear up the role of radio in process of Lithuanian identity formation.

I am arguing that these medias in diaspora life played a crucial role in three levels: Connection, within and outside the Lithuanian American community. Role for the identity of Lithuanian minority and its creation. These identity is closely connected to preservation of Lithuanian cultural heritage too. And last, it plays role in the fight for Lithuanian independents and the representation of Lithuania as independent country in US. Through the pro-communist radio, we can see connection with occupied Lithuania and the US government. Effort to resist against the pro-communist movements in US and create anti-Soviet atmosphere in the Lithuanian American community is visible here too.

Session III: Transnational agency

13.30–15.30, room: 3rd floor (chair: Laura Saarenmaa)

An Entangled Agent: Gösta Werner and the Production of German Film Propaganda in Sweden during World War II

Emil Stjernholm, PhD Student in Film Studies at the Centre for Languages and Literature, Lund University, Sweden.

This paper studies the Swedish filmmaker Gösta Werner's collaboration with the Nazi controlled German film company Universum Film AG (Ufa) during World War II. By mapping the production and circulation of the German newsreel *Ufa-journalen* (1941-1945) and the experimental film *The Sacrifice* (*Midvinterblot*, 1945), this paper investigates what Werner's role was in the transnational production of German propaganda and how these transnational film practices affected the authorial discourse surrounding him during and after the war.

In the past decade, scholars have paid increasing interest to the expansive German film policy throughout Europe during the war. As film historians Roel Vande Winkel and David Welch argue (2011), much of this research has focused on film politics in Nazi Germany and the countries that it occupied, leading to a neglect of the country's film policy in territories outside the Third Reich, like Italy, Spain and Sweden: "...this process, driven by propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels, not only represented an economic takeover, but also had important cultural and political implications. What has been lacking, however, is concrete information on the success and failure of the Third Reich film industry to influence, infiltrate or take over the film sector of such countries." While several scholars have mapped the connection between the German and Swedish film industries in the past (Olsson 1979; Jönsson 2011), less emphasis has been placed on individual agents and the entangled positions that they occupied.

The theorist, filmmaker and historian Gösta Werner (1908-2009) was an omnipresent figure in Swedish film culture yet his connections to Nazi Germany have not been explored in-depth. In the 1930s, Werner role as one of the founding members of the Lund Film Society made him a well-known figure in Swedish film culture. As head of this film society, Werner developed connections with the German film industry, screening Nazi propaganda films at home and arranging two popular study tours to Berlin in 1935 and 1938. As a journalist, writing in influential Swedish trade journals like *Biografbladet* and *Biografägaren* and in Swedish Nazi-friendly publications like *Sverige-Tyskland*, he additionally expressed admiration for "the new Germany." During World War II, Werner moved into film production under the auspices of the leading German major Ufa and started working with their Swedish newsreel *Ufa-journalen*, combining the shooting of original footage in Sweden with the editing of images from the war. By tracing Werner's connections with the German legation in Stockholm and the Propaganda Ministry (Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda) in Berlin, it becomes clear that he continued to work with the newsreel until the late stages of the war and that he had a privileged position in the production of film propaganda intended for a Swedish audience. In 1945, his experimental short film *The Sacrifice*, which depicted gruesome old Norse pagan rituals of sacrifice using rapid montage sequences and extreme close-ups, evoked a debate on the representation of violence in the aftermath of World War II. While some critics accused Werner of being influenced by "Blut und Boden" and other elements of Nazi

ideology, highlighting his connections to Nazi Germany during the war, others praised the film for its formal innovations and it was named the Swedish short film of the year.

In the postwar years, Werner became established as one of Sweden's most famous short film directors, something which raises questions not only concerning how other media practitioners handled this chapter of his life, but also how he himself treated the war years in the construction of his own biographical legend.

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Nesta Pain at the BBC. The entangled producer

Kate Terkanian/Hugh Chignell (Bournemouth University)

The Features Department of the British Broadcasting Corporation flourished under the leadership of Laurence Gilliam through the 1940s and the 1950s, gradually falling out of fashion in the 1960s. Upon the death of Gilliam in 1964, the producers and writers were dispersed into other departments, dividing the creative, and often surreal, factual dramatization style that had developed. Nesta Pain was one of these writer/producers. Although less well known today, Pain was as well regarded as one of the leading lights of the Features Department, and was one of the writers selected for Gilliam's 1952 volume *B.B.C. Features*. Through the breakdown of her marriage and the advent of the Second World War, Pain began a long career in radio. Working for the BBC from 1942 until 1971. Pain's career in radio allowed her to creatively glide between many different mediums. Publishing articles and books based on the personalities and subjects that she had researched for her radio features, she wrote on wide ranging subjects that included the work of Louis Pasteur, the insect world and a history of Henry of Anjou. As a producer, she first adapted non-fiction books for the radio audience, and then recruited up-and-coming novelists to write for the radio, including William Golding, Simon Raven and Christine Brooke-Rose. With one of these authors, John Mortimer, she won the Italia Prize in 1957 for a portrait on the symbiotic relationship between lawyers and criminals, *The Dock Brief*. Her adaptation of Alan Sillitoe's *The Loneliness of the Long-Distance Runner* reached international audiences through productions on NDR Hamburg, Swedish Radio and Danish Radio. She was also able to re-imagine several of her radio productions for a television audience, including *The Dock Brief* and her work on Louis Pasteur.

In exploring Pain's career both inside and outside the BBC, this paper will use the framework of entanglement, particularly the emphasis on 'the convergence and divergence of media forms' (Cronqvist and Hilgert, 2017). As Michele Hilmes suggests, entanglement can be expressed through the individual that moves between media and genres, acting as a 'cultural translator' (Hilmes, 2017). Pain can be seen as acting in this capacity of cultural translator. Her

career highlights the entangled nature of the producer – an individual that successfully works across mediums and genres, adapting methods of presentation and expression to suit the media. Initially working as a playwright, Pain transferred this more visual medium into a purely auditory form. In the process of recreating her radio programmes for television, Pain again had to reimagine her scripts and productions into a visual format. In her post-war turn towards adaptation, Pain also experimented with using musical motifs to convey personality and emotion. She continued to explore history, science and psychology from a layman's point of view, and increasingly used adaptations of contemporary fiction to express individual's alienation in the nuclear age.

Trans-medial entanglements in the wartime oeuvre of Alice Schalek: War journalism, photography, books and public lectures (1915-1917)

Stephanie Seul

Alice Schalek (1874-1956) was a well-known travel writer and photojournalist in her time. Born in Vienna into a bourgeois Jewish family, she published for more than 30 years in the renowned Viennese liberal paper *Neue Freie Presse*. During World War I, Schalek was accredited to the Austro-Hungarian War Press Office as one of a handful of female war correspondents, reporting from the Tyrol and the Isonzo, from Serbia and Galicia. From 1915 to 1917 she undertook several dangerous journeys to the frontlines where she interviewed soldiers and officers and took photographs. Schalek not only broke with the social conventions of her times and opened up hitherto male-dominated professions to women (travel writing, lecturing, photography, war reporting). Moreover, she communicated through an amazing range of media and addressed a vast and heterogeneous audience in Austria as well as in Germany. Thus, she published feature articles in the *Neue Freie Presse*, photographs and photo stories in the illustrated mass-circulation weekly *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung*, and two books illustrated with her photographs. In addition, Schalek gave public lectures illustrated with projections of her photographs from the front, drawing an enthusiastic total audience of 40,000 in Austria and Germany. As the frequent references in the contemporary press indicate, during World War I Schalek was a public figure, known throughout Austria as 'The Schalek' and attracting vast crowds to sell-out lectures.

My paper will focus on the transmedial entanglements in the wartime oeuvre of Alice Schalek – an aspect hitherto neglected in the historiography. Yet her work as a war correspondent during 1915-17 is particularly well-suited for an analysis from the entangled media histories perspective: For Schalek, writing and photography were not separate activities but complemented each other. Often she photographed things she was writing about, and she described and turned into texts her photographs. Indeed, some of her photographs – which often leave the impression of being sober and staged – only gain their war-glorifying character through her writings. Moreover, the emergence of the popular public figure "The Schalek" can only be understood if all her wartime activities are taken into account.

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Porn Travels: Transnational Entanglements of Pornography in the Pre-Digital Era

Mariah Larsson, Linnaeus University

Today, pornography seems easy to consume across national boundaries, and pornography produced in, for instance, the US, Hungary, or Sweden can be found by searches on the internet in any country that does not block or filter X-rated material. However, what might seem like a very modern phenomenon is actually as old as moving image pornography itself. Not, of course, the ease with which to find and consume it, but sexually graphic images are and have been itinerant in a way that almost appears inherent to the genre.

Transnationality has become an enigmatic buzz word within film studies, often-times carrying with it something of an intrinsic value in and of itself – as a resistance to the global dominance of Hollywood, as bringing people together across borders both in collaborations in film production and in sharing the experience of watching a film (Ezra & Rowden 2006; Hjort 2010). Nonetheless, transnational in general holds both a promise (of unity and communication across borders) and a threat (that such a communication shall involve criminal activities such as trafficking in drugs, human beings, or child pornography). The transnationality of pornography perhaps, at best, falls into the category of transnationalism that Mette Hjort calls "opportunistic", that is "responding to available economic opportunities at a given moment in time" (Hjort 2010: 19-20). However, simply dismissing the transnationality of pornography as opportunistic (which it certainly was, too), does not account for the creativity that was employed in order to make it so or the attraction the material held for consumers.

One strategy that was employed was to compose an international cast, but to market the film as a typical national product, thus transcending "the national as an autonomous cultural particularity while respecting it as a powerful symbolic force" (Hedling & Larsson 2009). Many films with only a scant connection (or none) to Scandinavia was thus marketed as Swedish or Danish or used the national signifiers in their titles (like the American *Sexual Freedom in Denmark*, 1970, or Italian-American *Sweden – Heaven and Hell*, 1968) (cf. Schaefer 2014).

Producers and directors, like Lasse Braun or American Joe Sarno, sometimes travelled to different countries to make their films. The pseudonym of Lasse Braun is even transnational in its construction: Algerian-born Italian Alberto Ferro took a name with connections to both Sweden and Germany. Stars travelled, too, and were marketed with an emphasis on their national origin. However, films were often edited to fit different markets and many of them exist in several different versions. Pornographic 8mm films were sold both openly, through mail order catalogues, and clandestinely, through private or organized smuggling. In addition, companies like Swedish Erotica (actually an American label) and Color Climax Corporation (Danish) exchanged footage with one another, further entangling the national pornographic film industries (Larsson 2017).

Tracing the movements of 8mm pornography in particular, this paper discusses how on the one hand, nationality played an ambiguous yet important role in pornography's ability to travel, on the other hand, how producers consciously worked to promote their films abroad, and how, consequently, the media history of pornographic moving images cannot be fully understood without taking these implications into account.

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Curious Circuits: The Transnational Controversies over Sex Education and *I Am Curious (Yellow)*

Saniya Lee Ghanoui

In the editor's note from the Summer 1969 issue of *Film Quarterly*, the author asks if "foreplay flicks," movies that are meant to entice couples into having sex after watching the films, are coming to an end. Citing films such as the recently released *I Am Curious (Yellow)* (*Jag är nyfiken—en film i gult*), the editor argues these infamous films are anything but titillating and that *I Am Curious (Yellow)* "ought to be run as a required sex-education film in high schools, thus turning off millions of hot-blooded teen-agers."² The film's distributor, Grove Press, released a book alongside the film, and the book contained the film's script, over 250 stills from the film, and pertinent testimony about the film from its journey through the U.S. District Courts.

² Editor's Notebook, "End of the Foreplay Flick?" *Film Quarterly*, vol. XXII, no 4 (1969), p.2.

In this paper I examine *I Am Curious (Yellow)*, its place as both a drama film and, what I contend, a sex education film; its entanglement in multimedia platforms as a film and a book; and its movement from Sweden to the United States. I take a transnational approach to this study by excavating how the U.S. and Sweden influenced each other in the representation of *I Am Curious (Yellow)* and the manner in which the film/book circulated between the two countries. By doing so I seek to uncover the larger question of how sex education succeeded when used in cross-medial formats and the way such sex education moved among countries.

Censorship lies at the heart of the movement of *I Am Curious (Yellow)* in the U.S. as the film went through numerous state and federal court cases. Customs officials seized the film when it first entered the United States, calling it obscene, and the court cases that followed leave a trail as to the disparate thoughts on the film and the numerous ways that the government attempted to censor it. Specifically, the Court focused on “prurient interests” and if the film appealed to only those interests. Writing for the Court, a well-known federal judge, Paul R. Hays, acknowledged that “sexual conduct is undeniably an important aspect of the picture and may be thought of as constituting one of its principal themes,” however the central subject of the film “is certainly not sex.”³ Even though Hays did not explicitly say what the dominant theme of the film was, by recognizing the place of sex in the film as important but not the main focus, he turned the film away from obscene, pornographic, or even sexploitation to one that reified its pseudo-documentary status, and thus its ability to move within the country.

Despite initial problems with distribution, the film earned a large amount of money in both the U.S. and Sweden. Each country received the film quite differently, as Sweden reviewed the film but determined that it should be shown uncut for “audiences 15 years of age and above.”⁴ The distributor in the U.S. argued that the book and film added value to the social understanding of society, and I excavate such a notion, as related to education, in the complete paper.

³ United States v. “*I Am Curious—Yellow*,” 404 F. 2d 196 (1968) (Circuit Judge Hays).

⁴ Ulf Jonas Björk, “Tricky Film: The Critical and Legal Reception of *I Am Curious (Yellow)* in America,” *American Studies in Scandinavia* 44 no. 2 (2012): 113-134, p. 119.

Session IV: Entangled politics

13.30–15.30, room: 2nd floor (chair: Patrik Lundell)

West/East Entanglements during the Cold War: Shortwave broadcasting as a tool of (counter)propaganda

Nelson Ribeiro, Catholic University of Portugal

After the Allied victory in World War II, many believed that the Portuguese authoritarian regime led by Salazar, and known as the Estado Novo (New State), would soon come to an end. Nevertheless, the Portuguese government managed to negotiate its continued hold on power namely through concessions to the Allies in the final stages of the war and in the post-1945 period (Rosas, 1994). The granting of the Azores military base to the USA opened the way for Portugal to become a founding member of NATO in 1948, meaning that those who opposed the dictatorship could not count on international support for the overthrow of the regime. International stations widely listened to in the country, namely the BBC, avoided confrontation with Salazar whose regime kept on good relations with western countries. This scenario led to opposition movements creating their own shortwave broadcasters in the 1960s, intended to broadcast information that otherwise would not reach the Portuguese public (Ribeiro, 2013), including reports from the colonial war that started in Angola in 1961 and spread to Guinea Bissau and Mozambique in the following years.

The aim of the paper is to discuss the role of the two stations created abroad by the Portuguese opposition – Radio Free Portugal and Radio Voice of Liberty – that operated from Bucharest and Algeria. As will be demonstrated, both played a significant role in the creation of a sense of collectiveness among those who opposed the Estado Novo. However, the content of the broadcasts soon became interesting not only for those who were actively engaged in anti-Estado Novo activities. At a time during which thousands of Portuguese young men were being recruited to fight in the colonial war, families back home were particularly eager to access news about the military operations taking place in Africa. However, due to the censorship that was imposed on national media, these tended to portray the war as a fight against small terrorist groups, and no details were given regarding the conditions faced by the Portuguese military in the war scenario (Alves, 2016; Cádima, 1996). The claims of pro-independence movements were also totally ignored on national media but eventually reached the Portuguese public opinion through Radio Free Portugal and also Radio Voice of Liberty that also aired interviews with Portuguese soldiers imprisoned by the African movements involved in the war against the colonial state.

The two stations operated by the Portuguese opposition clearly echoed the Cold War by describing Portugal as a country tied to American imperialism, and Radio Free Portugal worked in close cooperation with Radio Moscow promoting communism as an ideal regime. In actual fact, Portugal became at the centre of pro and anti-communist propaganda. While Radio Free Portugal and Radio Moscow disseminated the communist ideology in the country, Radio Free Europe had one of its major retransmission stations installed in the south of Portugal that was used to broadcast anti-communist messages to eight different countries behind the Iron curtain. In the early 1960s the retransmission station, known as Raret, consisted of eight different transmitters that were used to deliver in the East programmes that were mostly produced in Munich by dissidents from the East.

The paper is based on documental research conducted in collections available at the Mário Soares Foundation and Salazar Archive in Lisbon and also at the Hoover Institution in Stanford. Radio transcripts produced by the Portuguese state police will also be analysed.

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Entangled milestones in post-war political history through classical music performances and radio broadcasts.

Dr Tony Stoller, Visiting Professor, Bournemouth University, UK

The entanglement of high culture with moments of major historical importance has been of high significance in marking the key events of our time. From the thirties to the nineties, there is a pattern of classical music in performance – crucially, mediated through broadcasting – catching the zeitgeist in an unrivalled way. Considering how an entire national consciousness can be mediated through such entangled cultural events provides a new perspective on those events and how they came about.

There is a general understanding of the significance of serious music before and during the Second World War: the deliberate ubiquity of Wagner's *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* at the Nuremberg rallies; Shostakovich's Leningrad Symphony characterising Soviet wartime resistance; Messaien's *Quatuor pour le Fin du Temps* marking the fall of France; and Walton's *Agincourt Suite*, written for Olivier's film of Shakespeare's *Henry V*, encapsulating the twin British characteristics of defiance and elegy.

The post war years have been less considered, but are similarly populated. Copland's *A Lincoln Portrait* in 1953 is a sound picture also of the travails of McCarthy era America. The performance of three movements of Mahler's *Second Symphony* on Jerusalem's Mount Scopus in July 1967 hymned Israel's six-day military victory over Egypt, Jordan and Syria. Arvo Part's *Spiegel im Spiegel* of 1978 represented the first turning away from the brutality of post-war modernism, and the stirrings of alternative culture in the then-occupied Baltic states. Then at the end of the eighties, the momentous events of the wide world found their echoes – and arguably their wider cultural expression – in John Adams' opera *Nixon in China* premiered in 1987; and Leonard Bernstein's performance of Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony* at the Brandenburg Gate in 1989. As the century ended, Edward Said and Daniel Barenboim's *East West Divan Orchestra*, brought to Western audiences the dilemma of Israel/Palestine.

Yet none of these performances would have such had impact on their own, unaided or unentangled. It is notable that the Darmstadt Ferienspiel was of immense importance to the composers and performers of modern classical music, but had almost no impact on wider audiences or mass culture. The salience and relevance of these milestone events was created and confirmed by the general accessibility of these otherwise recondite performances through entanglement with the contemporary ubiquity of mass communication, especially (but not exclusively) radio broadcasting. These instances have their equivalents in popular music events to a degree: examples include the Woodstock Festival in 1969, the Glastonbury Festivals from 1981 onwards, and Live Aid in 1985. Into the same category we might place the use of Nessun Dorma as the theme for the 1994 World Cup. However, while achieving mass impact through entangled performance of cultural activities, they were all founded upon the essential ephemera of commodified performance, rather than drawing upon – and making widely available – durable cultural artefacts.

It was the entangled classical music occasions that had and have a unique, enhanced and enduring significance. There is a potency in combining the peculiar and time-validated cultural artefact of classical music with a world-changing event, and disseminating that to the widest audience who become also de facto participants, which was unmatched by any other signifier in the twentieth century. These auditory phenomena were the outstanding cultural feature of the age.

It is likely, however, that they will retain only historical into the twenty-first century, as the digitisation, commodification and de-sacralisation of classical music is one of the immediate consequences of the digital age. As we move into a digital world, that distinction will be ever more important in addressing the question of how high musical culture can stand out at critical historical times despite the otherwise pervasive prominence of popular music.

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Great Patriotic Media: Transnational Film, Nationalistic Politics – the Case of *The Brest Fortress* (2010)

Ulf Zander, Department of History, Lund University

The point of departure of this article is the concepts of entangled history and entangled media and how they can be helpful in an analysis of a film in a historical setting. The ambition behind the concept of “entangled” is to associate or combine various historical and/or media phenomena marked off from or considered incompatible with each other, by concocting not only factual political, socioeconomic or cultural exchanges and networks reaching over borders, but also by letting various ideas, concepts and perspectives go beyond traditional boundaries, may they be factual or fictional, for example by being unconventionally presented into a joint historical narrative.

The historical narrative in this specific case is The Great Patriotic War, created by Soviet propagandists during the Second World War. With the exception of the late 1980s and early 1990s, the master narrative of the heroic Soviet war efforts in a deadly fight against “fascists” has with few exceptions remained intact. The Victory Day on 9 May is one of the most important and popular holidays (see for instance Nataliya Danilova, “Victory Day: Rituals and Practises of War Commemoration in Russia”, in Birgit Breumers (ed.), *Russia's fin de siècle*, 2013).

One of the recurrent Soviet war stories is the heroic defense of Brest in 1941, which is linked to the common Russian theme of patriotic sacrifice (Gregory Carleton, “Victory in Death: Annihilation Narratives in Russia Today”, *History & Memory* 2010:1). Although *The Brest Fortress*, also known as *Fortress of War* (2010), depicts Germans in a traditional way as brutal enemies, it also shows some interesting transnational characteristics. First of all, it was a Belarusian-Russian co-operation which received some international attention. Also, some scenes are directly inspired by similar scenes in American war movies such as *Saving Private Ryan* (1997) and *Pearl Harbor* (2001). The influence from Holocaust history is noticed as one of the heroes is clearly described as a Jew. This kind of ethnic marker was downplayed during the Soviet era.

As Denise Youngblood has shown in *Russian War Films. On the Cinema Front, 1914–2005* (2007), Soviet combat films were made first after the battles of Stalingrad and Kursk and instantly became popular. In many ways, they resemble the American platoon genre, analyzed by Jeanine Basinger in her classic book *The World War II Combat Film* (1986).

The production, content, promotion and reception of the film show interesting examples of tension between transnational history and media on one hand and nationalistic politics on the other. In such a situation it is less interesting to look for the treatment of historical facts in the film. It is instead the choices of certain historical narratives instead of others that are interesting to analyze. For instance, Brest was a part of the independent Poland 1921–1939 and in many respects was – and is – the Polish history in this area of great importance. In *The Brest Fortress* it is mostly invisible, probably as a result of the emphasis of Soviet cooperation during wartime – a perspective that characterized this Belarusian-Russian co-production. Other examples of this kind of tensions are traceable in the reception of the film, which I also will analyze in the article. The differences in reception become obvious, more often than not depending on if the reviewer take the story of The Great Patriotic War as a point of departure or not (cf. Adrian Athique, *Transnational Audiences*, 2016).

The Brest Fortress premiered on the 69th jubilee of the beginning of the fighting in 1941. However, the planned Belarusian-Russian manifestation of brotherhood then and now failed to appear since Alexander Lukachenko's Belarus and Vladimir Putin's Russia was on a collision course at the time. Transnational media could not compete with nationalistic politics.

The binding of Portuguese speaking audiences and the war propaganda effort. The British illustrated press for Portugal and Brazil, during World War I.

Helena Lima, Assistant Professor at Faculty of Arts of University of Porto at the Journalism and Communication Sciences Department.

The industrialization of the press, and the illustrated publications in particular, were crucial for the amplification of communication during World War I. Newspapers, magazines and pamphlets were central in spreading structured messages on the conflict and convincing the public opinion of the rightness of each battlefield. Even those that couldn't read were touched by the images of the illustrated publications that reached broader audiences than the newspapers' discourse. Hence, propaganda may be considered one of the most innovative features of that period. In Laswell's "Technique Propaganda in the World War" (1927) it was argued that propaganda was a tool to change beliefs, attitudes and actions of target audiences. The Great War triggered important developments in communications and propaganda, that combined, resulted in a strategic instrument of manipulation. Political communication sought to shape perceptions and the opinion of audiences on selected aspects of reality, turning the media into a symbolic battlefield (Marquis, 1978; Sanders, 1975; Knightley, 1975; Messinger, 1992; Arthur, 2007; Garambone, 2003; Sousa, 2013). Illustrated magazines were very important for the British war effort, and thus, British propagandists sponsored the publication of illustrated magazines in foreign languages (Sanders, 1975). Three illustrated magazines were published and written in Portuguese, directed at Portugal and Brazil: *Portugal na Guerra* (Portugal in the War), printed in France (June and November 1917); *O Espelho*, printed in England (1915 to 1918); *A Guerra Ilustrada* (The Illustrated War), an English translation of the British magazine published in French, *La Guerre Illustrée*, launched in 1918. The aim of our research is to pin and analyze the British propaganda strategy in these magazines, *O Espelho* in particular, and the way the messages were constructed in order to entangle the sympathies of the Portuguese and Brazilian publics.

Entangled media policy and history: The Development of Broadcasting Policy and Practice in Canada Framed by International Precedents

Anne F. MacLennan, York University, Toronto, Canada

Early broadcasters commenced in the early 1920s throughout North America as small, independent and local broadcasters; national networks developed in stages, beginning regionally. The independence and local appeal of radio guaranteed their survival despite the growth of policy that centred on entangled networks that crossed North American boundaries and cross the sea to Europe. Based on interviews, content analysis and archival research this work charts the challenges and success of radio stations faced with the challenges of networks and policy. The Report of the Royal

Commission on Radio Broadcasting conducted by Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting in 1928 slowly set the stage for broadcasting in Canada. Since Canada was slower to establish networks and policy, European and American policy and practices were drawn upon to set policy in Canada. The European examples were models for the development of a public network, however the established commercial network and the shared border/reception range allowed for a competing influence from the United States.

The growth of American programming and American affiliate stations in Canada came in the midst of the discussion of a Canadian national network. The presentation of American programming was often situated in a narrative of high quality programming from Canada on the same station. The tensions over regulation and the creation of a national network heightened the simultaneous pressure to establish American network affiliate stations before new regulations forbid the stations or regulated American radio program content. Canadian radio regulation development although slower than American policy development was in place before Mexico on the American Southern border, where the lack of adherence to set regulation with regard to assigned frequencies resulted in mayhem, such as broadcasters on any frequency until 1941 (Kahn 1996).

The final report of the commission, the Aird Report in 1928, suggested that private stations not make technical improvements to their stations, because a national network was planned to replace these stations. Ongoing broadcasting and cultural policy throughout the twentieth century borrows from countries across the world to develop a shared space for broadcasting. Shared cultural and political/economic ties provided more an influence to this development than the examples provided by countries with similar circumstances (small populations and large geographic spaces).

Eventually Canada forged its own course that pulled in both directions, permitting both private commercial networks and public national networks that also included independent broadcasting.

While the Aird Report formed the backbone for the public and nationalistic discussion of the establishment of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Act in 1932. Graham Spry (1931, 1965) and Alan Plaunt (1936; Plaunt & Spry 1932) publicly lobbied for the national network to thwart the expansion of American networks in Canada. Canadians were listening to their own local independent stations, but also had access to more powerful American stations on clear channels in the evenings. Unlike American stations across the Mexican border that broadcast to Americans in the United States, the American NBC, CBS and Mutual stations that crossed the Canadian border to broadcast in Canada were broadcasting to Canadians as American affiliate stations. Popular belief that Canadians were listening almost exclusively already to American stations was certainly disproved by the need or desire for American stations in Toronto, Montreal and Windsor. The resulting mix of private public stations is frequently characterized as having "evolved as a hybrid of the British and American public service and commercial models (Raboy 1990, 48; Skinner 2005)." This work resists this depiction of the haphazard and unintentional mix of public, commercial, English, French, American, Canadian and local broadcasting that became the Canadian standard defying the choices made internationally.

Session V: Transmedia

16.00–18.00, room: 3rd floor (chair: Alina Laura Tiewes)

Walter Goehr's *Malpopita*: Germany's First Radio Opera

Katy Vaughan, Bournemouth University

On April 29th 1931, Erich Kleibe conducted Walter Goehr's *Malpopita*, which was transmitted from Berlin. This opera was written purely for radio performance and to be consumed by listeners at home. The libretto, written by Seitz and Mendelssohn, unfolds after the protagonist, Adam Schickedanz, decides he has had enough of monotonous factory life and goes in search of the tropical island of Malpopita. He travels across Germany, boards a boat, and falls in love with the captain's daughter. When the boat is pursued by a government vessel, the crew become shipwrecked on the island of Malpopita. For a while everything is peaceful and the listeners get a sense of a utopian atmosphere; then suddenly oil is found. Despite Adam's warnings the Malpopita Oil Factory is formed, and by the end of the opera Adam is in exactly the same position as at the beginning; working long hours for an oil company for a low wage. The opera's clear leftist stance criticised modern capitalism and its corruption of nature and socialist ideals, which was present in analyses of the work in contemporary journals. Yet the music's suitability for early radio performance seems to have gone unnoticed, both in the Weimar Republic and modern musicology. Therefore a thorough analysis of this work is needed in order to understand suitability for radio and its entangled nature.

What made this work so suitable for radio performance was its composer's experience in the broadcasting industry. Walter Goehr worked in German film and radio until 1932, collaborating with figures such as Kurt Weill and Alfred Döblin. His knowledge of how to compose for radio is certainly apparent in his musical construction. In *Malpopita* the radio replaces the stage and the opera is transformed from audio-visual to a solely audio medium. Goehr's use of Sprechstimme and manipulation of the voices to create sounds of machines shows his awareness of the new technology and its suitability for the human voice. This work is also a musical montage, reflecting a broad range of broadcasted musical genres in Weimar Germany. It draws upon many compositional styles from historical and contemporary composers. There are allusions to folk songs, sea shanties, jazz, mechanical music, chorales and romanticism. Yet its modernist techniques helped the opera to adapt to the limitations of radio technology and the audience it served. The opera's themes and composition are also in line with critical theory, a theory which was being developed by theorists such as Adorno, Benjamin and Horkheimer at the time of its composition. The work not only presents a critique of capitalism in its subject matter, but within the music also. Thus the work becomes an example of critical art which these theorists were avidly campaigning for. This paper will discuss how the radio opera *Malpopita* was an entangled product of the Weimar republic. The fusion of old and new media here can be considered trans-media as the new genre of the 'radio-opera' was born. I will examine this experimental piece by considering the audience and the music, paying particular attention to its suitability for radio performance. The paper will also examine Weimar musicological discourses on opera, radio and mass culture, by drawing particular attention to critical theory, in order to emphasise further this opera's entangled qualities.

Theatre and television tangled together in Britain, 1930-60

John Wyver, University of Westminster

British television's first identifiable programme was a theatre play, Luigi Pirandello's *The Man with a Flower in his Mouth*, broadcast on 14 July 1930. During the BBC's regular "high definition" television service from November 1936 to September 1939, and after its return in June 1946, small screen drama was almost entirely restricted to plays originally written for the theatre. Often these were given with the casts of specific theatre productions or as outside broadcasts from West End theatres. To a lesser extent, television also contributed to theatre, with plays originally scripted for the new medium being presented in the West End and writers and directors trained in the new medium such as Tony Richardson working in the socially conscious theatre of the time.

As television came increasingly in the early 1960s to promote its medium specificity, in line with modernist tenets, association with the theatre was increasingly suspect. Television started to value only plays written for the medium. Significant strands of drama, including international plays and the poetic tradition, were excluded. Ever since, television history in Britain has marginalised the defining role of the theatre.

Drawing on the resources of the BBC Written Archives at Caversham, on the first three decades of Radio Times listings, and on analysis of surviving broadcasts from the years after 1953, this paper develops an outline transmedial history of early television in Britain and explores the complex interrelationships and entanglements of theatre and television in the years to 1960.

In addition to sketching the cross-overs in content, personnel, production practices and performance styles, the paper extends the pioneering research of Jason Jacobs into early studio practices. In doing so, it develops a central argument that through an asymmetrical transfer from the older form in the years immediately before and after World War Two the theatre shaped the spaces, both physical and virtual, of television, as well as the emerging poetics of the small screen. As a consequence, the entanglement of theatre with television was significant not only for small screen drama but for all forms of studio-based production.

Early television programme forms, at least in Britain and across Europe, remain under-explored, in large part because there are so few moving image archival traces. But as Jacobs has suggested, written and still image records can be actively interpreted to retrieve this history. In doing so, the paper also responds to Michele Himes' suggestion that transmedial histories should 'look for key individuals, people whose careers make them "cultural translators" as they actively... migrate from one media industry to the next.'

Cecil Madden and Fred O'Donovan were two such 'cultural translators' working for BBC Television at Alexandra Palace before 1939. Both men came from the theatre, and both imported influential practices to television. A critical reading of Madden's memoirs, and of materials related to O'Donovan's work, reveals the ways in which, as Himes writes, 'transmediality function[ed] at ground level.' O'Donovan, for example, was known for his 'one camera' technique which involved exploiting theatrical space to choreograph scenes lasting 20 minutes or more in a single shot. And in a transnational footnote, just before his death in 1953 he staged a live television broadcast of a theatrical adaptation of Daphne du Maurier's *Rebecca* for ORTF in Paris.

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The Visual Turn in the Transatlantic Memory of Radio Free Europe

Yuliya Komska, Dartmouth College

Starting 1950, when its earliest operations began, Radio Free Europe had a life in pictures. Originally, these appearances were confined to the U.S. There, the nation's leading advertising professionals, Hollywood scriptwriters, and TV personalities teamed up to put the workings of the Cold War broadcaster across the Iron Curtain on screens large and small. The efforts, spearheaded by RFE's fundraising arm Crusade for Freedom, created a façade for the covert infusions of CIA money into the ostensibly private station's budget. By promoting RFE's activities in the West and its effects in the East, these moving images aimed to attract private American donors. In the process, they silenced RFE's original sound and replaced or overwhelmed it with the English voiceover. My talk addresses the lasting consequences of this loss: the attrition of the broadcaster's authentic and multilingual voices that lingers on in its current transatlantic memory. Thanks to documentaries made by German, Spanish, Bulgarian, and Romanian directors between 2007 and 2014, this memory remains substantially visual. It also relies, for lack of alternatives, on the American stock footage from the 1950s and 1960s. Unwittingly, directors across borders continue to propagate the skewed image of the silenced and monolingual RFE. In the paper, I assess this perseverance against the backdrop of the recent "visual turn" in radio studies—the tendency to query radio's visuality and to subvert the "invisible but audible" (A. Fickers) paradigm, emblematic of radio's earlier history.

Of the Lamp and the Light: *Aladin ou la lampe merveilleuse* (1897-1898) between Stage and Screen

Gert Jan Harkema is a doctoral candidate in Cinema Studies at Stockholm University, Department of Media Studies.

This paper takes as its starting point a seemingly unidentified Aladdin film projected during Henri Grünkorn's 1898 kinematograph shows in Belgium and the Netherlands. Current filmographies include three early Aladdin films produced between 1899 and 1906, but this particular series of scenes does not correspond to that information. In search of the cultural roots of this lost collection of scenes, I will historicize the Aladdin story as a transmedial recurring motif that appeared throughout the nineteenth century while crossing national borders. The history of its production leads to Parisian theaters and the practice of the *féerie*, but, as this paper demonstrates, the films were part of a more complex web of transmedial connections.

The story of Aladdin was far from stable, as many variations in terms of narrative and characters appeared across media. Books, theater plays, shadow plays, and operas presented the nineteenth-century spectator with diverse versions of the oriental tale, both in France and in the Netherlands. The series of short scenes that reached the Netherlands show a similar flexibility, as the individual scenes functioned as separate building blocks.

Drawing on Irina Rajewsky's definition that transmediality entails "the appearance of a certain motif, aesthetic, or discourse across a variety of different media," this paper argues that the Aladdin film scenes did not draw upon one central Aladdin narrative but engaged with cluster of aesthetic motifs. The three motifs that I outline across different mediated versions of Aladdin are (1) transformation, (2) electrical lighting, and (3) pervasive visuality, i.e. the visual organization of the world as object (Bennett, Berton, Mitchell). In this manner, Aladdin's key features—his lamp and its light—transcended its narrative function. Additionally, these motifs performed a negotiation with the novelties of modernity.

In conclusion, I briefly situate the Aladdin scenes in its exhibition context. Henri Grünkorn's history at local fairgrounds (including a roller coaster, a theater show, and a mechanical panorama) demonstrates the "intermedial meshing" that the kinematograph was involved in around the time of its introduction (Gaudreault). My conclusion is that the Aladdin scenes added another level of complexity to the show. Thereby this example confirms that during its earliest years, the medium that would become cinema was severely entangled with nineteenth-century media history.

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The entangled history of pre-war television in Britain

Dr Jamie Medhurst is Reader in Media and Communication in the Institute of Arts and Humanities at Aberystwyth University.

This paper will consider the entangled history of early (pre-war) television in Britain. During the pre-war period – and in particular during the years prior to the launch of the regular television service in 1936 – the uses to which television might be put and the direction which television might take were unclear. This paper will consider both contemporary popular discourse (from film and literature) but will also consider the ways in which the BBC itself – including its influential Director-General – was talking about television.

The first reference to television in popular literature came in 1928 with the publication of Gertrude Wentworth-James's 1928 novel *The Television Girl*.⁵ The novel imagines television to be a one-to-one communication device – similar to today's Skype. One of the first films to portray television, *The Third Eye*, suggests that television could be used to spy on people (in this case a crooked financier installs an inventor's television sets in banks to discover safe combinations).⁶ So, during the experimental stages of television's development, at the time John Logie Baird in the UK was demonstrating his television apparatus and lobbying the BBC and the government to support his system of seeing at a distance, the uses to which the new invention might be put were unclear. Undoubtedly, telephony and wireless communication played a part in the emerging discourses around television, as David Trotter has explored.⁷

In the period leading up to the launch of the first public high-definition service in the early 1930s, BBC executives were still unsure of the form television might take. This was due, in part, to the fact that television was shaped by, and formed by, influences from film, radio and the theatre. One set of memoranda in 1934 envisaged television as being primarily a cinema in the home; a means by which viewers (or 'lookers-in') could see the existing radio programmes being transmitted; and a way of televising plays from theatres to the home.⁸ Gerald Cock, the BBC's first director of television, writing in October 1936, had a particular view of the medium – that of 'immediacy', of showing the 'here and now', rather than competing with film and literature. He had a clear sense of finding a niche for the new invention.⁹

The final part of the paper will take into account the views of the BBC's Director-General, Sir John Reith. Grace Wyndham Goldie, Head of Television Talks and Current Affairs at the BBC in the post-war period, has argued that Reith's dislike, or suspicion, of television stemmed from a belief that 'communication by means of vision would be an evil which would be damaging to the country

⁵ Gertie de S. Wentworth-James, *The Television Girl* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1928).

⁶ *The Third Eye* (dir. Maclean Rogers, 1929).

⁷ David Trotter, *Literature in the First Media Age: Britain between the wars* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2013).

⁸ BBC Written Archive Centre T16/78: TV Policy. Memoranda from November 1934. The latter did form part of the regular television service between 1936-9

⁹ Gerald Cock, 'Looking Forward', *Radio Times*, 23 October 1936, 6.

and to the world'.¹⁰ This is borne out in the televised interview with Malcolm Muggeridge in 1967 where Reith confessed to having been frightened of television from the start. The fears can partly be explained by Reith's religious beliefs. As Kamm and Baird note: 'He was a fervent believer, to him the Word was God: the broadcast word should be without any ornamentation ...'¹¹ As one of his biographers, Ian McIntyre, wrote: 'He wrote very little about television in his diary, but the impression remains that he never ceased to regard it as a cuckoo in the nest – in moral terms the lesser medium, and even hostile to those elevated values with which he had sought to imbue radio'.¹²

Session VI: Perspectives on media historical methodologies

16.00–18.00, room: 2nd floor (chair: Christoph Classen)

Media history, minority media and methodological nationalism

Merja Ellefson, Dept of Culture and Media Studies, Umeå University

The purpose is to discuss ways of writing media history and what consequences it has for studying history of minority media. Media histories, particularly press histories, are traditionally written from national points of view (see e.g. Ellefson, 2011; Tommila, 2000; Gustafsson & Rydén, 2010), which leads to histories of majority language media within the current nation states. There are a few comparative media histories (Bösch, 2011; Chapman, 2005; Höyer, Lauk, & Vihalemm, 1993), these are also country-based and focus on majority language media in the current nation states. In contrast, migration research is critical to this type of country-based methodological nationalism (see e.g. Callaghan, 2010; Chernilo, 2011; Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002).

Methodological nationalism is problematic when writing about early media history and minority language media. Borders have changed many times. The first periodicals were founded in empires or so-called conglomerate states, i.e. states that were administrative and political patchworks. Such states didn't necessarily have ethnic majorities, nor were people conceptualized in that manner (e.g. Carter & Turnock, 2000; Jackson Preece, 1998; Keating & McGarry, 2001; Leiserowitz, 2008; Panayi, 2000). Moreover, hegemonic position in such states wasn't always related to the size of the population. For example, Baltic Germans and Finnish Swedes in Imperial Russia were, despite their small numbers, dominating elites in their administrative areas (governorates of Estonia and Livonia, and the Grand Duchy of Finland). Thus, the local majority language periodicals had sustainability problems similar to minority language media today. But, should any of these populations be defined as "minority"? In the imperial context they were all small ethnicities, but Estonians and Finns were the largest populations in their administrative areas. The Germans and the Swedes first officially

¹⁰ Grace Wyndham Goldie, *Facing the Nation: Television and Politics 1936-76* (London: The Bodley Head Ltd, 1977), p. 32.

¹¹ Antony Kamm and Malcolm Baird, *John Logie Baird: a life* (Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland, 2002), p.111.

¹² Ian McIntyre, *The Expense of Glory: a life of John Reith* (London, 1994), p.209.

became ethnic minorities after the declarations of independence in 1917 and 1918. Estonians, however, have changed status several times. Should they be considered an ethnic minority in the empire and the Soviet Union? This is not merely an empirical matter, but also a question of how we construct the reality.

The concept of “minority” enters the international area after the WWI. Jackson Preece (1998) traces it to 1919 and the treaties signed with the successor states of the Austro-Hungarian, Russian and Ottoman Empires. This League of Nations system persuaded some countries to sign minority treaties, for example Estonia issued minority laws in 1925. According to Heller (1999, cf. Cormack 2007) the concepts of ethnic minority and majority make sense only within the ideological framework of the nation state. Does it mean we cannot speak of “minority media” before WWI? There are ethnicities that have been a (numerical) minority in every country, such as Jews, Roma, Basques or Sami. And, how do we handle periodicals that are currently minority language publications but were not founded as such? When studying media in conglomerate states, what is the focal point? The territory of the current nation state? Or, the state formation that existed at the time? Or, an ethnic/linguistic group living the territory of - what? For example, if we study first Sami publications, do we include Sweden, Norway, or Sweden-Norway? Not same thing. Similarly, there are Finnish language publications in Swedish Finland (before 1809), Swedish Tornedalen, the Grand Duchy of Finland, Finland (after 1917), Estonia (first and second republic, and Soviet), Soviet Karelia and today’s Russian Karelia.

In conglomerate states the most interesting part may not be the development of local majority language press markets per se, but the differences between areas and/or the “colonial power’s” policies. For example, the fate of Yiddish and Lithuanian language press in the Russian Empire. The Jews were largely restricted to living in the Pale of the Settlement and the Polish protectorate (Veidlinger 2009). After the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth the larger part of Lithuanian speaking territory fell under Russian rule, and the governorates overlapped with the Pale. After unsuccessful uprisings in 1831 and 1863 the Lithuanian language press was banned and import from Prussia was prohibited. The Yiddish language press, on the other hand, began to flourish once the first licenses were approved. While the Jews lived among various local majority populations, 4-5 million Jews in the Pale was a large enough audience to sustain periodicals, for example the daily *Der fraynd*, founded in 1903, reached 400 000 readers, and a couple of other dailies sold over 100 000 copies (Stein 2004, Shneer 2004). This Yiddish speaking area broke up as new states were founded after WWI.

Border and regime changes are important, but does that mean current nation states should be the focal point? Media histories could benefit from a postcolonial history, or new imperial studies perspective (Burton, 2003; Haupt & Kocka, 2009; Howe, 2010; Majumbar, 2010; Smith-Peter, 2011). Chakrabarty (2010) speaks of provincializing Europe. Perhaps we should begin by provincializing nation states?

Tracing Entangled Media History in Archives

Sigrun Lehnert, Hamburg Media School

In Germany, many media archives are effected by closures or are taken over by other bigger archive collections. Sometimes the usage rights are unclear and so the access to the archival material is not

possible. Moreover, institutions like television channels can decide for themselves which films or documents they want to preserve and which not – there are no obligations for archiving. Apart from that, they face a lack of personal resources and/or storage space and are not able to build up a comprehensive collection of their productions.¹³ Especially context material is often lost – material which could inform about the production background, ways of distribution, and the recipient's use of the media. But holistic research of media content and aesthetics, production, distribution, and reception is crucial to assess the influence of media on the society. Since a medium is not considered as isolated, it has always an effect on others. So, in media research more than one medium have to be examined, and additionally their institutions, and involved actors in media business.

The cinema newsreel is a medial format, which is not produced and shown any more. But, before television was established, it was an important format of the German media landscape. Due to its cinematic character with the elements such as pictures, graphics, music, sound, and commentary some political and social interest groups believed that the newsreel had a high impact on the opinion of the East and West Germans.

I would like to outline the situation of newsreel-archives with all kinds of traceable material for Entangled Media History. Finally, I will discuss the challenges posed by digitalized archive material and the problems of source criticism in times of digitalization.

In December 1949, the production company for the West German post-war newsreel under German leadership and responsibility was founded in Hamburg: the *Neue Deutsche Wochenschau* GmbH. The production was supported by public funds of the new federal government. That financial dependency of former times resulted in a dispute about the exploitation rights of the films, because the film archive represents a unique convolute and the films are often used for TV-docu dramas and documentaries.

In 2010, the Hamburg newsreel-archive of *Neue Deutsche Wochenschau* and other West German productions started with the digitalization of the newsreel films and made them available online. The archive was dissolved in 2014, when the Bundesarchiv as a federal institution claimed its rights. The results of the digitalization were taken over into the Bundesarchiv's research portal www.filmothek.bundesarchiv.de.

From 2010 to 2013, I did my research in the Hamburg archive, and so I know all the files with context material which were preserved there: complete music lists, reports of the cinematographers, files on commissioned productions, lists of used films of foreign newsreels, press releases, editorial correspondence, reviews and viewers' letters. But after the film collection was taken over from Bundesarchiv, it is unknown where these files are today. A few files appeared in the Film and Television Museum Hamburg, which is located at a bunker from the Second World War. Especially those materials could fill gaps and help to interpret the films and contribute to Entangled Media History. For example, the documents prove that newsreel-cinematographers worked sometimes for the early post-war television. They show the cooperation of newsreel and newspapers or film magazines: CEOs of the newsreel production company wrote articles, in which they provided information about their own work. In addition, the insertion of newspaper headlines in newsreel

¹³ Kramp, L. (2015): Öffentlich-rechtliche Inhalte brauchen Archivierungs-Pflicht. <https://irights.info/artikel/archive-oeffentlich-rechtlicher-rundfunkbeitrag-pflichtexemplar-kramp/25211>

films served to prove the timeliness of a report. On the other hand, film magazines spread reviews about newsreel editions.

The digitalization of the films is a step in the right direction – the access is facilitated. However, the context materials are usually not digitalized. In a workshop of the Department of Communication History in German Society for Journalism and Communication Studies (DGPuK) in Leipzig in January 2017, various problem areas were recognised. The workshop participants highlighted the difficulties of source criticism caused by digitalization. Another topic was how to decide which material is worth to be preserved. Various institutions are looking for solutions in those fields. The stated goal is to make archival stock available free of charge at least for educational institutions, science and research.

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On distant shelves: the sounds and images of the filmstrip *UNRRA Goes into Action* (1945)

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From 1943 to 1947, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration helped civilian victims of war by providing emergency supplies in liberated areas of Europe and Asia. UNRRA drew on the mobilizing capacity of film to support its mission and commissioned several agencies to produce its material. To call attention to the challenges of doing historical research in international organizations' audio and visual documents, I will focus on the filmstrip *UNRRA Goes into Action* (1945) and trace the complexities of combining the intellectual framework of

internationalism with the practical task of producing films using very limited resources. What happens when separate segments end up on distant shelves, often located in different countries, while the commissioning agency retained only a paper trail? This situation endangers preservation and greatly limits knowledge of the early United Nations propaganda productions. I will draw two complementary methodological paths, one exploring the disentanglement of a single document in a system of internationally commissioned production, and the other for a collective approach, a “search and rescue mission” of this postwar film experiment.

Despite the fall into oblivion of these small artefacts, filmstrips are one of the major media forms of the 20th century. *UNRRA Goes into Action* complements a series of short films, radio broadcasts and printed material, all effecting a crucial transition at the end of the Second World War. I found the filmstrip in the archives of the National Film Board of Canada in Montréal; the Board was commissioned to mount the final version by adding graphs and maps to the photographs received from UNRRA. I located the sound on a disc at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., where a commercial studio recorded the commentary and added material collected by the BBC in its refugee camp in Gaza. The mimeographed voiceover exists in the UNRRA paper archives in New York; another copy was attached to the NFB production file to provide the order of the visual continuity. The photographs are powerful, the charts and maps, informative, and the material on disc mix the spoken commentary with music and singing which carry the emotional understanding of the tragedy, hope and determination. Preserving documents and collections is essential but, as separate units, each segment tells only part of the story and orphaned parts face greater risks of neglect – even destruction. To counter this dispersion, and with the help of the holders of the different components, I have tried an experiment with the filmstrip discussed here.

First done was the reconstruction (or the reconnection) of the 1945 filmstrip. The Library of Congress in Washington provided the digital copy of the sound track, and technicians from the National Film Board of Canada reunited the parts¹⁴. Rejoining sound and images in a single document clarify the objectives and the choices made, the tone and the imagery of this filmstrip, and confirm its status as historical documentary evidence. Then, I started a conversation on the feasibility of creating a single repository, a dedicated sub-collection for the UNRRA films within the vast audiovisual collection of the UNO in New York¹⁵. Such a collection would allow easier and permanent access for researchers and the general public alike. It would connect the visual productions with the UNRRA paper archives held in the UN collections, which in turn provide additional information on production, distribution and audience reception. Finally, it would make possible their examination as a series and open a space for the comparative approach necessary to strengthen the methodology of this historical research.

¹⁴ I thank the NFB for helping with this project, and the technicians Sylvain Cajelais, sound technician; Denis Pilon, film editor; Richard Lanoue, colorimetry; Sylvain Desbiens, technical resources coordinator.

¹⁵ The United Nations Film Board has collected the information in the *Union List of U.N.R.R.A. Film. A Guide to Motion Picture Records Produced by Agencies throughout the World on the Activities of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration 1943–1947*, Lake Success, New York, Archives Section, Communication and Records Division, United Nations, March 1949.

Rhetorical perspectives in media historical research

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The concept of media system has brought attention to the fact that opinion making is not a mono-medial but a cross-medial phenomenon (f. ex. Briggs & Burke 2002; Harvard & Lundell 2010). Opinions have to be formulated, disseminated, and repeated. A matter will not become a matter until it is mediated and remediated by different types of media: in speeches, debates, articles, mass petitions, radio, television, and internet/social media. Not to be forgotten is the artists' role in shaping public opinion: books, paintings, sculptures etc. can also influence the thinking in a specific matter.

What has not been taken into account in the same extent is the possibilities and limitations of different media in formulating and spreading a message or a narrative, and how the rhetoric – and consequently the content – is changing depending on the medium used (Ryan 2004; Ryan & Thon 2014). In this conference paper, I will explore this question and the main point I will be making is that a rhetorical focus in a media analysis provides an additional methodological perspective in the analysis of cross-medial interrelations. I address questions as: how does the rhetoric change through remediation? How does the materiality of the medium affect the representation? What is a slow or resistant medium? What is the role of genre and modality when it comes to the rhetoric of a medium?

My discussion will be limited to three media: the press, the book and the parliamentary debate.

Session VII: Media Circulation

10.30–12.30, room: 3rd floor (chair: Kristin Skoog)

Translating the top 40: Charting the borders of pop music in 1960s Europe

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The 1960s generally count in Europe as the coming of a new, globalized age in popular music. In Western Europe, and to a more limited extent Eastern Europe, English-language pop music, not least in the wake of the Beatles, slowly conquered a majority share of popular music consumption both in private and public media. The challenging of national broadcasting monopolies via offshore and other de-territorialized stations are generally viewed as vital catalysts in this process. Indeed, in numerous memory documents and fictional accounts, such music forms the musical index for the offshore era. While it is accurate as far as it goes, such analysis often unnecessarily creates a binary ‘English-or-not’ look at popular music that hides the multiple layers of European circulation that continued to mark the era: of performers, of languages (in particular, but not only, French and German), but also of models of adaptation (translations and arrangements) and presentation formats (DJ shows and television performance shows) that framed such circulating content for national audiences. Within such accounts, the major spectacular event of the Eurovision Song Festival, in which European national and international identities are worked out within musical performance, appears as a kind of anomaly, rather than a confluence of a range of regular media practices.

This paper builds on a more general account of the European dynamics of music circulation, particularly via public service broadcasting (Badenoch 2013) by examining popular music as the entangled circulation of various forms, media and actors, each governed by its own material (media) and institutional rules and characteristics, and each with its own set of boundaries and gateways for bringing music across national borders. Rather than viewing popular music as a singular phenomenon, such a view sees songs, recordings, performers, public service and commercial radio and television, records, live performances as different but overlapping zones of circulation. It also involves a widely distributed series of actors, including performers, composers, arrangers, record labels, performing rights agencies and broadcasters. Taking as its point of departure some ‘soundings’ within the Dutch music charts of the 1960s, the paper first seeks to generate a more nuanced view of European music circulation by noting how the various transnational flows of popular music intersect, and in particular place English-language music in other contexts. Following on from this, it then looks to follow their contents back into their various traces within the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision, as well as other relevant digital sources to try to ‘re-entangle’ them into a more nuanced map of musical circulation. This includes traces of appearances, live or recorded, on radio and television, and making note of the way each is framed. In so doing, it seeks to draw a first sketch of the ways in which popular music and performers were translated within the various media frames.

Whilst presenting a first sketch of entangled media circulation in the past, this paper is simultaneously a sketch of the digital sphere in the present, and seeks to offer reflection on some of the ways that the present state of digital archiving enables or hinders such transnational – and

necessarily transmedial - research. In particular, it is concerned with the ways in which old media borders are translated into the digital sphere, and to what extent new borders, either in terms of research biases, heritage priorities or metadata standards, are appearing within digital spheres.

The Entangled Media Geographies of the Nordics: Contemporary Scandinavian Production Practices through the Prism of Audio-visual Nordic Noir

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Although predominantly contemporary in its outlook, this paper attempts to grapple with a particular development in media history, namely the gradual de-nationalization, or, perhaps more accurately, the increasingly transnational character of contemporary media production in general and the film and television kinds in particular. In a very influential piece of scholarship, Andrew Higson once attempted to set out in what possible terms a national cinema could be defined and discussed (1989). One of Higson's tentative delineations was with regard to: "establishing a conceptual correspondence between the terms 'national cinema' and 'the domestic film industry', and therefore being concerned with such questions as: where are these films made, and by whom? Who owns and controls the industrial infrastructures, the production companies, the distributors and the exhibition circuits?" As the processes of globalization, conglomeration and the parallel movement towards the individual nation state's geographical borders becoming ever more permeable, questions like those articulated by Higson, has, however, become increasingly difficult to answer. One way, nonetheless, to attempt to shed light on this knotty field is through the term transnational and its variety of implications.

Accordingly, in response to the sometimes bewildering ways in which the term transnational has been used, Mette Hjort, in 2010 attempted to outline what she called a "typology of transnationalisms" – or, in a sense, of entangled, international collaborative practices – in connection with contemporary audio-visual production (2010: 12–33). Hjort's explicit purpose here was to more precisely illuminate and contextualize the increasingly used concept of transnationalism. As a result, she consequently identified nine specific forms of cross-border collaboration. These forms, moreover, seem eminently usable when describing and examining the increasing practice, both in Hollywood and in world cinema in general, of co-production within the audio-visual field.

In this talk, Hjort's typology will be used and scrutinized in order to shed light on the various production strategies employed during the making of Scandinavian film's by far most financially successful venture during the last few decades. The widely discussed and distributed *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo* (2009) was consequently an international co-production, shot and post-produced at particular locations in Sweden, including at the geographical sites of two major regional film funds. Simultaneously, the production represented collaboration between four major public and private broadcasters in Denmark, Germany, Norway and Sweden while also involving two of those countries' public film funding agencies as well as various film production companies. In addition, the production was able to attract substantial private equity, an increasingly rare occurrence in present both Scandinavian and European film production. Similarly, though nearly all actors were Swedish and the dialogue was spoken in the domestic language of that country, virtually all the so-

called “A-functions” behind the camera was being handled by Danes, including a Danish director, director of photography, producer, editor, sound designer, production designer and music composer. *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo* – both a feature film and part of the later released Millennium television serial – consequently represents an alliance of different domestic and international organizations and agents informally negotiating their diverse interests in the Swedish and Scandinavian audio-visual production sphere. As a kind of conclusion, some sort of a historical rejoinder to the question of how and why a contemporary individual project can attract such an alliance of diverse agents and organizations will briefly be attempted.

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Audiovisuel public or Staatsrundfunk? The Entangled Representations of French Public Broadcasting in the German Press

Valérie Robert (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3)

In 2008-2009, comparable evolutions took place in France and Germany regarding public broadcasting and its dependency toward the state: in France, a new law making the state president responsible for the nomination of the heads of public TV and radio ; in Germany, CDU state premiers and their allies on the administrative board of the public channel ZDF refused to extend the contract of its editor-in-chief. This eventually led to a legal appeal before Germany’s Constitutional Court, which decided in 2014 that the influence of the state was too important in regard to the constitutional principle of *Staatsferne*.

We will examine the way the German press reported about both evolutions and how one media, the press, writes about and thus constructs the representation of another media, public broadcasting. An analysis of the German press discourse on these topics shows simultaneous but parallel narratives ; a real comparison between France and Germany, which would show the existing similarities, is rarely found.

We will focus on a semantic aspect : German press speaks about the French *audiovisuel public* mostly by naming it *Staatsrundfunk*, which is a derogatory designation, a code for past dictatorial regimes («Drittes Reich», German Democratic Republic) or for not really democratic contemporary societies. The precise equivalent would be the neutral *öffentlich- rechtlicher Rundfunk* (« public service »). This is not only a translation error but an interpretation, a meaningful transfer. In our

corpus, professional mediators, the correspondents in France, mostly use the neutral translation and use *Staatsrundfunk* only as a contextualized quote. Journalists in Germany who write for the media section of newspapers and magazines tend to use the oriented translation in a ahistorical way, as a non-argued, non-disputable and permanent fact. The knowledge about French public broadcasting is thus largely configured and organised by this representation of the French system as state dependent.

Media discourse is, when communicating about foreign media systems, also a selfdepiction through an implicit comparison in which the semantics play a central role. In our corpus, the designation of a media system is a code that allows to localize it in an binary opposition based on the criterion of autonomy : state dependent media vs. free media. The discursive encounter between media cultures is entangled with the construction of a representation of the German media system. This case of transfer allows to observe the communicative and narrative dimensions of the construction of a national professional identity, in which auto- and xenostereotypes are interlinked. Defining French public broadcasting as *Staatsrundfunk* is a way of strengthening a foundational professional myth for German journalists altogether, the representation of an autonomous media system since 1945, in contrast with the past.

This must however be contextualized : when establishing Germany as a model democracy (and therefore the German media system and the German journalistic culture as superior to the French ones), the German press tends to overlook the structural flaws of the German public broadcasting. But when it informs about public broadcasting and its financing (especially through advertising), the press is also an actor defending its own economic interests. In this case, *Staatsrundfunk* is used as a weapon in an economic intermedia competition. Tracing the variations in the use of this term for foreign as well as for the German system on a bigger corpus could help to depict the relational configuration of transnational and transmedial information.

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Cultural transfers accross media systems. Circulation of journalistic practices between England, Italy and Spain in the late 19th century

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While national perspectives have traditionally been dominant in press history, in the last decade the comparative perspective has emerged with great impetus. While this is not to say that comparative media studies did not exist before,¹⁶ the publishing of Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini's work in 2004 was decisive for triggering greater interest in this field of study.¹⁷ The main contribution of this book lies in challenging the Anglo-American or "liberal media model" as the norm against which the development of the media in other countries is analysed. Thus, Hallin and Mancini have proposed a new theoretical framework for comparative analysis based on three media systems, each portraying three different ways in which the relation between the media and the political system was historically shaped in Western societies.

While representing a remarkable step forward for our understanding of journalism from a comparative perspective, the framework of Hallin and Mancini is not without its limitations. Above all, the tracing of a comparative analysis based on "ideal types" has led to neglecting the cultural transfers that historically took place between countries belonging to different media systems.¹⁸ Indeed, the different cultural traditions and the great structural divergences that historically existed between European countries – in terms of urbanisation, economic development and the extension of literacy – have blinded scholars to the transnational media exchanges occurring between them. The aim of this presentation will consist in uncovering these cultural transfers by focusing on the case study of three newspapers belonging to different countries: *The Times* (England), *Il Corriere della Sera* (Italy) and *La Vanguardia* (Spain). While the three of them have traditionally been regarded as national icons, what is less known is that at one point in history the trajectories of these three newspapers converged, and the exchange of ideas that resulted from this transnational encounter decisively shaped the future of each of them. Thus, at the end of the 19th century both the editors of

¹⁶ Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm, *Four theories of the press: the authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility, and Soviet communist concepts of what the press should be and do*, Freeport, Books for Libraries Press, 1973 [1st ed. 1956].

¹⁷ D. Hallin and P. Mancini, *Comparing Media Systems. Three Models of Media and Politics*, Cambridge-New York, Cambridge University Press, 2004. See, also: Jane Chapman, *Comparative Media History. An Introduction: 1789 to the Present*, Cambridge-Malden, Polity, 2005.

¹⁸ On "cultural transfers" see, among others: Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, *Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity*, *History and Theory*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Feb., 2006), pp. 30-50; Wolfgang Schmale, "Cultural Transfer", *European History Online (EGO)*, Mainz, 2012-12-05: [urn:nbn:de:0159-2012120501](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0159-2012120501); Michel Espagne, *Les transferts culturels franco-allemands*, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1999

Il Corriere della Sera and of La Vanguardia explicitly took The Times as a reference model to carry a program of drastic reforms. Inspired in this English newspaper, both abandoned the strong partisan orientation that the press traditionally had in Mediterranean countries, and were turned into commercial and independent newspapers. In both cases, the reforms decisively boosted their sales and eventually transformed them into the most important organs of the bourgeoisie in Milan and Barcelona, respectively.

By examining why and in what ways Il Corriere della Sera and La Vanguardia sought to imitate The Times, this presentation will highlight the epistemological contributions that transnational and entangled perspectives can bring to the field of media history. In doing so, it will also contest the still common fragmentation of Europe's history according to areas of development, and stress the importance of cultural exchanges in the creation of new journalistic codes.

The International News System as Entangled History: The View from Associated Press, 1918-1950

Gene Allen, Ryerson University, Toronto, Canada

In *The Media and Globalization* (2005), Terhi Rantanen argues forcefully that it is misleading to take nations as the fundamental building blocks of international communication systems and processes – one of the premises underlying the frequently-contested “media imperialism” interpretation. Media organizations that operate internationally have their own interests and typically do not “represent” in any straightforward way the nations in which their head offices are located. In addition, media organizations are often aligned with interest groups, classes, cities and regions within nations that struggle with each other over what the national interest should be. Cities, Rantanen suggests elsewhere, may have just as strong a claim as nations to be considered key actors in the evolution of the international communication system.

Rantanen's observations provide a useful starting point in the effort to develop an overall account of how the international news system and the news agencies that are its central institutions have evolved. The history of the major American news agency, Associated Press, between 1918 and 1950 provides much useful evidence to help understand the relative importance and interactions of a) international structures, b) the interests of nation-states, c) the international operations of nationally-based news organizations, d) domestic business pressures and opportunities, and e) the role of metropolitan newspapers (the ultimate consumers of international news) in different countries in the development of the international news system.

Consider, for example, how these different explanatory factors came into play during AP's expansion into South America in 1918-19. This took place during and just after the end of the First World War, and it is not surprising that under wartime circumstances, nation-states played an important part in this process. The rules of the international news cartel, first established in the late 1850s, had divided up the world into zones of exclusive control for news agencies domiciled in Britain (Reuters), France (Havas) and Germany (Wolff). South America was Havas territory, and AP –restricted at the time to disseminating its news in North and Central America and the Caribbean – only became involved in response to requests from two different directions. One was the U.S. State Department, which wanted to counter the spread of pro-German propaganda in South America; the other was the influential Buenos Aires newspaper *La Nacion*, which was dissatisfied with Havas'

war coverage. Havas, heavily subsidized by the French government, refused to report on the claims made in German war communiqués, which meant that its news gave only the Allied perspective on the war's progress. AP initially was slow to act on these requests, allowing its competitor, United Press, to establish itself in South America first (also in response to U.S. government encouragement). Once AP decided to make its own move into South America, however, its privileged relationship with the U.S. cable company that controlled the New York-Buenos Aires route allowed it to displace UP almost entirely. In Buenos Aires, both *La Nacion* and its larger and wealthier rival, *La Prensa*, became AP members, although *La Prensa* wanted to have exclusive rights to the AP service. Within a year, *La Prensa's* determination to offer something to its readers that *La Nacion* did not have led it to sign a supplementary contract with United Press, and soon afterward, to drop AP for UP entirely.

The United Press contract with *La Prensa* was tremendously lucrative, worth \$500,000 annually. This revenue allowed UP to expand its own coverage of news from Europe, especially from Spain and Italy, the countries of origin for many Buenos Aires newspaper readers. Eventually UP also supplied this European news to its U.S. clients, putting pressure on AP to provide equally complete coverage. This fed AP's growing impatience with the cartel restrictions that prevented it from establishing its own news-exchange relations with individual newspapers and smaller national news agencies in Europe – a crucial element in AP's ultimate decision in 1933 to risk a complete rupture with the cartel agencies. In this case, therefore, we see the following influences at work: international structures, both contractual (the cartel agreements) and physical (the cable networks); the very explicit interests of the U.S. and French governments; the competition between one French news agency, Havas, and two American agencies, Associated Press and United Press, to operate in the South American market; competition between UP and AP in the U.S. market; and the powerful influence, in a competitive situation, of wealthy newspapers in Buenos Aires. Even in wartime, when nation-states might be expected to (and did) take explicit steps to influence news distribution in other countries, it is striking how many other, non-national, levels of explanation are required to understand this situation adequately.

This is one of three case studies of AP's international expansion that will be examined and analyzed in this presentation. The others are AP's expansion into Japan, leading to the breaking of its long-standing relationship with the Reuters-Havas-Wolff cartel in 1933; and AP's headlong expansion around the world after 1944. In each case the combination of explanatory factors and the weight of each is different, but an examination of these developments based primarily on the competing interests of nations consistently fails to provide an adequate explanation of what happened and why. The evolution of the international news system is a thoroughly entangled history, in which international, national, local, political and business interests all play important roles.

Session VIII: Entangled journalisms

10.30–12.30, room: 2nd floor (chair: Johan Jarlbrink)

Berlin Warszawa Express: The Polish-Jewish Press as transmission belt between Jewish communities in Berlin and Warsaw during the rise of National Socialism in 1933.

Anne-Christin Klotz, Zentrum Jüdische Studien Berlin-Brandenburg/ Freie Universität Berlin

International press responses to the persecution of Jews between 1933 to the Holocaust, especially those of Western European, American and Palestinian newspapers, have aroused academic interest since the early 1960s. However, scholars have pointed out that Jewish press reactions to the persecution have, in particular, been subject to only marginal study (Seul 2013; 2014). This applies especially to the numerous publications of the Polish-Jewish press of the Second Polish Republic, which has only recently become an area of interest to historians. (Nalewajko-Kulikow 2012). Even though Polish Jews were the first target of anti-Semitic movements in the Weimar Republic, the question of how the Polish-Jewish media reacted towards the rise of anti-Semitism and later Nazi Germany has been mostly overlooked. The few studies that do deal with this topic primarily focus on the direct reception of events in Nazi Germany (Grinberg 1997; Weiss 2000; Blatman 2001). In this paper, I consider transnational entanglements and the exchange of information between the centers of the Jewish press in Warsaw and Berlin, as indicative of Polish-Jewish media reactions to anti-Semitic persecution in Germany during the rise of National Socialism. Based on an analysis of three of the most popular Yiddish language newspapers in Warsaw, the socialist General Jewish Labor Bund's *Naye Folkstsaytung* (New People's Newspaper), the Zionist newspapers *Haynt* (Today) and *Der Moment* (The Moment) as well as newly discovered archival material, I argue that Polish-Jewish journalists in Warsaw were key figures in acquiring knowledge of the persecution of Jews and political dissidents in Germany. I will demonstrate that these journalists often depended on networks, bringing together sources from their professional field as well as private and political informants. These mostly Berlin-based networks helped to gain first-hand information from non-governmental sources and became even more important after Hitler's regime abolished freedom of speech and established anti-Jewish and anti-Socialist laws.

In three case studies I will reconstruct in which ways the Polish-Jewish daily press gathered its information. Firstly, I will highlight the role of the newspapers Berlin-based correspondents, who, in most cases, migrated from Eastern Europe to Berlin already in the early 1920ies. One of them was Nathan Frenkel, a young Bundist from Warsaw, who wrote regularly for the *Naye Folkstsaytung* about the political situation in Berlin until June 1933, when he left town for Paris. Secondly, I will show, that already during the first months after Hitler became chancellor, the Polish-Jewish press searched for alternatives, next to their own correspondents, to get first-hand information. Thus, interviews and guest contributions from Jewish and non-Jewish political activists from Germany became more important. One special source were the 1933 reports from the German-Jewish journalist Esriel Carlebach. For the *Haynt* he went undercover and traveled through the country for several weeks. As a German Jew he had direct access to German-Jewish Institutions in Berlin and elsewhere.

Thirdly, I will demonstrate how newspapers in addition to other sources sent their own staff to Germany. The need for truth was strong, which is why the editors from *Der Moment* called for

example Mark Turkow, the newspapers correspondent from the Polish parliament in Warsaw, to travel to Germany in May 1933 and send back reports to the editor's office. When Turkow went back to Warsaw, he became one of the first journalists who spoke publicly about what he had seen in Nazi-Germany. Therefore, I will close my paper in exploring the journalists' role in spreading this knowledge within Warsaw's Jewish community in order to establish social welfare networks for Jewish refugees from Germany and further examine the journalist's involvement in public protests against Nazi Germany.

The entanglement of public relations and journalism in the 19th and early 20th century in German-speaking countries

Mike Meißner & Philomen Schönhagen, University of Fribourg

The emergence of public relations (PR) took place, at least to a certain degree, in co-evolution with journalism (Bieler, 2010; Schönhagen, 2008; Schönhagen & Meißner, 2016). But to date, from a historical perspective, only limited research has been done on their relationship. This is all the more striking as there is reasonable research on PR history in the last years (Raaz & Wehmeier, 2011; Watson, 2014).

To shed light on these early entanglements between PR and journalism we analysed the beginnings and early days of PR in German-speaking countries (Germany, Austria, parts of Switzerland), based on literature about PR history, comprising to a large extent contributions dating from the 19th and the first decades of the 20th century that have not been analyzed extensively (e.g. Binder, 1983; Kunczik, 1997). They include a reasonable number of interesting case studies. On this basis we can lay out that the two fields are entangled in several ways since the beginnings of PR, especially with regard to practices as well as to media production and dissemination of information: a) PR practices were explicitly oriented towards journalistic practices, b) a mix of roles between journalistic and PR actors can be observed, c) some PR practitioners worked as journalists before they switched to PR, d) the rise of PR departments had a reciprocal effect on journalism (increasing amount of content and therewith on specialization within editorial departments) (e.g. Blöbaum, 1994). Those developments can be observed in several social spheres like economy (companies), state and municipal authorities and non-governmental organisations (e.g. feminist movements). If we broaden this view to other countries, we can find indicators to similar developments in the US at the same time (Raucher, 1968), especially with regard to points a) and d). Therefore, one could expect to find further entanglements in a transnational perspective.

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Entangled socio-political & transnational frameworks of Egyptian press legislations: Historical multidimensional study (1828-1960)

Nermeen Alazrak, Associate professor, Faculty of Mass Com., Cairo University

This study seeks to trace and analyse the history of Egyptian press from its inception in the nineteenth century passing by the end of Mohamed Ali's dynasty rule to Nasser's reign and press law 1960, based on the concept of entangled history (E H) which was inspired by authors and researchers from various disciplines who argued that developments on one side could be the result of developments on the another, the study seeks to clarify the correlations between the different socio-political variables and the developments in press policies at that period and to analyse press legislations taking into consideration the transnational relationships between Egypt and the Ottoman empire and to what extent the disputes, ambivalence or consistency between them in different periods caused significant changes in the policy of press ownership & press legislations.

Depending on a multidimensional perspective the study aims at investigating the history of the Egyptian press in the period of Mohamed Ali's dynasty reign until Nasser's reign (1805-1960) taking into consideration the whole political, economic, cultural and social system which characterized Egypt at that time and seeks to critically explain the considerable differences between the various rulers' interests and attitudes which affect the development of Egyptian press' policies and laws at that time.

The results of the study demonstrated that Egyptian press was used by the various rulers, whether in the era of Mohamed Ali dynasty or in Nasser's era (1828-1960) mainly as a tool to control the public opinion, also to impose the ruler's opinions and attitudes and to attack indirectly the other countries or authorities and that exactly what is happened between the Ottoman Empire and Egyptian rulers Khedewi Ismaeel (1863 – 1879) then Khedewi Tawfiq (1879- 1892), so -except in some limited periods- the press was not and cannot be considered as independent press, moreover the press laws which were issued at that time aimed at restricting press freedom from the beginning of publications law 1881 until the law of 1960.

Based on the concept of entangled history, the official inception of the Egyptian press ("El-Khedewi Journal"1827- "Al-Waqa'ic Al-Masriyah" (Egyptian Facts)1828- "Al-Askariyah Journal"(Military newspaper)1833) (Abd-Elrahman Elrafey,1966) didn't only come because of the absolute power of Mohamed Ali besides the strong authority of Ottoman Empire, but also because of the low educational level and the limited local interests of the people at that time.

Later, the pluralism and diversity in the press appeared for the first time in the era of Khedewi Ismaeel when the first private newspaper "Wadi Elneel" (Nile Valley) was issued by °Abd Allah Abi

Al-Su'ud in 1866 (Kamel Zoheiry, 1980) followed thereafter by other private and partisan newspapers which met the advanced educational level and people's developed interests at that time. **The study also elucidated that** when there was a restriction on press freedom through direct official orders or press laws the journalists escaped to issue newspapers from other countries outside Egypt to express their opinions and this phenomenon was known as immigrant press.

After July 1952 revolution, the ruling in Egypt moved from Mohamed Ali dynasty to Egyptian presidents from the Egyptian military and the whole system of the press differed. Nasser's era (1954-1970) was distinguished by the absolute authority and the very restricted governmental power all over the press, the partisan press was cancelled and the law of 1960 came as a reflection of this powerful authority and it is called law of nationalization because it changed the press ownership from private to governmental ownership.

German Conspiracy or Middle Eastern Fantasy? The Question of Origin in a Transnational Hoax of 1906

Ulrich Brandenburg (University of Zürich)

At the turn of the 20th century the global development of the press and of modern means of communication had enabled news to travel quickly across national and linguistic boundaries. However, the channels of transmission and non-transmission were shaped by asymmetric power relations, which influenced media flows and determined what news reached which audience.¹⁹ My paper presents a case from early 20th century Japan in which the origin and transmission channels of a travelling piece of news became an issue of contestation, rather than its mere contents. I highlight that power relations were at play not only in the production and transmission of news but also in its interpretation.

While news became more entangled through the new possibilities of transnational reporting and reprinting, the same entanglement entailed a renewed interest in the precise origins and sources of news. Indications of origin and source are generally regarded as a means of conferring authenticity and objectivity to what was being reported.²⁰ However, when in 1906 an article from a German paper reached the Japanese press via the respectable *Morning Post* from London, it was its alleged German origin which sparked an argument involving the pro-government Japanese press, German diaspora papers, and the German embassy. The article stated that Japan was considering changing its state religion to Islam in order to gain Muslim support for economic and territorial expansion in Asia. It immediately provoked harsh criticism from the Japanese press in Japanese as well as in English. The report was not only obviously a hoax but it was also seen as a conscious attempt at defamation, as the German emperor had at numerous previous occasions depicted Japan as a threat to European interests. For commentators in the German diaspora papers, on the other hand, the chain of transmission via London made the hoax seem to be part of a British propaganda campaign

¹⁹ Potter, Simon J. "Webs, Networks, and Systems: Globalization and the Mass Media in the Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Empire." *Journal of British Studies* 46, no. 3 (2007): 635-636; Wenzlhuemer, Roland. "Globalization, Communication and the Concept of Space in Global History." In "Global Communication: Telecommunication and Global Flows of Information in the Late 19th and Early 20th Century." Edited by Roland Wenzlhuemer. Special issue, *Historical Social Research* 35, no. 1 (2010): 19-47.

²⁰ Barth, Volker. "Die Genese globaler Nachrichtenagenturen." *WerkstattGeschichte* 56 (2011): 73-74.

in order to tarnish the image of Germany in Japan. Rather than being identified as a common mistake by a German paper the question of origin gave the hoax a larger significance within German-Japanese relations.

The German embassy in Tokyo quickly intervened, openly as well as clandestinely, and spread the counter-message that the true origin of the hoax lay in the Ottoman Empire and the Muslim Middle East. By explaining that members of the Ottoman opposition had used a German cover in order to spread their bizarre worldviews, responsibility was deferred to obscure Middle Eastern sources; and as no Ottoman representatives were present in Japan, this apologetic version of events remained undisputed until the outrage passed. The German diplomats used not only the German news agency and the diaspora press to spread their messages but also actively tried to co-opt a Japanese news bureau to gain a foothold in the Japanese press.

The debate exemplifies that the global circulation of news did not obliterate asymmetries of power even after a piece of news had reached its audience. Numerous observers did not only discuss the veracity of news but quarreled about its correct interpretation in light of a complex route of transmission in which the telegraph was complemented by more traditional forms of reprinting and commenting. In my case study from early 20th century Japan the British press set the tone, German diplomats and diaspora papers struggled for influence, and Ottoman voices remained unheard while being used as scapegoats. Source and origin of news reports should in this respect be regarded as an integral part to the message. They provoked their own reactions and exerted their own influence

Session IX: Media Circulation 2

13.30–15.30, room: 3rd floor (chair: Jamie Medhurst)

Three Times a Sandman. Competition, Copying, and Exchange Between Children's Television in East- and West Germany

Christoph Classen, senior researcher, Centre for Contemporary History (ZZF), Potsdam.

My contribution deals with the entanglement of media in two parts of Germany during the Cold War- era. Using the example of the daily aired children's TV-show "Das Sandmännchen", which was introduced in 1957 in both parts of Germany, I will try to identify different kinds of ties between the TV in the GDR and the Federal Republic. Contrary to what has often been insinuated, this was by no means simply a matter of competition. In fact aspects of copying and adoption/acquisition were as relevant as the exchange of people and know-how between the hostile systems. Last not least the shows were based on a common European tradition and addressed beyond the ideological context of Socialism and Capitalism a scepticism against modernity which apparently was widespread in both societies.

From communist hero to beloved capitalist. The cultural transfer of the GDR children's television programme 'Unser Sandmännchen' to Sweden in the early 1970s

Marie Cronqvist, associate professor of journalism and media history, Department of Communication and Media at Lund University, Sweden.

In recent research on Cold War Europe, the political divide between East and West has been increasingly problematized and questioned, leaving room for studies of transborder exchanges, circulation and interaction. This paper deals with such East-West interaction in the field of television programming, focusing specifically on the developing relationship between Swedish and East German television in the 1970s following the diplomatic recognition of the GDR in 1972. The case presented is the GDR childrens' production 'Unser Sandmännchen', detecting under what circumstances it was transferred to Sweden, where it became a tremendous success in the beginning of the 1970s.

As my paper will illustrate, the transfer of 'Unser Sandmännchen' to Sweden was hardly the transfer of socialist or communist ideology. In fact, one aspect of the tremendous success the programme idea enjoyed in Sweden was the way in which it was adjusted, appropriated, and translated to the Swedish context. Quite paradoxically, with the East German import, a new era of commercialising children's television began in Sweden. The immense popularity of Sandmännchen – or John Blund, as he came to be known in Sweden – was due to one man. That was composer and freelance TV producer Sten Carlberg, who had travelled to the Soviet Union, the GDR and other socialist countries in the late 1960s and picked up interesting cultural products and ideas. In his political orientation he was left, but he was also a capitalist entrepreneur, who immediately saw the possibilities of making money out of the East German puppet in the Swedish context. He started several companies, which produced, sold and distributed a wide range of John Blund products, and he was also widely accused for brutally capitalizing on Swedish children's love for the puppet.

Through the lens of the ‘Unser Sandmännchen’ cultural transfer, a series of broader issues concerning East-West interaction can be raised. One issue is that of neutral countries’ international cultural relations and the role of public service media in diplomatic affairs. At the time of the Swedish diplomatic recognition of the GDR, the ‘Unser Sandmännchen’ production was key to open up cultural relations between Sweden and the GDR, though the phenomenon exchanged was hardly communism. Another issue which is raised in the paper is that of television and the enculturation of children. In Sweden, the John Blund debate in 1972–73 became important for subsequent discussions about children’s media and commercialization. Taken together, these aspects open up for a discussion on Cold War Europe as a story as much of entanglements and circulation as of isolation and division – and the role of broadcasting media and its agents in such processes.

Selling Sesame Street to Europe: not as easy as you would think!

Helle Strandgaard Jensen (Aarhus University)

The American children’s television program for pre-schoolers, *Sesame Street*, aired for the time in October 1969. The programme was supposed to use the aesthetics of commercials to “sell” children numeracy and literacy by advertising the meaning of ABC rather than toys, bed linen and breakfast cereals (Morrow 2006). Even if it was meant for minority children living in urban areas, it became an instant hit with the white sub-urban middleclass. When producers discovered they had a hit-series on their hands the marketing to European broadcasters began and the series was submitted for the Prix Jeunesse Prize in 1970, which it also won. However, selling *Sesame Street* to broadcasters in Europe was not as easy as the Americans had expected. The programmes producers believed that it was “culture free” as a press release from the launch of the Italian *Sesamo Apriti* stated in 1977. However, many European producers disagreed, and they distrusted the American business model in which (educational) merchandising and overseas sales was an important element (Jensen & Lustyik 2017).

In this paper, I analyse at the (entangled) transfer and demarcation of *Sesame Street* in UK, West Germany, Italy and Scandinavia. I will highlight the important role, which inter-European and inter-Nordic fora played in the transfer/demarcation/appropriation process. Both the European Broadcasting Union’s subgroup for Children and Young people and its Nordic equivalent, Nordvision, had day-long sessions dedicated to the sole purpose of discussing *Sesame Street* and its indications for European preschool programmes (Jensen 2017a).

The paper uses material from archives in the US, UK, Germany, Italy, Denmark, Norway and Sweden. The theoretical inspiration for the analysis of different conceptualisations of *Sesame Street*, and why it was deemed (in)appropriate for pre-schoolers in the different countries, draws upon work on children’s media and consumption politics (Jensen 2017b) and the creation of shared meaning in local contexts (Harder 2010). The analysis will not only focus on differences and similarities in conceptualisations of the role of children’s television in children’s lives. An important element in the analysis is how cultural, economic and political factors converged and together formed a basis for the different European attitudes towards *Sesame Street*. Inspired by theories of media entanglement and global history (Conrad 2016), I will explore how an investigation of one programme’s reception in both local, regional and international contexts can tell us more about the relationship between specific national processes and international phenomena.

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'Invisible' Agents of Entanglement: Producer Representatives and US-American TV Series in West Germany, Switzerland, and Austria, 1950s-1960s

Andre Dechert, Augsburg University

In the mid-1950s, West Germany's then-only national TV channel, Deutsches Fernsehen (DFS), began broadcasting US-American TV series like *Fury*, *Lassie* or *Union Pacific*. Even though Bavaria's public service broadcaster Bayerischer Rundfunk – one of several regional public service broadcasters which jointly produced DFS – made an agreement with the producers of these television series, these were not the only parties involved. The business of trading TV series heavily depended on some highly involved individuals that represented the producers of the series. These intermediaries not only participated in the process of making an agreement between the US-American producers and the West German broadcasters. They also organized the dissemination of the film copies that were needed for synchronization and broadcasting. Yet, their histories are quite elusive as sources on their professional careers are – in most cases – rather scarce and the networks that were established by them are difficult to reconstruct. Thus, it comes as no surprise that these representatives have been (rather) neglected in previous research on the history of television and (global) television trade in the 1950s and 1960s. Our knowledge is basically limited to the fact that US-American companies (both producers and distributors), pushing for the control of the emerging global television market, relied upon overseas representatives / sales agents for economic reasons (this is pointed out by Segrave, 1998, p. 12, 20; see also Havens, 2006, p. 13-24).

In my paper, I will point out that producer representatives have to be regarded as influential agents of international entanglement – at least until international television fairs were established in the course of the 1960s.²¹ Based on the example of Leo J. Horster, who was born in Germany about 1900 but probably migrated to the United States way before National Socialists grabbed power, I argue that these representatives not only “move[d] from one national setting to another” (Hilmes, 2017, p. 142), trying to sell series to different national broadcasters. They also advanced contacts

²¹My use of the terms interational and transnational corresponds with their definition in EMHIS Research Report. The term international here denotes „formal connection[s] between two (or more) entities [...] with the boundaries of nation-states very much in focus“ (Cronqvist & Hilgert, 2017, p. 132).

between these broadcasters by circulating film copies among them – these film copies thus quickly transformed into ‘transnational objects’ “located in a heterogenous spatio-temporal framework [...] that transgresses or operates irrespective for formal nation-state boundaries“ (Cronqvist & Hilgert, 2017, p. 132). Documents that are preserved in the historical archive of Bavaria’s public service broadcaster Bayerischer Rundfunk prove that Horster acted as a representative for the production company Incorporated Television Company, Ltd.²² and coordinated the circulation of film copies of famous TV series *Fury* and *Lassie* among broadcasters from West Germany (Bayerischer Rundfunk), Austria (Österreichischer Rundfunk) and Switzerland (Schweizer Fernsehen). These documents encompass internal communication within Bayerischer Rundfunk and communication between Bayerischer Rundfunk, Österreichischer Rundfunk, Schweizer Fernsehen and Leo Horster.

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Documenting forced migration on screen: Entangled histories of refugee documentaries in Germany and Sweden

Hans-Ulrich Wagner & Philipp Seufferling (University of Hamburg)

Although the ‘century of expulsions’ (Münz, 2002) and the ‘long century of mass media’ (Schildt, 2001) do not synchronize by chance, research on the ‘making of the modern refugee’ (Gatrell 2015) has not sufficiently scrutinized the key role of media so far. However, continuous cases of forced migration have not only entangled social histories of countries through peoples’ movements, but also have these entanglements become mediated and hence shape media history: Memories of refugees enter the media, entangling sending and receiving countries, media cultures and networks; memories of hosts decide on who is welcomed and who’s not. Othering and exclusion as well as likeness and inclusion are based on a long trajectory of mediated negotiation.

This is especially discernible in documentary movies, which serve here as a case for tracing entanglements within mnemonic media representations of forced migration. The suggested paper will analyze historical and contemporary refugee documentaries in Germany and Sweden under the lens of entangled media history as discussed in the EMHIS network. Documentaries in these exemplary countries have made mediated memory offers and, thus, have informed entangled discourses about European experiences of forced migration. These case studies are to show how entanglement happens in transnational memories of forced migration. Commonalities and differences in documentary productions from both countries and from different periods in history are to be identified to understand European refugees on screen.

²² *Fury* and *Lassie* were first produced by Television Programs of America (TPA). In 1958, the latter production company was purchased by the British production company Incorporated Television Company. Yet, *Fury* and *Lassie* were still produced in the United States.

Selected examples of documentaries will be presented, analyzing their construction as ‘memory movies’ in surrounding media discourses. Our research questions are: Which pictorial aesthetics and narratives document certain cases of forced migration into Sweden and Germany? Which aspects of the refugee experience are narrated in which ways? These cinematic analyses provide a basis for scrutinizing entanglements the chosen movies undertake as communicative memories. Finally, our central answers give insights into how German and Swedish documentaries narrate the refugee experience as a European entangled phenomenon.

Session X: Entangled public spheres

13.30–15.30, room: 2nd floor (chair: Sune Bechmann Pedersen)

First contact. The Soviet union goes Usenet

Natalia Konradova, Freie Universität Berlin

Being a researcher of the early Russian internet I should be concerned to ‘national’ rather than cross-cultural approach to media history. In the 90’s the internet turned out to have a special function in the Russian-speaking community. It became available in 1991, the year of the USSR’s collapse, and consequently was the first medium of uncontrolled grassroots communication, that is the first public sphere. A specific feature of the ‘Runet’ identity was literature. After decades of limited public communication under Soviet regime the first Russian users preferred to provide online libraries, literary games, literary contests and awards, interactive fiction writings, self-publication services with mutual authors comments, and online criticism. These facts mark the Russian internet as a singular phenomenon. And this is my starting point towards the entangled media history.

Being a specific national phenomenon, Russian ‘*netrature*’ (from ‘net’ and ‘literature’) had a connection with the global internet at the least in biographies of its producers. Almost all the first Russian internet users shared some common characteristics. Among other things, they had experience of living abroad, either as postgraduate students of American and European universities, or as children of Soviet emigrants. Those who never left the USSR were well-educated in order to pass through relatively high qualification barriers of early Internet usage, such as technical competence and English language knowledge. Some of the Russian pioneers entered the internet years before it became a Russian cultural phenomenon. They had experience of the global network and then successfully translated some of the online habits and patterns to the ‘runet’.

For a short period of time they had to follow existing western agenda, and this first contact is well-preserved in the USENET archive. In combination with the early users’ interviews it provides a complete picture of both the similarities and the differences of the two worlds which met online. Shortly before ‘the Soviets’ entered the USENET, there was wide discussion about the USSR online, so western users were waiting for their Soviet counterparts. The first postings from the USSR were very much appreciated by American and European users who celebrated the victory of goodwill over the Cold War and double-sided propaganda. Then the first Soviet men in that cyberspace were forced to answer all the questions accumulated by the westerners about everyday life as well as human rights and discrimination issues in the USSR. While the Soviets had the same profession, used the same software, and wrote their postings in English, they demonstrated reactions and manners that distinguished them from their western colleagues. Thus, they were embarrassed by the social and political agenda, trying to avoid it or place it in doubt. Second, they easily escalated discussion with manifested aggression up to threats of violence.

Researching the USENET archive today one can conclude, that these early post-Cold War online incidents were typical rather than occasional. They could be easily explained in terms of late socialist cultural paradigm and social communication patterns that were described and analysed by Alexei Yurchak and other researchers of the phenomenon. Among other things, it included lack of tolerance and trust, militant mindset, and a more general gap in humanistic, social, and political issues which were appropriated and discredited by the official narrative.

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Nordic Book Café culture in the 1970s

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In 1970s, socialist book cafés held an important role in the new left political movement in Western Europe.²³ First appearing in Western Germany and France in the late 1960s, these venues were established by activists as a reaction to the traditional, “bourgeois” booksellers often refusing to distribute Marxist literature. The phenomenon was spreading fast and soon leftist book cafés were established in Lund, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Helsinki, and Narvik, for example.

The concept “book café”, would soon incorporate much more than that of a traditional bookshop. They functioned as venues for an emerging political movement, as well as for a new, widened media culture, where bookselling was practised alongside a range of other activities. Consumption of leftist journals, mimeographing and distribution of leaflets, banner-making and recording of progressive rock music, were only some of the media events that took place in the book cafés.

In this, the book cafés were nothing less than links in a historical tradition. I propose that the Western European book café of the 1970s played a role comparable in their respective contexts to that of the café culture of the 19th century. They produced and distributed an enormous offering of different kinds of media, particularly printed matter. In addition, as pointed out by for example book historian Lisa Borgemeister, they became venues for an entirely new kind of reading and discussion culture.²⁴

The media historian Kathrin Fahlenbrach has noted that the student movement and left-wing activism during the 1970s brought with it a new conception of the public. She suggests that the “counter-public” constituted by this movement was characterized by a novel kind of interactivity, where co-determination was an important building stones.²⁵ This new attitude enabled media events such as mass demonstrations, street theatre, and other happenings, but also the presence of political, social, and medial meeting points like the book cafés.

²³ Sonnenberg, Uwe, *Von Marx zum Maulwurf. Linker Buchhandel in Westdeutschland in den 1970er Jahren*, Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2016.

²⁴ Lisa Borgemeister, “Politische Buchhandlungen im Kontext mit der 68er Bewegung in der BRD -Am Beispiel der Marburger Buchhandlung ‘Roter Stern’”, i Stephan Füssel (red.), *Die Politisierung des Buchmarkts : 1968 als Branchenereignis. Hans Altenhein zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007.

²⁵ Kathrin Fahlenbrach, “Protestinszenierungen. Die Studentenbewegung im Spannungsfeld von Kultur-revolution und Medien-Evolution”, i Martin Klimke & Joachim Scharloth (red.), *Handbuch 1968 zur Kultur- und Mediengeschichte der Studentbewegung*, Stuttgart: Metzler Verlag, 2007, p. 14.

In recent years, a number of German scholars have illuminated the importance of book cafés in the proliferation of the political and media culture of “1968” in Western Germany. Though crucial contributions to the media history of this particular context, these studies are pursued from a national point of view, leaving aside the highly-developed social networks and distribution channels between book cafés in different countries.

One such example was post order service that was initiated by the book café in Lund, covering leftist booksellers in all the Nordic countries, and offering books in English, French and German, as well as in the Scandinavian languages.²⁶

In this paper I am reconstructing the entanglements between the different institutions that constituted the book café movement in the Nordic countries in the 1970s, from a transnational as well as a transmedial perspective. I argue that the individual book cafés functioned as nodes in an alternative media system, the Western European book café culture.

Entanglements of radical gender role ideology in Finnish and Swedish media of the 1960s

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Ideas have travelled between Finland and Sweden throughout history due to the close geographical relation of the countries. Even though the ideas have flown especially from Sweden to Finland they have also moved to the other direction. In this presentation, I will analyse this transfer of ideas by using the media discussion of gender roles in the 1960s as a case study.

The presentation is connected to the recent shift towards transmedial and transnational media histories. (Cronqvist & Hilgert 2017) More specifically, I will focus on transnational entanglements in media content by asking to what extent the discussion on gender roles was entangled in Finnish and Swedish media. How did journalists use the neighbouring country and its discussion as a reference point when reporting on similar issues in their own country? What were the grounds for these entanglements?

Based on previous research, news and popular media served as a central forum for the national debate on gender roles in both countries. (Kurvinen 2013; Florin & Nilsson 2000) Although the most active period of the debate was a few years earlier in Sweden the situation in the neighbouring country was increasingly commented on when the discussion heated in Finland during the late 1960s. These articles and minor remarks made the discussion on gender roles entangled between Finland and Sweden.

In order to grasp the fluidity of entanglements in media contents, I will use the concept of *circulation*, defined as a process in which “certain ideas, items and actors become more powerful, while others may fade away or change their shape or consistency.” I do not view circulation as a mere discursive construct but follow Valaskivi and Sumiala (2014) who have argued that scholars should pay attention to the agents who shape the process of circulation i.e. to the role of national actors in transnational processes. According to my understanding, *circulation* – which is a concept

²⁶ Svensson, Ragni, ”Bokcafét: politisk och social mötesplats i 1970-talets röda Lund”, *Biblis*, nr 72, 2015.

used especially to analyse contemporary societies in move – completes the approach of *entangled media histories* by offering an analytical tool to understand the dynamic and open-ended nature of entanglements in media contents.

The data contains a comprehensive collection of newspaper and magazine clippings from Finnish and Finnish-Swedish media gathered by Association 9 (*Yhdistys 9*). This data includes also a small amount of articles from Swedish newspapers and magazines. In addition, I have searched for articles from Swedish newspapers by using National Library of Sweden's digital newspaper archive. Based on this material, I will show that the entanglements between Finnish and Swedish media coverage of gender roles can be localised to key persons who served as 'cultural translators' to use Michele Hilmes (2016) concept. In addition, the change of ideas formed a circular model for entanglements. Although theoretical inspiration for the debate travelled from Sweden to Finland it was the latter one that offered an example of grassroot activism in the Swedish media.

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Airtime for Newcomers: Radio's Contributions for Making Migrants Feel at Home in a New Homeland

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This paper explores the possibilities and limits, the similarities and differences in British and West German public service radio's ability to reflect on and to address the specific needs and expectations of migrant groups in its programmes between the 1960s and 1980s. Empirically, the paper is based on comparisons of radio broadcasts on and for different migrant groups such as produced by the BBC Radio Leicester for the post-war Asian migrants in England and by West German public service broadcasting for *Gastarbeiter* (foreign workers) as well as for Spätaussiedler (i.e. ethnic German repatriates from the Soviet Union and East Europe).

Radio is studied here as a powerful agent of identity management, of citizenship education, and of cultural diplomacy. Similar programming strategies and certain transmedial aspects can be identified: in both countries radio tried to serve as a forum where communication between the natives and the newcomers could take place. Not only did radio talk about migrants and migration to introduce the 'foreigners' to the locals, thus to inform and educate the local population. It also offered airtime to selected migrant communities as attempt to cater for their special needs and interests as well as to facilitate their difficulties of adjusting to an unfamiliar environment.

Therefore, public service radio in both countries established exclusive programme slots that frequently offered distinctive “migrant soundscapes” (including migrant languages/accents, music and other familiar sounds). This had both including and excluding effects on the listenership as it, on the one hand, supported migrants to settle and, on the other hand, affirmed their distinctive migrant identity.

By the 1960s, the BBC began to understand the potential for specialisation, decentralisation and democratisation with its local radio service that began in 1967. As a result, the BBC started considering local radio as a better platform for Asian broadcasting than the national network of the BBC. In October 1976, the BBC Radio Leicester started taking steps to satisfy the demands of its Asian listeners by producing a programme called The Six O’Clock Show. Local Asian citizens presented this show, which developed into a radio magazine programme including Asian news – local and from the Indian sub-continent – discussions, music and requests. The show was initially broadcast three nights of the week in English, one night in Hindi-Urdu language, and one night in Gujarati language. In addition, music was extremely important to the Asian community, particularly Bollywood music. As the local radio stations developed, areas with a significant Asian population who wished to make programmes were able to pursue this aim, and generally found themselves on the air. Very soon the Asian population became most responsive to this programme and thus, it was expanded to all weekdays from Monday to Friday from 6pm until midnight, and subsequently, also on Saturdays from 8pm till 10pm. This was the beginning of what is today known as the BBC Radio Asian Network.

In West Germany, similar programmes offering migrant topics and soundscapes were created since the 1960s to address *Gastarbeiter* from the Mediterranean countries, who contributed much needed labour force to the Federal Republic’s still booming post-war economy. Furthermore, there was a tradition of special radio programmes for Germans who had been expelled from East Europe in the aftermath of the Second World War. Yet, there was no such thing as a “*Spätaussiedler-Radio*”. Instead they became topical in programme series that catered to a more general community of ‘newcomers’ from East Europe with a German ethnic background. Our paper analyses documentary coverage of the *Spätaussiedler* from various West German public service broadcasting stations that date from the 1970s and 1980s mostly. By their acoustic qualities, the radio shows for this case study reveal more than mere information on the topic: While the journalists sound quite critical but also understanding, the *Spätaussiedler* appear to be self-confident and optimistic. However, sometimes they are almost upset about having to explain that they are Germans and no foreigners. The radio transmitted their specific languages: German with Eastern European accents. Hence, radio shows gave *Spätaussiedler* a unique chance to tell their story and convince locals of their good will to integrate themselves. But at the same time, they acoustically cemented their ‘foreignness’.

In conclusion, the function of radio in post-war integration processes apparently was a double one. On one hand, it introduced newcomers to major local populations, promoted their stories and gave them airtime for genuine societal participation. On the other hand, acoustically, radio repeatedly framed newcomers as foreigners and hereby reduced their identities communicatively. This function of the mass medium radio is a transmedial and transnational phenomenon. In both cases studied, radio gradually guided newcomers’ ways into new societies, even though so different political and historical background lied underneath. It therefore seems that radio in general evolves an entangling agency, when it comes to catering for migrants.