SComS
Studies in Communication Sciences

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Editorial

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Dear SComS readers,

We are pleased to present to you the first of the three issues of *Studies in Communication Sciences* scheduled for publication in 2023. Beginning in 2022 and on a trial basis, SComS begun to publish three issues per year in response to the increased number of submissions. We are continuing our trial which allows us to offer two issues with Thematic Sections which have been very important to our community of readers. This still leaves us another full issue dedicated exclusively to general submissions. The current issue includes a Thematic Section titled: "Historizing international organizations and their communication – institutions, practices, changes." The second Thematic Section will be published in issue 23-3 under the title: "Old media persistence. Past continuities." We have enjoyed receiving very interesting proposals for Thematic Sections. At this moment, we already have Thematic Sections planned for 2024. If you are thinking of organizing one, please plan ahead and we look forward to receiving your proposal.

The General Section of this issue opens with two articles addressing two distinct issues, integration of findings across quantitative media studies to augment its explanatory powers, and creating a typology of children media users based on their media repertoires to assess risks and benefits of using media at an early age.

In the first article titled "How can we strengthen the integration of findings in communication sciences?", Matthias Potthoff raises the issue of fragmentation and thus insufficient integration of findings from individual studies. He argues that such studies in and of themselves have limited power to explain complex phenomena – which could be expanded by combining findings and their insights. Combination of findings would increase clarity of explanations and reveal general principles at work thus increasing application. While some findings are unrelated, others could be integrated taking into account different theoretical and methodological approaches. The author proposes that some common practices in the hypotheses building process as well as certain context factors hinder stronger integration across quantitative mass media research. The article then proposes a roadmap for integration consisting of six theses that explain how yet unrealized potentials for integration could be leveraged. The discipline of communication studies could thereby make its results more impactful and increase its relevance. This contribution is likely to generate a lively debate among scholars.

The second article by Hannah Früh and Andreas Fahr is entitled "Typology of children media users" and focuses on children media users from a media repertoire perspective. Media use by children has always been an important research topic in communication studies. As media have been found to yield both detrimental and desirable potentials, safeguarding and protecting children from harm due to media consumption is as essential as is promoting media literacy. Früh and Fahr present a study based on survey and interview data of 448 primary school children in the French-speaking part of Switzerland in which they identify children media user types based on the children's media repertoires, thus including different kinds of media and their respective usages. Moreover, investigating the displacement hypotheses and the more-the-more hypothesis the children media user types are compared with respect

to children's use of non-media activities. The authors found that while some children who frequently use a high number of different media also use an extensive mixture of different non-media activities; for other groups the displacement hypothesis seems to be a better theoretical fit. The study provides detailed findings for the Swiss context and provides important stimuli for future research on media use by children in a repertoire-oriented perspective that combines both media and non-media activities.

As already mentioned above, the Thematic Section of this issue is entitled "Historizing international organizations and their communication – institutions, practices, changes" and was organized by the guest editors Erik Koenen, Arne L. Gellrich, Christian Schwarzenegger, Stefanie Averbeck-Lietz, and Astrid Blome. The Thematic Section comprises five articles that examine different international organizations from the perspective of transnational communication and media history. In order to learn more about this fascinating and innovative topic and the single contributions we invite you to read the guest editorial by our guest editors to whom we are grateful for their initiative and for the perfect management of the review process.

Just as guest editors are important for ensuring the quality of our Thematic Sections, our Advisory Board members have been an important support for reflecting on the future directions of the journal and for helping in the review processes. We are pleased to inform our readers about the renaming of our Advisory Board. In line with international standards, we decided to use the name "Editorial Board" from now on. This has no effect on the tasks taken by our esteemed 17 members who will furthermore serve as guides to reviewers as well as being reviewers themselves. We are very grateful that some of them provided book reviews and articles themselves lately. The following scholars currently serve SComS as members of the Editorial Board (in alphabetical order): Corina Andone (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands), Nils S. Borchers (University of Tübingen, Germany), Roberta Bracciale (Università di Pisa, Italy), Cornelia Brantner (Karlstad University, Sweden), Lorenzo Cantoni (USI – Università della Svizzera italiana, Lugano, Switzerland), Didier Courbet (Aix-Marseille Université, France), Barbara De Cock (Université catholique de Louvain, Belgium), José van Dijck (Utrecht University, Netherlands), Eszter Hargittai (University of Zurich, Switzerland), Diana Ingenhoff (University of Fribourg, Switzerland), Christine Lohmeier (University of Salzburg, Austria), Jörg Matthes (University of Vienna, Austria), Julia Metag (University of Münster, Germany), Dima Mohammed (NOVA University of Lisbon, Portugal), Sophie Mützel (University of Lucerne, Switzerland), and Marko Siitonen (University of Jyväskylä, Finland).

Moreover, we would like to welcome a new member to the Editorial Board: Joan Ramon Rodriguez-Amat. He is principal lecturer at Sheffield Hallam University, UK. His research interests focus on factors that shape communicative spaces. He thus focuses his research on the integration and entanglements of social interaction, mobile and digital social platforms, and physical-geographic space utilizing digital methods and both qualitative and quantitative analysis. We are very grateful to Joan Ramon Rodriguez-Amat for helping us create the shortlist for the SComS Best Paper Award. Together with the editors, six journal articles published in SComS in 2022 were shortlisted for the award. These are currently being evaluated by a panel of jurors. The winner will be announced in April at the SACM annual conference, shortly after this issue went to press. Moreover, in the past Joan Ramon Rodriguez-Amat has regularly served as reviewer for SComS submissions.

What is more, SComS is happy to announce an enhancement of its team and welcomes Philip di Salvo as a second book review editor. Philip is a postdoctoral researcher at the Institute for Media and Communications Management at the University of St. Gallen, Switzerland. His main research interests are investigative journalism, Internet surveillance, and the relationship between journalism and hacking. We are looking forward to working together with him.

We hope you will enjoy reading this issue.

Katharina Lobinger, Jolanta Drzewiecka, and Mike Meißner

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General Section

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How can we strengthen the integration of findings in communication sciences?

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Abstract

Individual studies in the empirical social sciences have limited explanatory power, as they focus on particular aspects of the overarching objects of research. To explain complex communicative phenomena or describe multistep processes, individual findings need to be combined. Often, however, such an integration does not occur, and opportunities to expand the explanatory power of existing results beyond their immediate scope remain unexploited. Drawing from examples in practical research, this paper describes six metatheoretical, methodological, and context factors that explain why a higher degree of co-creation and integration remains unrealized. A good understanding of these factors can easily be translated into measures that can achieve more integration and make our results more impactful. Furthermore, the illustration of the six factors indicates where integrable findings can be found in this fragmented research landscape. The resulting recommendations are made in the hope that integrative work will be upgraded and further established as a methodological niche in the generation of insights.

Keywords

research fragmentation, knowledge fragmentation, undiscovered public knowledge, phenomenon mapping, theory construction, theory development

1   Introduction

For decades, scholars have remarked that the findings in communication sciences have not been sufficiently integrated (e.g., Potter, 2009; Waisbord, 2019). Donsbach (1991), for example, noted that while there has been diversification in the theoretical approaches and increased sophistication of empirical methods in communication research, its theories have not become more complex; that is, the number of single hypotheses that are combined into one theory has not grown. This belief is shared by DeFleur (1998), who claimed that most research constituted "a one-shot enterprise" seeking "short-term objectives that were deemed important at the time" (pp. 91–92). Furthermore, "[t]here was no theoretical trail being followed, or accumulative refinement of concepts leading from the results of one study to the design of the next" (pp. 91–92). According to Waisbord (2019), this diagnosis remained accurate twenty-one years later, when he

stated that "the field has evolved into a disorganized collection of theories, methodologies and research lines without obvious, straightforward connections" (p. 11). The results generated in this way may be complementary as science spotlights various aspects. However, such research is not cumulative, i.e., it does not bring us to a fuller, more precise understanding of a specific phenomenon.

This describes a state of fragmentation, which has several facets: Findings can remain unrelated because they describe disjunct phenomena, in which case integration potential is unavailable. In many other cases, however, findings do have certain commonalities, such as when they describe various parts of one communicative phenomenon or two closely related phenomena, and therefore, complement each other. This is a common result of how social science research is set up – and requires subsequent steps. The phenomena we investigate are complex, and a single theoretical approach will usually only be

able to integrate a "handful" of variables at a time. Thus, research has a spotlight character: Studies tend to capture only particular aspects of an overarching object of research. In a further step, individual findings must be integrated to enable a fuller understanding of the focal object of research – which is also considered fundamental to scientific progress. "No one can make use of a mass of unrelated facts [...]. Just as empirical research and social theory must be integrated, so actual findings must be related to each other" (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1944, p. viii).

Notwithstanding this reasonable argument, such integration is not sufficiently practiced. The relations between findings are often not recognized or not explicitly described which means that most recipients of scientific work will be unaware of them. Consequently, we are missing chances to build more comprehensive descriptions of communicative phenomena.

To change this situation, the following paper is dedicated to factors that hinder stronger integration and define the potential for an ex-post integration of existing results. These factors are presented in six theses, which center on current ways of working with hypotheses. The integration of hypotheses has a key role in the integration of findings, because they usually constitute the centerpieces of scientific insights. The first step toward building the six theses consisted in a reflection on which decisions scientists take when working with hypotheses and which components of these decisions could have negative effects on integrability. It is suggested that linkages between theoretical fragments and empirical studies are constituted by a common occupation with certain variables. Hence, the deliberations leading to the six theses were based on the guiding question of how such a common occupation is impeded or disguised.

Four types of decisions in the context of hypotheses-building as well as two context factors were related to integrability and covered by one thesis each. These include defining the central variables (T1), operationalizing them via empirical case-examples (T2) and auxiliary variables

(T3), and relating them to a superordinate construct (T4). An important contextual factor impacting integration is whether hypotheses appear in the same field of research (T5). Finally, seen from a meta-level perspective, all previously mentioned factors are influenced by the researchers' working conditions, which is explained in the last thesis (T6).

The theoretical reflections were followed by an example-search, which was constructed as a keyword-based literature-research and meant to show whether the envisaged problems can be observed in published research. This led to an iterative process. While some theses could immediately be supported by examples, others had to be modified. The body of research that was used for these examples was quantitative mass media research. This field is among the most mature ones; thus, there would have been sufficient opportunity to achieve a high degree of integration until now. As this paper is discussing the integration of hypotheses, further focus is put on the field of media effects research, which has many operationalized hypotheses to offer. As some of the six theses (esp. T5) address those findings that are not integrated because they stand in different contexts, it became imperative to also include adjacent fields in the scope of the example search. The search was concluded once pertinent examples were found, as the purpose of this paper is merely to present an overview of factors impacting integration, i. e., the example search was neither meant nor suited to quantify the appearance of the six factors.

The resulting problem description is focused on the microlevel – establishing links between individual findings. More precisely, the focus is on ways to link existing theoretical fragments with other fragments and empirical studies with other studies to achieve more comprehensive theories or generalizations. This surpasses building thematic collections in which individual pieces are merely placed next to each other. Rather, findings need to be interlinked like instruments of an orchestra, which then become more than the sum of their parts.

2 Existing perspectives on research integration

Integrating scientific findings is like putting together the pieces of a puzzle: while each piece contains some information, we strive to see the bigger picture. The more findings we combine, the clearer our explanations become and the more steps we can describe in a communicative process.

Furthermore, an integration of results can reveal a more general principle behind certain individual observations that has a wider application. One example of this is the *knowledge gap hypothesis*, which states that "increasing the flow of news on a topic leads to greater acquisition of knowledge about that topic among the more highly educated segments of society" (Tichenor, Donohue, & Olien, 1970, p. 159). This phenomenon can be considered a media-specific case of the *Matthew effect* ("to everyone who has will more be given"), which additionally manifests in citations (Merton, 1968), for example. Nevertheless, a superordinate field of research has not emerged, and the knowledge gap hypothesis continues to stand alone. Therefore, our theoretical approaches may have less scope than may at first appear; furthermore, a stronger integration of findings can lead to a reduction in redundancy. However, this would also enlarge empirical states of research and explain the peripheral conditions under which effects occur.

Since the integration of findings can strengthen our theories, it is difficult to understand why the research landscape is fragmented. One of the reasons may be a scarcity of concrete approaches on how integration can be realized. "All communication scholars know excruciatingly well that our 'integrative theoretical discussions' are 'relatively weak,' but few of us have any clue how to improve them" (Peters, 2011, p. 1469). Four approaches constitute the main pillars of the debate.

Up-front alignment to a practical problem: One proposed method of addressing fragmentation involves defining an overall objective with which all upcoming research initiatives should be aligned.

As one of the proponents of such a top-down approach, Cappella (2011) suggested that scholars should jointly select a practical problem of broad significance and then work together on a solution. This could "bridge more of the differences and lead to a greater appreciation of each other's points of view precisely because we are trying to solve a problem beyond our own narrow intellectual boundaries" (p. 1477). Discovering practical solutions would require combined research; therefore, a stronger problem focus would lead to more collaboration between subfields and a heightened willingness to compromise on respective viewpoints.

Such an approach may bring our distinct disciplinary traditions closer together. Furthermore, it could achieve integration in the sense of alignment, that is, up-front measures to make different results complementary and compatible. However, the approach stipulates that the central problem must be chosen before any research is conducted to achieve the alignment between contributions. Hence, it would not support the integration of existing results that are not related to the yet-undefined central problem. Furthermore, creating an alignment between diverse research initiatives requires meeting several difficult conditions. Communication sciences contribute to the solution of practical problems, such as in the field of climate change communication. This is always accompanied by an accumulation of knowledge. However, an alignment requires a high degree of exchange between scholars, a willingness to arrive at a mutual solution, and a high openness to share the success, which is partly incompatible with the organizational structures in science (e. g., Corner, 2013; also T6 below). We may see this, for example, in research clusters, but less so on a broader scale.

Ex-post facto integration under an overarching phenomenon: There are further approaches that propose to bring different strands of research under the umbrella of a unifying problem. Other than in the first-named approach, the respective problems include the development of theories, and the suggested procedures

include ex-post facto integrations. Lunt and Livingstone (2016), for example, proposed that it might be worthwhile for media studies to "bring together many of its diverse theories, topics and findings in a common endeavour that would reveal [...] how mediatization works" (p. 463). And indeed, there have been efforts to show how phenomena such as agenda setting, framing, or cultivation serve as indicators of mediatization (e.g., de Vreese, 2014).

This approach creates a connection between the mentioned sub-phenomena, but the degree to which individual results are aligned and intertwined is not necessarily strong. Research on the sub-phenomena is usually not set up as research on a fragment of mediatization – and the respective studies do not reference mediatization either. In the same vein, "the framing concept has virtually gone unnoticed in the [...] burgeoning literature on mediatization" (de Vreese, 2014, p. 137). Accordingly, systematic alignment between framing and mediatization research does not exist. The bridges between mediatization and its sub-phenomena tend to only be built in separate publications. Second, connections are made vertically, that is, between the macro-phenomenon and the indicators (framing–mediatization, cultivation–mediatization), but not horizontally, that is, between elements of the sub-phenomenon level (e.g., framing–cultivation) in this context.

Mapping phenomenon perspective: Potter (2009) proposed a more bottom-up oriented approach, which starts with existing findings, claiming that it was "time to shift away from a predominantly generating-findings perspective, where we spend most of our resources on generating more ideas, assumptions, definitions, and findings" (pp. 20–21). Instead, he suggests spending more resources on "identifying the most important findings in our existing literature and organizing them in a way to extend their power of capturing the essence of our phenomenon" (p. 21). He then offers a framework that organizes findings in thematic clusters and identifies the central ideas that drive diverse lines of research on mass communication. There-

by, he summarizes a broad range of findings into a "map of scholarship" (p. xix).

The greatest strength of this commendable approach simultaneously constitutes its greatest limitation. The synthesis of the literature results in a higher level of generality. A multitude of results is compressed into one comprehensive description of a large overarching phenomenon. This enables us to observe the phenomenon of mass media from a global point of view. However, this approach also changes the characteristics of the input. The theories of medium range that build the foundation of Potter's synthesis are treated as elements of a larger entity, but neither are they discussed in detail nor given specific focus. Their horizontal integration with other theories of medium range is not methodologically elaborated and tends to remain in the background. Hence, this approach produces thematic collections.

Opportunistic integration: Waisbord (2019) offers a fourth perspective. He, too, diagnoses the communication sciences as fragmented. The chances to change this would be limited, because calls to focus more strongly on integration, for example, by building theoretical bridges, did not lead to a significant response. As "[a]cademic incentives and interests favor continuous hyper-specialization" (p. 67), any hope for more theoretical, analytical, and / or conceptual integration would be "anachronistic" (p. 71). This would not be regrettable as intellectual integration is not necessary to move forward. However, due to the lack of intellectual cohesion or a clear disciplinary core, the communication sciences should be considered a post-discipline rather than a discipline; that is, a loose organizational construct in which scholars with a diverse set of skills develop "concepts, languages, and theories around specific problems and questions" (p. 127) without limiting themselves to a specific set of perspectives, frameworks, or methodologies. Although renouncing the claim that intellectual coherence should be a guiding principle for the communication sciences, Waisbord (2019), too, criticizes the "insufficient interest in producing ambitious theoretical arguments that bring

together different threads of research" (p. 140). He thus suggests "[finding] what different slices of scholarship have in common and develop and refine cross-cutting arguments" (p. 139) where there are opportunities to do so.

One may be more optimistic than Waisbord regarding the realization of more integration because of its practical potential. However, he persuasively proposed that the communication sciences are unlikely to become a cohesive intellectual community (Waisbord, 2019). Then again, achieving more integration does not require every scholar's focus on it. An up-front alignment on certain fundamentals like Cappella's (2011) approach might lead to the highest degree of compatibility and comparability of results, yet only within the limited frameworks of individual problem areas. By comparison, the opportunistic approach may be more practical as it has fewer presuppositions and establishing ex-post integrative work as a methodological niche could already bring us a long way toward realizing more integration. While they do not exclusively focus on the opportunistic perspective, the following six theses on fostering the integration of findings introduce several starting points for such targeted, decentralized integration initiatives.

3   Roadmap to research integration: Six theses offering options for action

Research fragmentation and integration manifest themselves differently in various strains of research, which made it necessary to define a clear focus for the following theses on research integration. As a starting point, the perspective of medium-range theories and quantitative research aimed at explaining or predicting phenomena was chosen, because the integration of findings is particularly important for uncovering general laws. However, this is not to say that discussing integration in other strains of research would not be equally worthwhile.

One can say that from the chosen perspective, "[m]ost research is concerned about possible relationships between variables, and hunches and theories get translated into specific statements about variables" (Iversen, 2004, p. 966). Hypotheses are the central form in which relationships between variables are postulated and documented. Hence, if we aim to facilitate integration in the field of medium-range theories and quantitative research, the integration of hypotheses is a reasonable focus.

There are several standard ways in which hypotheses can be integrated. In *theory construction*, hypotheses are related if they share one variable. The goal of combining them can be a higher degree of variance explanation (combining A→C and B→C to arrive at theory A+B→C). Alternatively, researchers may seek to describe several steps in a causal chain (combining A→B and B→C to form theory A→B→C). Another form of combining existing hypotheses is generalization, which involves relating one or both variables included in a superordinate, more general construct in an inductive manner (e. g., A→B_1 and A→B_2 to form the new hypothesis A→C, where B_1, B_2, and possibly other variables constitute the more abstract construct C).

In *empirical research*, results are considered related when the same hypothesis is operationalized. Having several empirical studies of the same relationship allows us to conduct meta-analyses that generate "the estimation of a population effect size by calculating a weighted estimate of that effect across all the obtainable studies of that effect" (Carpenter, 2017, p. 980). This is often combined with the identification of moderators of the effect or boundary conditions under which an effect occurs.

This demonstrates that in theory construction and empirical work, a focus on the same constructs or variables is the central requirement to realize an integration of partial outcomes, and the chances of finding studies on the same variable in different contexts are good. Our fields of research, such as media content research, strongly limit the number of variables that are useful for examination. If we see

Figure 1:   Variable specifications with relevance for subsequent hypothesis-integrations
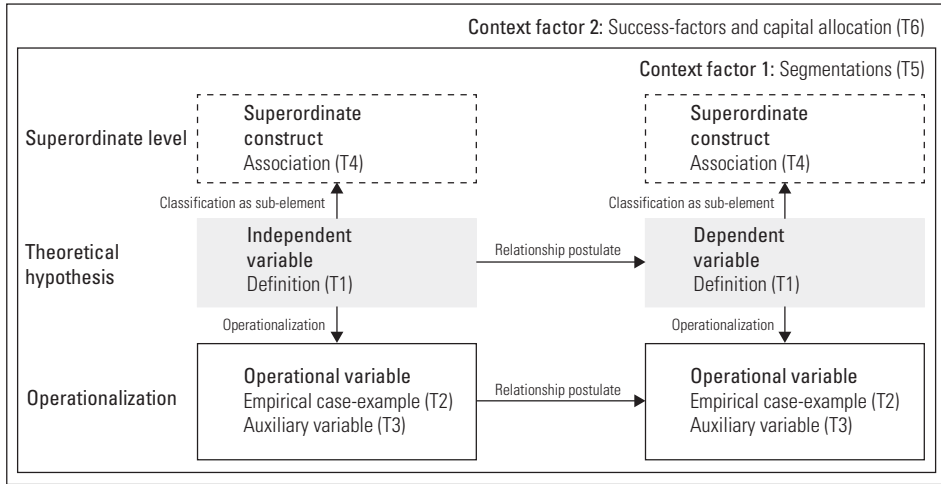
Source: Own illustration.

communication as a process, we can expect to find a relation between many of the fields that have emerged (e. g., media content and effects research), with certain variables crossing the barriers. Hence, the lack of integration that Donsbach (1991), DeFleur (1998), and Waisbord (2019) highlight is not exclusively explained by a large diversity of phenomena. In fact, the opposite may be true. Much of our potential for a stronger integration of findings results from the fact that we have generated further versions (factually or allegedly) of the same variables. For example, in some cases, abstract constructs are conflated with the objects to which they are applied (cf. the example of the knowledge gap hypothesis above, which applies the Matthew effect to the media landscape).

The six theses on research integration that are presented are the result of a focused observation of the specifications that researchers create with constructs and variables (Figure 1 for an overview). The nature of these specifications can facilitate or prevent integration. The first thesis is dedicated to the smallest constituent part of hypotheses – the *definition* of central variables. As the current variety of (operational) definitions make studies incommensurable, integration would be facilitated by using *shared* definitions

(T1, which is, therefore, oriented toward *upfront alignment*). This is followed by a call to separate theoretical concepts more consistently from the objects that we apply them to in empirical research, for example. This would reveal that many studies that have different foci at first sight are based on the same theoretical concept, which defines an enormous potential to integrate the empirical work around this concept (T2). In addition, more integration could be achieved if the relationships between theoretical and operational variables were specified more consistently (T3). Finally, integration would benefit from more consistent specifications whether constructs are superordinate or subordinate to one another (T4).

Beyond the four methodological and metatheoretical factors mentioned above, two factors related to the contexts of scientific work play a vital role for fragmentation and integration. These fuel the effects of the first four factors, but also have their own implications. The first of these contextual factors is related to existing segmentations in science. Integration could be improved by collaborating across the silos that are constituted by, for example, subdisciplines or research fields (T5). The second contextual factor is the method of allocating research funds and awarding

reputational capital, which, in its current form, tends to stipulate fragmentation rather than integration (T6). As we must assume that there are further relevant factors beyond the six theses, the following sections should be seen as the first part of an integration roadmap that is to be further expanded.

> Thesis 1: Using shared definitions of variables would allow for a stronger integration of findings.

At first glance, many studies seem to have shared interest in some central variables because they share the same name. However, many terms used in the communication sciences, and the social sciences in general, are polysemous in that they have multiple conceptual definitions (Potter, 2009, p. 24). Definitions clarify the meaning of particular terms and provide descriptions of the constructs that they designate. Thus, definitions also specify the meaning of hypotheses and should be considered integral to them.

Different conceptual definitions of a particular term do not necessarily describe the same characteristics in different words. Different definitions usually have conceptual overlaps, but quite often assign different characteristics to the object in question. Depending on the precise nature of these differences, one cannot speak of the same concept. When alternative definitions specify the same essential characteristics of a phenomenon but differ in non-essential ones, we may speak of variations in a concept. If there are similarities and differences in the essential characteristics, we must speak of related but different concepts. Hence, "[t]he fact that the same variable name is used in different studies does not mean that the same variable is measured" (Hunter & Schmidt, 2004, p. 468). Consequently, we must also question whether studies using different definitions can be combined into one state of research. This also extends to instruments of measurement, which usually have a close relationship with the definitions used.

For example, while some definitions of media violence include accidents, others require intentional acts (Potter, 2009, p. 12). This makes it difficult to integrate empirical studies based on these definitions, as any variation in factors like the measured share of violent content, for example, will not only depend on the content analyzed, but also on the definition used. In such cases, there are few means to find ex-post solutions; that is, a stronger integration of findings requires a stronger up-front alignment on the definition.

Scholars have suggested new definitions of terms for multiple reasons. These include the adaptation of definitions to specific contexts or to changes in the reference object, such as updating the definition of "mass media" with the advent of new media technologies (Chaffee, 1991, p. 28). Alternatively, there may be perceived deficits in existing definitions, such as a lack of precision or completeness or a lack of operationalizability. Such explications are often repeated and then go in different directions because scholars understand the initially vaguely defined term in different ways. They may, for example, see other definitions as too broad or too narrow (cf. the example of "media violence" above). The later use of disparate definitions of a term then follows similar logic or results from the fact that scholars follow different schools of thought (Chaffee, 1991, p. 40). While this shows that a full standardization of definitions is neither possible nor desirable, it also shows that in many cases the introduction of a new definition is potentially expendable. In particular, this seems to be the case when further explications are suggested. This brings us to two central measures to achieve greater integration.

First, solving a problem includes building awareness – and there is currently no broad awareness that introducing a new definition has the potential downside of increasing research fragmentation. Going forward, it would make sense for authors (and reviewers) to undertake cost / benefit analyses, that is, to question whether a new definition has functional benefits that outweigh the costs of their fragmenting

effects. Furthermore, scholars should be aware that the act of tying into an existing line of research precludes full autonomy in defining the central variables. To facilitate the later integration of one's results with those of other researchers, one should choose the same construct definition (see also Potter, 2009, p. 28). Using a different definition implies using a different construct description, which can mean that a different phenomenon is being investigated. However, even when a researcher finds this unavoidable, there may still be ways to act mindfully with regard to fragmentation. In the example of media violence above, those who find it necessary to include accidents in their definition might, for example, capture them separately, which would make their empirical results compatible with studies based on other definitions.

Second, we could address the fact that re-definitions rarely lead to systematic advancement, even though they are often proposed because of a perceived deficit. There are useful criteria for evaluating concept descriptions (e. g., Cusella, 1984), but whereas the social sciences have an established process for replacing a hypothesis with a better one, they do not have a process for replacing a definition with a better one. This lack of a consolidation mechanism leads to the long-term coexistence of initial and revised definitions, and thus, fragmentation. This is not to say that any authority should decide which definition is to be used, but this could be made a matter of scientific debate. The genre of concept explications, which show how certain terms are used (e. g., Chaffee, 1991), could be complemented by comparative evaluations of definitions based on criteria such as uniqueness and empirical observability. This would provide objective reasons for choosing one definition over another and might thus be able to narrow down the use of definitions to some degree.

A problem similar to having multiple definitions of a concept exists with regard to constructs that have different names but (nearly) equivalent definitions, such as *second-level agenda-setting* (McCombs &

Ghanem, 2001) and certain versions of the *framing* construct (which is also heterogeneously defined). Different names suggest differences in the constructs' characteristics. When such differences are absent or insignificant, the states of research on the constructs should be combined. However, aggregations in which one of the synonymous construct names is abandoned rarely occur. There are several reasons for this.

First, the scientific norm of precision stipulates that even small differences should be considered, which provides an argument for keeping two very similar constructs separate. However, this means that a large number of similarities may be overshadowed by the existence of a very small difference. While there is no question that subtle differences *may* be significant, it is questionable whether we should always give this possibility the benefit of the doubt. In part, this has led us to a multiverse comprising very similar constructs for which we have very similar yet non-integrated insights.

Second, similar constructs with different names are often the result of parallel discoveries in different organizational silos of science, such as disciplines. Convergences may not be of interest to researchers whose careers are built on research on a particular phenomenon of interest, as this would weaken their status as "topic owners" (see also T6). Accordingly, convergences are not likely to be actively pursued by most central researchers in any field. Construct names serve as anchors for finding related research results in literature reviews and tend to be well established in their respective silos. This makes construct names difficult to replace, which is often why several strains of research on the same construct do not grow together. Eventually, synonymous terms are a symptom of the fact that different research contexts often hold complementary findings, but that at the same time the mutual demarcation and self-focus of subdivisions hinder the integration of findings (see T5 below).

Thesis 2: A clearer distinction between our theoretical concepts and the

case-examples on which we test our hypotheses could reveal that we are dealing with fewer variables than it currently seems.

A hypothesis should be as general as possible because the more general it is, the more informative it is – as long as it holds empirically. However, the concepts studied in communication sciences often appear quite narrow and only receive attention from a few specialized researchers. This seems to limit the integrability of hypotheses, as they are often built around different specialized concepts with no common focus. Again, this high degree of specialization may only exist at first sight. Corner (2013), for example, states that "[a]cross the range of work on media, there is a good deal of replication and 'near replication,' both in relation to the work of the past and across concurrent studies" (p. 1015). Indeed, examples of such replications are quite easily found if one brings the variables studied to a higher level of abstraction.

The hypothesis *When recipients observe a certain behavior in media content, they will also show this behavior in the future* is relatively bold. It states that any behavior will be imitated; that is, there are no limitations on the types of behavior or media content. However, rather than theorizing about imitative behavior in general, theories and empirical studies have largely dealt with imitations of *certain types* of behavior. The *Werther Effect* holds that "suicides increase immediately after a suicide story has been publicized in the newspapers" (Phillips, 1974, p. 340), whereas studies in media violence research have found that exposure to media violence is a significant predictor of aggression (e.g., Haridakis, 2006). Similarly, Engels, Hermans, van Baaren, Hollenstein, and Bot (2009) showed that the presentation of alcohol in movies and commercials stimulates young people to drink.

All of the aforementioned studies present case examples for a more general theory of imitation, but this is not how those studies were set up. In addition to the heightened risk of falsification, a rea-

son for this conceptual decision is that some researchers focus on object-related research (as opposed to theory-related research). For object-related research, theories such as social learning theory (e.g., Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1961) are merely auxiliary concepts that help explain things like suicide, aggression, or alcohol consumption. For theory-related research, suicide, aggression, and alcohol consumption are mere case examples in which theories can be tested. Hence, because of differences in research foci, one scholar's auxiliary concept or case example represents another's field of research (or central variable). This creates instances of *irrelevant variety*, which "centers around the idea that when we are attempting to ascertain the relationships between two or more variables, we may be distracted by a host of situational attributes which are totally irrelevant to the relationships we are investigating" (Berger, 1977, p. 16). A great potential for integrating hypotheses can thus be revealed if we take the variables included in our hypotheses to a higher level of abstraction. This can be done by freeing the variables from elements that actually belong to the case examples used.

Hypotheses are also often made narrower than necessary because of an excessive focus on a specific field of application. Such fields of application include the disciplinary context, for example, in communication sciences. That is, the phenomenon in question may also exist in other contexts, which makes its occurrence in communication and media use a mere case example. A case in point is Klapper's (1960) *selective exposure hypothesis*, which describes a media-specific case of *confirmation bias* – a phenomenon that "has been observed in a variety of guises" (Nickerson, 1998, p. 189). The phenomenon that "people tend to expose themselves to those mass communications which are in accord with their existing attitudes and interests" and that "[i]n the event of their being nevertheless exposed to unsympathetic material, they often seem not to perceive it" (Klapper, 1960, p. 19) is a more specific case of the phenomenon wherein "one selectively gath-

ers, or gives undue weight to, evidence that supports one's position while neglecting to gather, or discounting, evidence that would tell against it" (Nickerson, 1998, p. 175). While it certainly makes sense to test whether confirmation bias also exists with regard to media use, it is questionable whether reinforcement-oriented selective exposure should be seen as a phenomenon in its own right. In any case, a stronger integration would be reasonable.

Given our focus on scientific fragmentation, we may say that formulating hypotheses on more general, abstract concepts, that is, separating theoretical concepts more strongly from concrete objects of research, has the advantage that studies using more abstract variables are more likely to share common ground, both syntactically and regarding the specification of the variables. In our example above, all studies would have used the dependent variable "showing the behavior presented in the media" instead of "committing suicide," "drinking alcohol," and "being aggressive." This would also be a way to address the criticism that we are all too often engaged in the "pursuit of small matters" (Newcomb, 1993, p. 132). If, on the other hand, we treat each construct-case-example-combination as a construct in its own right, we rarely come upon multiple findings on the same constructs. We must ask ourselves whether a diversity of constructs is truly given when it merely results from the objects to which a general principle is applied.

> Thesis 3: There are many cases in which the relation between theoretical constructs and their empirical indicators is not sufficiently specified, which causes the theoretical and empirical work to run in parallel.

Central theories on *attitude formation* describe *attitudes* as a function of *beliefs*, which result from direct experience or information provided by others (Wyer, 2019). Accordingly, we should expect to find beliefs, experiences, and persuasive messages discussed as predictors in empirical studies on attitudes. However, we also find many studies that appear to focus on completely different factors. For example, Lewis (2003) studied *black-white* differences in attitudes toward homosexuality, and Andersen and Fetner (2008) discussed *cohort* differences. Adamczyk and Pitt (2009) shed light on the role of *religion*.

This may have been due to two reasons. The number of concrete beliefs that determine people's attitudes toward homosexuality is potentially infinite. Many different beliefs will lead to the same attitude, which is why it is difficult to translate this factor into an empirical predictor variable outside of an experimental setting. Operationalizing belief as religion offers a solution, as religions specify certain sets of beliefs (Glock & Stark, 1965). Religions may thus contain some of the beliefs that are relevant for the formation of attitudes toward homosexuality, that is, we have the opportunity to operationalize one construct (belief) via another (religion) in this case. The second potential reason for studying the relationship between religion and homosexuality attitudes could be that the researcher has a primary interest in the role of religion itself.

In either case, this results in a disconnect between theory (*attitudes depend on beliefs*) and empirical research (*attitudes predicted by religious affiliation*). If the researcher is interested in religion as such, for example, he may not focus on the theoretical underpinnings of the relationship between religion and attitude. In addition, the breadth of the construct *religion* makes it difficult to pinpoint the relationship between religion and attitude toward the beliefs included. Religion is not merely an operationalization of the belief concept; it also entails an expansion. That is, religion is a superordinate construct in that it contains not only beliefs but also numerous other elements (e. g., Glock & Stark, 1965). Furthermore, religious beliefs are correlated with a multitude of other factors, such as personality traits (Saroglou, 2002), which can also explain the relation between religion and attitudes. Accordingly, religion does not operationalize belief in such a way that would help support the theory that attitudes are belief-dependent,

at least not as long as *religion* is not broken down further into subdimensions.

Predicting attitudes toward homosexuality via skin color or cohort works in a slightly different way. Unlike religion, these variables have no conceptual overlap with beliefs, but they are correlated with the degree to which certain beliefs are held. Being born in different cohorts, for example, is related to the kind of education that someone receives. This is likely to lead to certain sets of beliefs, that is, it is possible to operationalize beliefs via skin color or cohort. However, we do not usually have a full picture of the causal chain between, for example, being born in a specific cohort and holding certain beliefs, as there are numerous other potential mediator variables besides education (e.g., sociopolitical events witnessed, changes in media content) that could also play a role. The empirical predictor variables (i.e., skin color and cohort) may not even have a relevant influence on the causal chain, but may be correlated with one of the influential factors. Hence, an empirical relationship between skin color and attitude, for example, does not allow for detailed conclusions about the role of beliefs. Even though beliefs may explain the relationship (or at least be part of it), it is only possible to speculate about this as well as about the origin of such beliefs.

Again, one of the reasons to focus on such variables anyhow could be an interest in skin color and cohort as such. That is, a researcher discussing attitudinal differences between cohorts and people of different skin colors may not necessarily have tried to operationalize belief. The group differences observed may, for example, be of interest because of their practical implications. Consequently, little reference is made to the factors underlying this correlation. This is exacerbated by the fact that such additional theorizing often leads to another scientific domain, takes place at a different level of granularity, and requires different methods.

In summary, when a construct (e.g., belief) is operationalized by another variable (e.g., skin color) or a related construct (e.g., religion) or, from another perspective, when an empirical predictor (skin color) ultimately reflects a certain theoretical construct (belief), the theories and empirical studies therein are obviously related and should be integrated. However, for the abovementioned reasons, this is not often the case in reality; that is, there is a certain disconnect between the research on the empirical predictor (e.g., skin color) and the theoretical construct (e.g., belief). One of the reasons for this is that we lack correspondence theories in the sense of clear descriptions of *how* certain constructs and variables are related. While we focus more on the relationships between independent and dependent variables (belief – attitude; skin color – attitude), little effort has been devoted to clarifying the relationships between independent constructs and empirical predictors (skin color–belief) – especially if the empirical predictor is an important variable in its own right. Thus, we can strengthen the integration of scientific results by focusing more on these predictor-construct relationships.

We could start with a stronger reflection *if* an empirical predictor ultimately represents a certain theoretical construct, which may not be consistently done today, especially if there is also a specific interest in the predictor variable (e.g., religion). This may also reveal that several empirical indicators measure the same theoretical construct but in different contexts (cf. Berger, 1977). For example, a variable like *gender* can express different kinds of *affectedness* in the context of explaining support for legal abortion (e.g., Barkan, 2014), along the lines of how *age* may express different kinds of *affectedness* in the context of explaining support for public spending for schools (e.g., Ponza, Duncan, Corcoran, & Groskind, 1988). Combining such studies, whose variables do not seem at first sight to have much in common, will enlarge our empirical evidence on the relationship between abstract variables (e.g., affectedness→policy support); that is, it would show more clearly that Barkan (2014) and Ponza et al. (1988) produced related results.

In other cases, such as the relationship between skin color and belief, we need to

transcend mere abstraction. Explaining the correspondence between such variables will require a theoretical model that summarizes the role of each mediator in the relationship. This would ultimately lead to a more complex model of attitude prediction and thus enrich our theory. On the other hand, broad variables such as religion may be broken down into separate influential and non-influential components.

> Thesis 4: Hypotheses can be integrated based on hierarchical relationships between the constructs they include, but these relationships are often not clearly defined yet.

Some of the constructs used in the social sciences are hierarchically related to each other; that is, we deal with constructs and subconstructs. Subconstructs represent dimensions of a superordinate construct and need to be seen as concepts in their own right. Hypotheses refer to both the superordinate and the subconstructs. For example, one hypothesis may describe the relationship between *parasocial interaction* and *media use* (e.g., Rubin, Perse, & Powell, 1985), whereas another may propose a relationship between *media enjoyment* and *media use* (e.g., Nabi & Krcmar, 2004, p. 297). At the same time, parasocial interaction may be seen as a subdimension of media enjoyment (Nabi & Krcmar, 2004, p. 295).

Such cases present ideal opportunities for integrating findings, in part because the hierarchical relationship of the constructs helps to define a measurement model for the superordinate construct. Furthermore, the empirical evidence on the superordinate-level relationship is partly informative for the subordinate-level relationship (and vice versa). However, the integration of hypotheses on different levels of abstraction is often not practiced, in part because descriptions of hierarchical relationships between constructs and subconstructs are rare in the literature. A taxonomy of social science constructs does not exist, so hierarchically related constructs are often considered independent. Even

when a hierarchical relationship has been suggested, different definitions and operationalizations of respective constructs tend to leave room for disagreements with such hierarchical conceptualizations.

Furthermore, as researchers need to find arguments for the importance of their work in order to see it published, they tend to describe subconstructs as important research objects in their own right rather than as mere fragments of other constructs. Upwards-orientation and upwards-integration may thus not be fully opportune (see T6). At the same time, research on superordinate constructs often cannot adopt sophisticated methods of operationalization that are applied when subconstructs are examined in their own right. For economic reasons, complex scales are often reduced to single items. Researchers focusing on subconstructs often see such operationalizations as lacking validity, which is why findings on the superordinate construct are dismissed as not fully informative.

Hypotheses that relate framing and media bias with other factors serve as examples of the phenomenon described above. Framing has been suggested to represent a subconstruct of media bias by one of the field's most prominent authors (Entman, 2007). Framing and media bias have been related to many identical dependent variables such as *public opinion* (framing, e.g., Chong & Druckman, 2007; Slothuus & de Vreese, 2010; news bias, e.g., Hoffman & Wallach, 2007), *voter preferences* (framing, e.g., Schemer, Wirth, & Matthes, 2012; news bias, e.g., Eberl, Boomgaarden, & Wagner, 2017), and *polarization* (framing, e.g., Tsfati & Nir, 2017; news bias e.g., Bernhardt, Krasa, & Polborn, 2008). Nevertheless, the two lines of research continue to operate in parallel. Framing researchers do not consistently place their studies in the context of media bias or draw conclusions on the media bias phenomenon, and media bias researchers do not consistently operationalize frames or framing in their empirical studies.

While the hierarchical relationship between framing and news bias has been extensively explained by Entman (2007),

there are several reasons why the integration of the respective hypotheses is not strong. First, the news bias approach is mainly popular among critical scholars and may not have full acceptance among differently oriented scholars. Second, framing is a very popular approach, which is why framing researchers may not feel the need to seek legitimization for their studies by placing their phenomena of interest in a broader context. Third, both *framing* and *media bias* have been defined heterogeneously and a universally accepted definition has not emerged for either concept. The discussion of their hierarchical relationship thus lacks clear reference points (see T1).

A variation in the hierarchy problem is the non-consistent conceptualization of entities as either a) subdimensions of a latent construct or b) variables dependent on or independent of this latent construct. In communication sciences, this phenomenon can be observed with *media partisanship* and *media credibility*. Schweiger (1999) conceptualized perceived media partisanship as an indicator of perceived media credibility in his media credibility scale, while Fico, Richardson, and Edwards (2004) described perceived media partisanship as a predictor of perceived media credibility. Although the same correlation is observed, it is clear that these scientific findings cannot be directly combined. Perceived media partisanship can either influence or be part of perceived media credibility, but it cannot influence the latent construct that it co-constitutes.

To arrive at a stronger integration of findings, we could provide more room for taxonomic discussions. We should start by establishing the criteria for deciding whether constructs are hierarchically related and by creating forums to debate this. The goal would be to provide objective reasons for considering two constructs to be hierarchically related, which could culminate in a more comprehensive taxonomy. The results of these taxonomical discussions would then lay the foundation for ex-post facto integrations under overarching phenomena.

Thesis 5: There is a large yet unrealized potential for integrating hypotheses from different research contexts.

If we follow the idea that a theory is developed by combining several related hypotheses, then theory development involves *data mining*, which "refers to the process of discovering useful patterns in very large databases" (Helberg, 2007, p. 232). Researchers need to find other studies that discuss the variables they examine. If we accept the idea that new insights can result from combining existing findings into a theory, then there is "undiscovered public knowledge" (Swanson, 1986, p. 103) residing in the mass of existing scientific studies. Consider the following:

> (i) a report that process A causes the result B, and (ii) a separate report that B causes the result C. [...] We can think of i and ii as indirect tests of the hidden hypothesis "A causes C." [...] If the two reports, i and ii, have never together become known to anyone, then we must regard "A causes C" as an objectively existing but as yet undiscovered piece of knowledge – a missing link. (Swanson, 1986, p. 110)

However, while Swanson suggested that the combined knowledge of related hypotheses would be sufficient to initiate their integration, this does not seem to suffice in practical research. Consider *news value* and *agenda-setting research*, two lines of research which every communication scholar is aware of. Both deal with whether a certain topic is being addressed in media reports, which constitutes the dependent variable for news value research and the independent variable for agenda-setting research. A combined version of both approaches describing the triadic relationship of *news values – media agenda – audience agenda* can provide us with a more comprehensive picture of agenda-related processes. However, the two approaches have not grown together thus far.

Additional approaches with unrealized potential for stronger integration are *news bias research* and studies of the *hostile media effect* (Vallone, Ross, & Lep-

per, 1985). News bias research focuses on finding evidence of biased news reporting through content analysis and aims to unravel the predictors of such bias. Researchers that examine the hostile media phenomenon try to explain perceived media bias through experimental research. Next to an actual bias, recipient factors, such as their involvement in the respective issue, predict bias perceptions (Vallone et al., 1985). Although the two approaches are often co-cited, they have not yet grown into a unified and more comprehensive news bias theory.

The examples indicate that hypotheses from different areas of research, such as *media content* and *media effects research*, may not easily converge. This may be the result of overly strict self-assignments to such research areas or different methodological requirements (in the examples: content analysis versus experimentation).

However, even within the same area of research, the related hypotheses remain separate. The *spiral of silence* and *cultivation theory* are good examples of this. An important part of the spiral of silence theory is the proposition that "[i]ndividuals form a picture of the distribution of opinion in their social environment and of the trend of opinion" (Noelle-Neumann, 1974, p. 45). In this process, the "[m]ass media are part of the system which the individual uses to gain information about the environment" (Noelle-Neumann, 1974, p. 50). This proposition describes the relationship between a) the distribution of some elements observed in the media, and b) a distribution that is assumed to exist in society. This idea is similar to the cultivation theory of Gerbner and Gross (1976), which originally proposed that "[r]itualized displays of any violence (such as in crime and disaster news, as well as in mass-produced drama) may cultivate exaggerated assumptions about the extent of threat and danger in the world" (pp. 193–194). Again, a relationship between the observation of a distribution in the media and an assumed distribution in the population is proposed. Gerbner and Gross (1976) and Noelle-Neumann (1974) assumed that distorted impressions are formed. Howev-

er, the two hypotheses and the associated empirical studies were never brought together, perhaps because in the spiral of silence, observed and assumed frequencies constitute an auxiliary concept that is applied to public opinion, whereas for cultivation theory, these distributions serve as the focal point. Hence, it may be that the context and focus of Noelle-Neumann's theory overshadows existing similarities.

The current situation may be a consequence of the strong organizational segmentation in science, for example, in disciplines, departments, and scientific schools, which are usually highly specialized (e.g., Calhoun, 2011, 2017; Schwarzenegger, Lobinger, & Balbi, 2019). Especially in the social sciences, there are "relatively underdeveloped networks of communication and collaboration … among researchers pursuing different kinds of studies" (Calhoun, 2017, p. 126). The findings that have been kept apart by these factors thus far hold great promise for integrating hypotheses. We merely need to start looking across the boundaries of individual theories, fields of research, and disciplines.

> Thesis 6: We will only manage a stronger integration of scientific results if we start considering a successful integration of findings a significant scientific success.

The abovementioned phenomena partly result from the framework conditions under which scientific work takes place, especially from the current ways of defining success and the system of resource allocation. This system follows a market principle in which scientists compete with o ther. Success is defined by the following process: innovative and relevant findings receive attention, which contributes to a scientist's reputation, which entitles a scientist to receive funds and, ultimately, to keep working as a scientist. While this system may be effective in stimulating innovation, it tends to negatively affect research integration because integration follows a different logic.

Integration requires cooperation between researchers and a focus on the simi-

larities of findings. Furthermore, it benefits from a fundamental understanding that each researcher, each research field, and each discipline complements the work of others. The way in which scientific competition is currently structured tends to thwart this. A key component of this problem is that the reward systems in science are still oriented toward individual rather than collective success (Corner, 2013), and that careers are often built around niche expertise (Donsbach, 2006; Hjarvard, 2012; Schwarzenegger et al., 2019). In researchers' reasoning why they should receive resources (funds, attention), they focus on finding differentiators for their fields of research, which are meant to demonstrate the superior importance of their work. This brings the focus to differences rather than similarities. Discussions on how any two strains of research might actually describe the same phenomenon would endanger a carefully crafted island position, which is why such discussions remain a marginal part of scientific discourse.

Another key component of this problem area is the idea that original research is more prestigious than organizing existing findings (Calhoun, 2011). This performance indicator leads to an excessive focus on originality. Meanwhile, integration requires the continuation of research on a particular phenomenon. Researchers would need to focus on the similarity and compatibility of results, which contradicts the narratives around *originality and innovation* that most attempt to build. This prevents similar constructs with different names from being integrated, as this would mean that one of the constructs was a mere reflection of the other (see T1). Furthermore, as the originality requirement pushes scientists to stress the novel aspects of their research, they refrain from demonstrating how their work is also similar to earlier research, for example, when seen on a higher level of abstraction (see T2).

A third problematic component of the current competitive system in science is the way in which it guides attention. The intention to construct niche expertise often keeps scientists from consuming the output generated in other fields (Pfau, 2008; Waisbord, 2019). This maintains a strong segmentation and prevents the integration of findings from different subject areas (see T5). In addition, the competition principle stipulates that publications are classified as valuable or less valuable. To make the most of their time, researchers tend to only read the *best* or *most important* publications. As a result, few publications are read and cited by many, while many publications do not receive attention at all (Franck, 2002; see also Merton, 1968). It is evident that unread publications have no chance of being integrated with others. This means that most of the output of science remains unutilized. Achieving more integration calls for rethinking our attention economy. Each scientific finding could be seen as a piece of an information puzzle that we must complete. While some findings will still be more central than others, each has a certain informational value. The bulk of unused material would be seen as an untapped resource, while integration itself would be a refinement step for making it even more useful. Findings that do not receive attention when standing alone may very well have more relevance when combined with others.

Some of these issues are primarily a consequence of external forces, such as the way in which the scientific enterprise is funded. Other factors, such as the view on what is reputable and what not, are (at least partly) within the sphere of influence of the scientific community. However, many scientists may feel that they alone cannot change the corresponding conventions. The theory of structuration may offer a helpful perspective here by stating that "the rules and resources drawn upon in the production and reproduction of social action are at the same time the means of system reproduction" (Giddens, 1984, p. 19). That is, by aligning to, for example, the overly strong focus on original research, we constantly maintain this principle. This circle must be broken, where we feel that a convention does not set us on the ideal path to produce meaningful knowledge. Going forward, it would be useful to rethink our current success indi-

cators and to introduce a more balanced approach that reflects the important function of integrative work.

4   Conclusion

It is imperative to understand that any study cannot work within a silo, and that integrability of one's own study with others is necessary for the communication sciences to produce results of broad relevance. Currently, "hyper-specialization is the name of the game for academic success" (Waisbord, 2019, p. 137). However, "[l]ack of integration and critical reflection are problems both for enabling empirical research to have deep and cumulative scholarly significance, and for enabling researchers to say why their work really matters" (Calhoun, 2011, p. 1488). If we continue along our current path, we run "the danger of narrow endogamic scholarship – writing and talking to a relatively small number of people" (Waisbord, 2019, p. 137). This raises critical issues, especially where society expects science to provide guidance. Scattered findings on the details of an overall problem are not perceived as meaningful insights in such contexts, as they fail to provide a clear orientation.

These problems manifest globally, which is why individual scholars might not want to make integration of findings their concern. Furthermore, integrability comes at the cost of flexibility, and an individual study can answer a question without links to other findings. Accordingly, some might object that a stronger focus on integration would even be counterproductive, as it would limit their room for maneuvering. Corner (2013) described the principle of "willed ignorance" (p. 1016), which summarizes this reasoning. The work of others would sometimes be ignored if engaging with it would introduce serious complications to the research plans being pursued. This would support productivity in "conceptually active spaces, each having its own nodal reference points" (Corner, 2013, p. 1016).

Indeed, an integration of results may not be possible when results are based on incompatible epistemological or philosophical frameworks. However, we should strive to integrate results when the prerequisites are given. This is usually the case where the same variable appears. The simplest way of achieving more integration is to join related hypotheses that are dispersed over different fields of research by identifying reappearances of the same variable in multiple contexts (T5). Integrative work will be slightly more complex when the same variable arises in various guises, which can result from, e. g., different names (T1), as well as operationalizations by means of unique cases-examples (T2). Methodologically, we can approach such integration-opportunities by abstracting our variables, the similarity of which will then become more obvious on higher abstraction-levels. Where integration requires correspondence postulates between theoretical constructs and auxiliary variables (T3) or between hierarchically related constructs (T4), we need to advance beyond data mining and organizing results. In this case, the required approach is theoretical work that describes and substantiates these relationships. Overall, however, these actions are simple compared to our most complex task – initiating a cultural change toward a greater acknowledgement of integrative achievements (T6).

The most widely applied approaches to integrating findings, literature reviews and meta-analyses, have other goals than those described above – and approach in different ways. Literature reviews, which organize, summarize, and evaluate existing research on a topic, are typically meant to present a current state of research (such as in a textbook) or to highlight the remaining gaps to justify further research. Integration extends itself further in that it creates new relationships between findings, thereby bringing them into a more coherent construct of ideas. Meta-analyses focus on sets of studies that involve the same relationship of variables (Hunter & Schmidt, 2004). That is, they are not primarily meant to determine whether two findings describe the same relationship, but rather, they require and assume this

already. Furthermore, due to their focus on calculating weighted estimates of effect sizes (Carpenter, 2017), they are not suited to organize diverse types of relationships into a more coherent form (such as combining hypotheses A→B and B→C into A→B→C), either. They address neither the integrative potential behind unspecified relationships between theoretical constructs and auxiliary variables (T3) nor the potential behind hierarchical relationships (T4).

Hence, while meta-analyses and literature reviews have important integrative functions, they will need to be complemented by more integrative work on the theory-level, which targets the phenomena described in T1–T6. Most of this work can be done ex-post, and it might suffice for a group of scholars to adapt this as a methodological niche. This could be a highly rewarding task, as there is immense potential for building more complex theories and arriving at larger scales of empirical research by combining our existing results. We only need to rise to the occasion.

Conflict of interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Seismo

Typology of children media users

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Abstract
Research about children's media use is often concerned with the effects of one particular medium. There is rather little research about more general media diets in terms of their diversity and the resulting outcomes. Against the theoretical background of media repertoire approaches, we developed more general types of children's overall media use. We analyzed standardized interviews with children as part of the MIKE-2017-project in Switzerland. Drawing on a representative sample of 448 primary school children of the French-speaking part of Switzerland, we developed a typology of children media users based on their media diet, referring to a media repertoire approach. Data revealed three media use patterns labelled as "visual drifters" who dominantly use screen media, "modern diversifiers" who use a wide variety of media, and "traditional offliners" with a narrow repertoire. Contrary to often-expressed concerns, "modern diversifiers" frequently engage in non-media activities compared to the other groups. Results show that it is not only essential to concentrate on the children's frequency of particular media usage but also on children's media diets or repertoires.

Keywords
media users, typology, displacement hypothesis, media repertoires, cluster analysis, Switzerland

1   Introduction

Media is an essential part of adults' everyday lives and of children's living environments (Livingstone, 2009, 2014), as terms and expressions like "mediatization" (Livingstone, 2009, 2014) or "permanently online, permanently connected" (Vorderer, 2015) imply. There is ongoing debate in academia as well as in public on which media children should use and how much time they should spend on media use, as diverse media contents and extensive media use are considered harmful for children (Chang & Bushman, 2019; Chen & Shi, 2019; Domoff, Borgen, Foley, & Maffett, 2019; Livingstone, 2007). On the one hand, children need to use media and create their own media experiences to acquire essential skills such as media literacy. On the other hand, media use might be connected to adverse effects such as obesity, or the impairment of cognitive performances or personality traits (Harrison & Liechty,

2012; Kwan et al., 2020; Livingstone, 2007; Strasburger, Jordan, & Donnerstein, 2012). In this paper, we argue that attention on the risks of media use should not be neglected, but we also aim to show that especially the variety of media children use matters, not just the amount of time they spend on media use in general. We argue that some media repertoires (based on the media use frequencies of different media) seem to be problematic while others are not, even though media users of both patterns might use media very frequently. We therefore broaden the perspective by analyzing media use frequencies of different media which we here refer to an individual media diet or media repertoire (Hasebrink & Domeyer, 2012; Taneja, Webster, Malthouse, & Ksiazek, 2012). To indicate children's media use types, we draw from the repertoire approach (e.g., Hasebrink & Popp, 2006; Oblak Črnič & Luthar, 2017) and the media lifestyle approach (van Kruistum, Leseman, & de Haan,

2014). These media use types are connected to non-media activities to analyze to what extent frequent media use per se or the diversity of a specific media repertoire is related to non-media activities. In this sense, we link to the ongoing debate (e. g., Braumüller, 2020; Vilhelmson, Elldér, & Thulin, 2018) about the displacement hypothesis (e. g., Meyersohn, 1968). We therefore ask if a large variety of frequently used media by children leads to a displacement of non-media activities, or, in contrast, if it is connected to children's enhanced activity in general (e. g., Meyersohn, 1968). Albeit both hypotheses were developed in the 1960s, they appear to provide still a fruitful theoretical background in media usage research (e. g., Braumüller, 2020; Vilhelmson et al., 2018).

The relevance of our research interest finds support in the evidence on adverse effects of media use for children (e. g., Chang & Bushman, 2019; Chen & Shi, 2019; Domoff et al., 2019; Harrison & Liechty, 2012; Kwan et al., 2020; Strasburger et al., 2012), especially concerning particular media content or the overall time spent on media use. How children spend their leisure time is often an essential indicator of their physical, cognitive, and social development and well-being (e. g., Coatsworth, Sharp, Palen, Darling, Cumsille, & Marta, 2005; Shikako-Thomas et al., 2012): Previous research has shown that children use media to play with others, entertain themselves, learn, and engage in prosocial activities (Koenitzer, Jeker, & Waller, 2017; Prot et al., 2014; Strasburger et al., 2012). Therefore, a multitude of motives and needs can be satisfied by media use, as outlined by the uses and gratifications approach (Katz, Blumler, & Gurevitch, 1973; Lev-On, 2017; Rubin, 1983). Derived from this perspective, one could assume that children develop strategies to gratify their learning or entertainment needs by repeated instrumental media use. However, through selective media usage, children not only passively satisfy needs (e. g., escapism by immersion into fictional programs) but also benefit by improving their skills, especially at preschool age or older. In this regard, media usage is valuable for

children's education, depending on their age and the media content they use (Adelantado-Renau, Moliner-Urdiales, Cavero-Redondo, Beltran-Valls, Martínez-Vizcaíno, & Álvarez-Bueno, 2019; Anderson & Subrahmanyam, 2017; Radesky, Schumacher, & Zuckerman, 2015).

Beyond these positive effects, children are also exposed to numerous threats when they use media (e. g., Chang & Bushman, 2019; Chen & Shi, 2019; Domoff et al., 2019; Harrison & Liechty, 2012; Kwan et al., 2020; Strasburger et al., 2012). Children show the risk of underdevelopment, such as poor sensorimotor skills or the inability to build and maintain social relationships, due to inadequate or too early use of media (e. g., Radesky, Schumacher, & Zuckerman, 2015). They might also be confronted with cognitively and emotionally challenging content such as media violence (Bushman & Huesmann, 2006; Chang & Bushman, 2019), or pornography (González Ortega & Orgaz Baz, 2013). Furthermore, children's media use has been discussed as a risk for physical health such as child obesity (Harrison & Liechty, 2012; Strasburger et al., 2012), or mental health such as cyberbullying (Erdur-Baker, 2010; Kwan et al., 2020). Cyberbullying might even be connected to suicidal behavior, as a meta-analysis by John et al. (2018) shows, most probably because children have not yet developed a distinct sense of Internet-related risks (Koenitzer et al., 2017).

In this study, we focus on a specific, less obvious class of effects of media usage on children, namely the impact of their media usage behavior on non-media activities in their free time. Because of the use of media, children might devote less time to engage in non-media activities, such as maintaining (offline) social relationships with family and friends or activities that involve physical activities being essential for children to develop physically, socially, and cognitively (e. g., Biddle, Ciaccioni, Thomas, & Vergeer, 2019; Burriss & Tsao, 2002; Coatsworth et al., 2005; Shikako-Thomas et al., 2012).

The fear that media usage is replacing real-world relationships is frequently de-

bated in society and in academia (Radesky et al., 2015). Against this background, there has been ongoing discussion on how to teach media literacy to children (e. g., Anderson & Subrahmanyam, 2017; Wartella & Robb, 2008). Despite acknowledging the potential dangers of media, it is probably not useful to prevent children from using media in general, since children need media experiences to acquire media literacy; thus, they have to use media (Aufderheide, 1993; Potter, 2013). In this sense, media literacy comprises assumptions about when children should start making their own media decisions such as when to begin using smartphones or the Internet (Koenitzer et al., 2017), how long or frequently they should use specific media, and what type of content they should access (Strasburger et al., 2012). Questions of media literacy also affect the question of how much different media children should use and how frequently – this is the focus of our paper.

We especially link to the "displacement hypothesis" and the so-called "The more-the-more hypothesis" (e. g., Meyersohn, 1968; Mutz, Roberts & van Vuuren, 1993). In contrast to previous studies, we do not only focus on the frequency of using specific media but also the variety of frequently used media as a second aspect of the discussion. We link the typical repertoires of media used by children to their non-media leisure activities (e. g., Hasebrink & Hepp, 2017; Hasebrink & Popp, 2006; van Kruistum et al., 2014).

In contrast to previous studies that were dedicated to obvious positive and negative effects of media use on children, we focus on the description of less obvious side-effects of media use. Furthermore, we aim at describing the impact of children's media usage on their non-media free-time activities without judging their behavior. Nevertheless, as outlined above, it is important to keep in mind that any media repertoire can be linked to a multitude of positive and negative effects that should not be neglected.

1.1 The more-the-more hypothesis vs. the more-the-less (displacement) hypothesis

Both hypotheses have been primarily discussed in the context of traditional mass media (e. g., Meyersohn, 1968; Mutz et al., 1993). They describe two oppositional consequences of extensive media use or the usage of new media: The displacement hypothesis (or "the-more-the-less hypothesis") suggests that the more children use media, the less they engage in non-media activities (Mutz et al., 1993). Contrary to the displacement hypothesis, the so-called "the-more-the-more" hypothesis assumes that media use and engagement in non-media activities depend on alternative explanations. Consequently, media use and non-media activities do not cannibalize each other but are instead the result of the children's general activity levels, their motivation, or their socioeconomic background (Meyersohn, 1968). Hence, extensive media use can correlate with high engagement in non-media activities because some children may simply be more active than others. This hypothesis has already been investigated by Meyersohn (1968), who assumed a socio-economic influence on the relationship between media use and non-media activities. Against the background of the work by Jahoda, Lazarsfeld, and Zeisel (1933/2017),[1] Meyersohn (1968, p. 103) pointed out that "[…] if an individual has the energy, interest, motivation, and so forth to pursue one leisure activity, he is likely to be motivated to pursue others as well." Therefore, unlike the displacement hypothesis, the more-the-more hypothesis assumes a positive association of time spent with media and time spent on non-media activities. The reason why media use might not necessarily take away time from other activities is that many media activities can be done while doing other activities as well, or as Mutz et al. (1993) showed, media activities more likely displace other media activities than non-media activities (e. g., media-re-

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1   The work was first published in 1933 in German.

lated gratifications can be obtained better by the use of new media).

However, research on these hypotheses mostly focus on particular media (e.g., Mutz et al., 1993), or a class of media, such as computer media (Endestad, Heim, Kaare, Torgersen, & Brandtzæg, 2011), and they just concentrate on the amount of time spent on media activities, not on the variety of media use. In contrast, research on media usage repertoires and their effect on non-media activities is rare. In this paper, we do not only analyze how the total time spent on media is connected to the frequency of non-media activity engagement but also whether the variety of frequently used media can be related to the frequency of non-media activities.

1.2 Media use repertoires

Frequently, researchers, educators, and politicians focus on single media and their adverse effects on children and adolescents (Browne, Thompson, & Madigan, 2020; Chang & Bushman, 2019; Domoff et al., 2019; Kwan et al., 2020; Livingstone & Helsper, 2013; also see Oblak Črnič & Luthar, 2017), such as the dangers of gaming, using the Internet, or consuming violent television content. Single media approaches show in great detail how specific elements of particular media lead to diverse effects. However, these approaches are somewhat biased toward one particular medium or content, isolating its uses and effects from other media uses and effects. Since most children do not heavily and solely use one specific medium or media content, it seems to be fruitful to broaden the perspective toward media use repertoires and effects: Not only Swiss children use many different media (e.g., Genner, Suter, Waller, Schoch, Willemse & Süss, 2017), the same holds true for Germany, for example (mpfs, 2020). The media repertoire approach comprises media uses allowing us to analyze how far specific combinations of frequently used media may be more or less advantageous. However, we cannot assess in detail which particular characteristics of certain media are potentially harmful.

There exist many approaches to the combined use of specific media, such as the media repertoires approach (Hasebrink & Popp, 2006) or the media lifestyle approach (van Kruistum et al., 2014). These approaches take a broader perspective on media use, integrating the use of diverse media into everyday life routines or connecting it to social characteristics (e.g., van Kruistum et al., 2014). As stated by Hasebrink and Popp (2006, pp. 373–374), "[…] media repertoires can be understood as an integral part of lifestyles, and they have to be interpreted concerning their practical meaning."

In our study, *media repertoire* is a broad concept. We use this broad definition of *media use repertoires* as a set or combination of frequently used media. These patterns may have more or fewer facets, depending on how different or similar media are used frequently.

Against this background, we pose two research questions:

RQ1: Which types of media users can be identified in a representative sample of primary school children in Switzerland based on their media use repertoires?

In considering the potential adverse effects of frequent media use, we further ask:

RQ2: To what extent do those media user types differ concerning non-media activities?

The first research question deals with the identification of media user types. The second one draws on the underlying problem regarding the extent the frequently used media is connected to varying frequencies of engagement in non-media activities. Therefore, we assume that possible adverse effects such as poor non-media social relationships, or limited physical activities may not only be based on the usage of one specific medium but also that these correlates relate to the diversity of media use patterns of children.

Therefore, regarding the debate about the displacement thesis, we assume that it might be too simplistic to infer from the

pure amount of time spent on media to non-media activities. We suppose that non-media leisure activities such as physical, social, creative, or intellectual activities may improve physical and psychological health in children as well as help them to improve their social or cognitive skills (e. g., Coatsworth et al., 2005; Shikako-Thomas et al., 2012). Depending on the media repertoire of specific types of media users, we assume that both the displacement and the more-the-more-hypotheses may be applied: Only specific media repertoires may replace non-media activities, not media use in general. Thus, it does not seem very fruitful to focus on just one medium or content, or general media use duration to discuss the optimal amount of media usage time for children; one also needs to have an eye on the variety of frequently used media. The research questions are analyzed with data collected in the MIKE[2] 2017 study (Genner et al., 2017), a representative survey study of Swiss primary school children.

2 Methods

In the following section, we provide information on data collection, our sample of reference, and the measures used to answer our research questions.

2.1 Data collection
This study uses data collected in 2017 in the French-speaking part of Switzerland as part of the MIKE-2017 study (Genner et al., 2017). MIKE-2017 is a representative study on the media usage of Swiss primary school children, covering all languages of Switzerland. The MIKE-2017 project was led by the ZHAW *Zurich University of Applied Sciences.* Older children (fourth through sixth grades) were asked about their media use via a written standardized

questionnaire that they could complete themselves, whereas younger children (first through third grades) were interviewed orally.

For three theoretical and methodological reasons, we queried primary school children: First, we assumed that older children draw their media decisions more independently compared to younger children, who are mostly guided by their parents' choices. Second, we asked children about their media use instead of asking parents about their children's media use. By doing so, we assumed the data to be more valid regarding the real media use of children because there might be a difference between what children are supposed to do and what they actually do. Third, using questionnaires and interviews as a data-collection method does not allow for the inclusion of very young children in the sample who cannot answer these kinds of questions.

2.2 Sample
To obtain a representative sample, a multi-step sampling strategy was chosen (Genner et al., 2017). This sampling was started by a quota strategy comprising the region, urbanity, and school grade. Then, communities were chosen randomly; as good as possible, schools within these communities were randomly selected. Three data sets were collected this way: one for the German-speaking part of Switzerland, one for the Italian-speaking region, and one for the French-speaking part. We used the French-speaking data subset for our analyses with a representative sample of 448 French-speaking Swiss primary school children. The average age was $M = 9.8$ years ($SD = 1.8$). Additionally, each child provided a questionnaire to his or her parents; unfortunately, only 235 parents sent back their questionnaire. Therefore, we only analyzed parents' questionnaires on an exploratory basis because this sample is not representative. The average age of parents who returned the survey was $M = 41.8$ years ($SD = 5.5$).

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2 MIKE is an acronym for *Medien, Interaktion, Kinder, Eltern* [Media, Interaction, Children, Parents]. The study was financially supported by the Jacobs Foundation and the National Platform for Youth and Media. The study was led by the ZHAW Zurich University of Applied Sciences.

2.3 Measures

We used several measures to address media use, children's non-media activities, as well as socio-economic characteristics.

2.3.1 Media use

Children were asked how often they use different kinds of media. They could indicate their answers on 4-point Likert-type scales (1 = *never* to 4 = *every day / almost every day*). We added two newspaper-reading items (reading the quality press or reading commuters' press) to one mean-value index; also, the items on reading books and on reading comics were put together to a mean-value index. We tried to find possible dimensions between the media use items to reduce the list of items further, but based on a principal axis analysis, we decided against further reduction. Principal axis analysis (Varimax rotation) revealed four axes (*Eigenvalue* > 1; *KMO* = .690; Bartlett's test of sphericity: *Chi-square* = 778.017 (78); *p* < .001), but since these axes explained only 33.6 % of the variance, we did not bundle more variables than the above mentioned. Instead, we proceeded with 13 media use variables: gaming (*M* = 2.9; *SD* = 1.0), watching TV (*M* = 3.3; *SD* = 0.8), taking pictures / videos (*M* = 2.3; *SD* = 0.9), using a smartphone (*M* = 2.7; *SD* = 1.1), using a tablet (*M* = 2.5; *SD* = 1.0), Internet use (*M* = 2.7; *SD* = 1.1), listening to audio plays (*M* = 1.4; *SD* = 0.7), listening to music (*M* = 3.2; *SD* = 0.9), listening to the radio (*M* = 2.1; *SD* = 1.1), watching DVDs / Blu-rays (*M* = 2.3; *SD* = 0.8), going to the cinema (*M* = 2.0; *SD* = 0.4), reading books / comics (*M* = 2.7; *SD* = 0.9), and reading newspapers (*M* = 1.4; *SD* = 0.7).

2.3.2 Non-media activities

We chose diverse non-media activities children can engage in when they have leisure time. These media activities can be theoretically categorized into four categories concerning their main impact (accounting for the fact that most leisure activities serve diverse functions, of course). For each activity, children were asked how often they engage in these non-media leisure activities on 4-point Likert-type scales (1 = *never*

to 4 = *every day / almost every day*). Overall, the variables are normally distributed, even though K-S tests indicate non-normal distributions. Since ANOVA and Kruskal-Wallis tests are quite robust against (moderate) violations of their premises, we used all variables for further analyses. In the questionnaire, items were not sorted as presented here, and categorization may only help interpret the findings:

1) As (mainly) intellectual activities, we define doing homework for school (*M* = 3.6; *SD* = 0.7) or going to the library (*M* = 1.7; *SD* = 0.7).
2) As creative activities, we define drawing, painting, or crafting (*M* = 2.6; *SD* = 0.9), or playing music (*M* = 2.1; *SD* = 1.1). Of course, we do not assume that these activities are completely free of physical, intellectual, or social events, but we see creativity as the most important aspect of these activities.
3) Physical activities may involve physical, creative, or intellectual activities, but they also often involve some kind of sportive or playful action, especially when it comes to playing outside or doing sports. Since playing outside probably involves more physical activity than playing inside, we analyze both separately. Children were asked how often they play outside (*M* = 3.5; *SD* = 0.7), inside (*M* = 3.5; *SD* = 0.8), and how often they do play sports (*M* = 2.9; *SD* = 0.8).
4) Social leisure activities involve interactions with peers or pets that are taken care of to learn responsibilities. We especially asked for how often children engage in family activities (*M* = 2.8; *SD* = 0.8), activities with friends (*M* = 3.2; *SD* = 0.8), and caregiving activities for pets (*M* = 2.4; *SD* = 1.3). These activities do not necessarily involve physical activities or creative or intellectual activities, even though they might.

2.3.3 Children's and parents' age

Children and parents were asked for their age. Children's age was *M* = 9.8 (*SD* = 1.8); parents' age was *M* = 41.8 (*SD* = 5.5) in our sample. Please note that not all parents re-

turned a questionnaire; therefore, the parents' results have to be interpreted with caution.

2.3.4 *Socioeconomic background*

We used different indicators to identify the families' socioeconomic background. These indicators are based on the Family Affluence Scale (FASII) (Currie, Molcho, Boyce, Holstein, Torsheim, & Richter, 2008; Schnohr, Kreiner, Due, Currie, Boyce & Diderichsen, 2008). The items were added to a mean index ($M = 2.0$; $SD = 0.6$), reaching from 1 (*low SES*) to 3 (*high SES*), which has been statistically adjusted for age effects.

3 Results

In the following section, we describe our strategy of data analysis before we turn to answering our research questions.

3.1 Building media user types

To find distinct media use repertoires (RQ1) that make up the user types, we used K-means cluster analysis with Euclidean distance (MacQueen, 1967). Cluster analysis is data driven and is therefore an explorative procedure to find groups of similar response patterns within a given sample; here, we built clusters based on the media use responses. K-means procedure for cluster analysis allows building groups of media users, which are quite homogenous within each group and rather different compared to the other groups. We decided to compare three media use clusters; the optimal number of clusters was determined by the "Nb-Clust" R-package (Charrad, Ghazzali, Boiteau, & Niknafs, 2022). Furthermore, we compared *F* values of different cluster solutions and were guided by the interpretability of the cluster solutions. Discriminant analysis shows that 96.1 % of all cases can be correctly classified by a 3-cluster solution (*Wilks' Lambda* of function $1 = 0.128$; $\chi^2 = 834.203$; $df = 26$; $p < .001$; *Wilks' Lambda* of function $2 = 0.510$; $\chi^2 = 273.775$; $df = 12$; $p < .001$). The most discriminant items (standardized canonical coefficients > 0.3) of function 1 are Internet use, smartphone use, and gaming. The most discriminant items of function 2 are listening to the radio, reading newspapers, and taking pictures / videos.

3.2 Cluster description

RQ1 asked which types of media users can be identified in a representative sample of primary school children. To illustrate those types, Table 1 shows the mean values of the media use items for each cluster.

Table 1:   Cluster description by media use variables

Media use activity	Visual drifters (Cluster 1) n = 135		Modern diversifiers (Cluster 2) n = 81		Traditional offliners (Cluster 3) n = 199	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Games	3.4	0.8	3.3	0.8	2.3	0.9
TV	3.3	0.8	3.6	0.6	3.2	0.8
Photos / Videos	2.3	0.9	3.1	0.8	2.1	0.8
Smartphones	3.4	0.9	3.5	0.8	1.9	0.9
Tablets	2.6	1.1	2.9	1.1	2.3	0.9
Internet	3.7	0.5	3.5	0.7	1.8	0.8
Audio Plays	1.2	0.5	1.5	0.8	1.6	0.8
Music	3.3	0.8	3.7	0.6	2.8	0.9
Radio	1.3	0.5	3.1	0.9	2.2	1.1
DVDs / Blu-Rays	2.0	0.8	2.6	0.9	2.3	0.7
Cinema	2.0	0.4	2.1	0.4	2.0	0.4
Books / Comics	2.2	0.8	3.1	0.7	2.9	0.8
Newspapers	1.2	0.3	2.0	0.8	1.4	0.6

Note: Media use was measured on a Likert-type scale from 1 = never to 4 = almost every day / every day.

Cluster 1 (n = 135) could be named *visual drifters*. Children in this group have a clear preference for screen media because they mainly use games, television, smartphone, and the Internet and quite often listen to music. However, they seem to be rather "passive" than "active" users. They rarely read newspapers or listen to audio plays and the radio. Children in cluster 2 (n = 81) – the *modern diversifiers* – often listen to music, watch television, or use the smartphone and the Internet. However, they also use a great variety of all kinds of different media quite often, except for audio plays. This cluster is therefore characterized by broad and extensive media use in general. Children in cluster 3 (n = 199) mostly watch television, but they also read books and comics and listen to music (even though they do not use these media as much as they use the TV). They scarcely use the Internet. Since children in cluster 3 seem to have quite a limited set of media they use and rarely use the Internet at this young age, we name this cluster *traditional offliners*. It must, however, be noted that they may not stay offliners while becoming older. Nevertheless, at this age they obviously use "traditional media" and they might be simply late bloomers.

In general, cluster 2 shows the highest mean values for all media compared to the other clusters; thus, children in this cluster generally use more media more often. In contrast, children in cluster 3 show lower mean values for the use of different media, indicating that they use media much less than the others. Cluster 1 mostly differs from cluster 2 concerning reading books and comics (children of cluster 1 read much less compared to cluster 2). Compared to cluster 3, children of the first cluster use the Internet much more. Remarkably, children in cluster 2 also differ mostly regarding Internet use from cluster 3 (children of cluster 2 use the Internet more often).

In line with the media repertoires approach (Hasebrink & Popp, 2006), one can describe and interpret the clusters against the background of socioeconomic variables such as the children's age, the parents' age, and the economic status of the households the children live in. Regarding the parents' age, there were no significant differences between the three clusters (F[2; 215] = 1.556; p = .213); also, there were no significant differences for the household socio-economic status (F[2; 394] = 1.389; p = .251). This result is remarkable because media repertoire research, for example, interrelates patterns of media use to social positions (Hasebrink & Popp, 2006; Hasebrink & Domeyer, 2012). In contrast, we find significant differences of children's age between the clusters (F[2; 412] = 50.621; p < .001; $p_{Levene-Test}$ = .296): *Traditional offliners* are about two years younger than the *modern diversifiers* and the *visual drifters*. Differences between the ages of the latter two are not significant.

3.3 Non-media activities of media user types

RQ2 asked for non-media activities such as engaging in family activities, meeting with friends, or doing sports. Children were asked how often they do those different non-media activities in their spare time; they could answer on Likert-type scales from 1 = *never* to 4 = *almost every day / every day*. Tables 2 to 5 show the mean differences between media user types regarding those non-media activities. Overall, except for playing sports, *visual drifters* show the lowest mean values, which leaves the impression that they are less interested in non-media activities (except for sports) compared to the other groups. In turn, *visual drifters* seem to be more open to non-media activities; they especially play inside or outside in their leisure time. In general, *modern diversifiers* show a mixed set of non-media activities as well. Especially concerning social non-media activities, they differ significantly from the rest.

For readability reasons, more detailed analyses of the clusters' non-media activities are guided by the four theoretical categories of non-media activities mentioned above.

3.3.1 Intellectual non-media activities

Differences between the clusters were analyzed by conducting ANOVAs after testing for normal distribution and homogeneity of variance. Regarding intellectual

Table 2:   Intellectual non-media activities for media user types

Cluster	N	M	SD	95 % LLCI	95 % ULCI
Homework *(F = 0.711; df = 2; p = .492)*					
Visual drifters	135	3.5	0.7	3.38	3.63
Modern diversifiers	80	3.6	0.6	3.47	3.75
Traditional offliners	199	3.6	0.6	3.47	3.64
Total	414	3.6	0.7	3.49	3.61
Library *(F = 0.948; df = 2; p = .388)*					
Visual drifters	135	1.6	0.7	1.50	1.73
Modern diversifiers	81	1.7	0.7	1.53	1.85
Traditional offliners	198	1.7	0.7	1.62	1.82
Total	414	1.7	0.7	1.61	1.75

Note: Levene-Tests n. s. (indicating homogeneity of variance). Non-media activities were measured on 4-point Likert-type scales from 1 = never to 4 = almost every day / every day. Mean values indexed by different letters differ significantly from one another (along Bonferroni Post-Hoc-Tests).

Table 3:   Creative non-media activities for media user types

Cluster	N	M	SD	95 % LLCI	95 % ULCI
Drawing / Painting / Crafting *(F = 5.077; df = 2; p = .007)*					
Visual drifters	132	2.4[a]	0.9	2.27	2.59
Modern diversifiers	81	2.7[ab]	0.9	2.49	2.87
Traditional offliners	199	2.8[b]	0.9	2.62	2.87
Total	412	2.6	0.9	2.55	2.72
Music *(F = 5.820; df = 2; p = .003)*					
Visual drifters	134	1.9[a]	1.1	1.67	2.04
Modern diversifiers	81	2.4[b]	1.2	2.11	2.63
Traditional offliners	197	2.2[b]	1.1	2.01	2.32
Total	412	2.1	1.1	1.99	2.21

Note: Levene-Tests n. s. (indicating homogeneity of variance). Non-media activities were measured on 4-point Likert-type scales from 1 = never to 4 = almost every day / every day. Mean values indexed by different letters differ significantly from one another (along Bonferroni Post-Hoc-Tests).

non-media activities, we do not find significant differences between the three media user types (Table 2). All children seem to devote a similar amount of time to their homework ($M_{\text{all clusters}} > 3.5$), and all children visit the library rarely ($M_{\text{all clusters}} < 1.7$).

3.3.2 Creative non-media activities
Making music seems to be not very common among French-speaking Swiss primary school children in general (i. e., mean values for the clusters are quite low). Only *modern diversifiers* show at least some interest in making music ($M = 2.4$; $SD = 1.2$) compared to the other two groups. Overall, *visual drifters* are less interested in creative activities like playing music or crafting / painting / drawing (Table 3). While crafting, drawing, or painting is not prac-

ticed very often by screen media users ($M = 2.4$; $SD = 0.9$), *traditional offliners* are more interested in these activities compared to the rest ($M = 2.8$; $SD = 0.9$).

3.3.3 Physical non-media activities
Visual drifters differ significantly from the other groups regarding playing inside as well as playing outside, indicating that they are less physically active in their leisure time (Table 4). Since the Kruskal-Wallis test indicates that differences between the three clusters are not significant for sports, we exclude these results from the interpretation. However, in tendencies, *modern diversifiers* seem to be most physically active here.

Table 4:　　Physical non-media activities for media user types

Media user types (Clusters)	N	Mean ranks	
Sports (without sports in school)			($\chi^2 = 5.498$; df = 2; p = .064; n = 412)
Visual drifters	133	204.3	
Modern diversifiers	80	230.4	
Traditional offliners	199	198.4	
Play outside			($\chi^2 = 12.388$; df = 2; p = .002; n = 415)
Visual drifters	135	181.7[a]	
Modern diversifiers	81	216.4[b]	
Traditional offliners	199	222.4[b]	
Play inside			($\chi^2 = 7.649$; df = 2; p = .022; n = 411)
Visual drifters	134	187.9[a]	
Modern diversifiers	80	203.3[a,b]	
Traditional offliners	197	219.4[b]	

Note: Levene-Tests significant (indicating inhomogeneity of variance). Non-media activities were measured on 4-point Likert-type scales from 1 = never to 4 = almost every day / every day. Mean values indexed by different letters differ significantly from one another (along Bonferroni Post-Hoc-Tests). Children were also asked if they were attending youth group activities; here, we did not find significant differences between the groups.

Table 5:　　Social non-media activities for media user types

Media user types (Clusters)	N	M; [Mean ranks]	SD	95% LLCI	95% ULCI
Family *(F = 6.157; df = 2; p = .002)*					
Visual drifters	134	2.6[a]	0.8	2.51	2.77
Modern diversifiers	81	3.0[b]	0.8	2.82	3.16
Traditional offliners	199	2.9[b]	0.8	2.77	2.98
Total	414	2.8	0.8	2.75	2.90
Friends *(F = 12.21; df = 2; p < .001)*					
Visual drifters	134	3.3[b]	0.8	3.13	3.40
Modern diversifiers	81	3.5[b]	0.6	3.35	3.63
Traditional offliners	196	3.0[a]	0.8	2.90	3.12
Total	411	3.2	0.8	3.11	3.26
Pets *(Chi-square = 8.943; df = 2; p = .011)*					
Visual drifters	133	[190.6[a]]			
Modern diversifiers	81	[236.7[b]]			
Traditional offliners	196	[202.8[a]]			
Total	410				

Note: Levene-Tests n. s. (indicating homogeneity of variance) for family and friends; significant Levene-Test results for pets. Kruskal-Wallis Test for the item taking care of pets: mean ranks in "[ ]". Non-media activities were measured on 4-point Likert-type scales from 1 = never to 4 = almost every day / every day. Mean values indexed by different letters differ significantly from one another (along Bonferroni Post-Hoc-Tests).

3.3.4　Social non-media activities

Results show that *modern diversifiers* engage more often in social non-media activities compared to the others (Table 5): They meet significantly more often with friends ($M = 3.5$; $SD = 0.6$), participate significantly more often in family activities ($M = 3.0$; $SD = 0.8$). In turn, except for meeting with friends, *visual drifters* show significantly lower values in engaging in family activities ($M = 2.6$; $SD = 0.8$) and taking care of pets ($M = 2.2$; $SD = 1.3$).

4   Discussion and conclusion

Media are omnipresent in children's life (Genner & Süss, 2017; Kabali et al., 2015; Livingstone, 2014), so most children experience a mediated childhood to some degree. Previous research has shown that some media use can harm child development such as promote obesity or agressiveness, negatively impact mental health (e. g., Strasburger et al., 2012). Nevertheless, children cannot and should not be isolated from the media in the long run because they have to acquire media literacy. Therefore, one needs to take a closer look into children's media use behavior to identify which groups are particularly vulnerable when it comes to adverse effects on non-media everyday life.

In this paper, we examined how the variety of used media affects non-media activities in children's leisure time. Instead of focusing on one particular medium, we adopted a media repertoire view (e. g., Hasebrink & Hepp, 2017; Hasebrink & Popp, 2006; van Kruistum et al., 2014) describing children's behavior. First, we identified children who differ with regard to their media patterns by cluster analysis in a sample of 448 French-speaking Swiss primary school children (Genner et al., 2017). Our data revealed three distinctive clusters: Children in cluster 1 *(visual drifters)* show a strong focus on screen media, those in cluster 2 *(modern diversifiers)* were versatile media users, and children in cluster 3 *(traditional offliners)* were more selective media users with a rather narrow media repertoire. Although we could not observe statistically significant differences in the socioeconomic status among the parents, cluster 3 significantly differed with respect to the children's age from the others. We then analyzed how the groups differed concerning their non-media activities. We showed that focusing only on the frequent use of some particular media falls short.

In contrast, the variety of different media mattered, too. Children who used a more extensive range of various media have more diverse leisure activities consisting of a mixture of different non-media activities. This supports the "the more, the

more hypothesis" (e. g., Meyersohn, 1968; Mutz et al., 1993), which posits that more media activities do not necessarily lead to less non-media activities. The group of children with a strong focus on screen media may be the ones considered vulnerable to negative effects as indicated by Browne et al. (2020). For them, the concurring "displacement hypothesis" (e. g., Meyersohn, 1968; Mutz et al., 1993) seems to fit better, thus media consumption probably displaces their non-media activities to some degree.

Therefore, our results contribute to a very important research field: First, simply looking at the total number of media used by a child does not indicate if a child is more or less engaged in non-media activities. Second, these findings support the call for education in media competences – since children deal with a multitude of different media, they need to learn how to benefit most from each medium. Just as a healthy food plan contains different nutrients that are carefully combined, a healthy media repertoire contains different media that can be profitably used.

As mentioned above, cluster analysis is an exploratory, data-driven method for data analysis. To substantiate our findings, we need to replicate our analyses with a different sample. Furthermore, we focused on a French-speaking sub-sample. To gain a more unobstructed view on the impact of culture on children's media behavior (and non-media activities), comparative analyses seem promising (e. g., using a most similar approach and / or a most different approach). Besides non-media activities, other dependent variables appear to be interesting (such as aggressiveness, cognitive abilities, obesity) to connect to this large body of research. Last, we need more long-term analyses to address causality questions because we cannot find out if media consumption leads to more or less active leisure time or if third variables influence media and non-media behavior. In this sense, a large variety of frequently used media and a good mixture of different non-media activities on the one hand and a poor media diet connected to a narrow set of non-media activities on the other hand might be just an indicator

of more or less deprived children. This, in turn, takes us back to Meyersohn (1968) who connected media consumption and non-media activities to socioeconomic or intellectual deprivations (Meyersohn, 1968, p. 103), which he especially assumed for higher class individuals; thus, he linked media and leisure behavior to social class. Based on this assumption, one could broaden the perspective to different sociocultural variables apart from class, such as the social situation in general or social or cultural background.

Taken together, investigating patterns of children's media use seems to be a promising research field. Future research needs to take a more in-depth look into describing these media use types (e. g., their motives, their health) and embedding them into their socio-cultural contexts.

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Conflict of interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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SComS
Thematic Section

Historizing international organizations and their communication – institutions, practices, changes

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GUEST EDITORIAL

Historizing international organizations and their communication – institutions, practices, changes

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1 Introduction

The Thematic Section focuses on a topic that has thus far received little attention from communication and media researchers: the history of international organizations and their communication. Since the second half of the 19th century, for numerous and diverse areas of social life, globally active international organizations of varying degrees of institutionalization and scope, both non-governmental and intergovernmental, have been founded and have dedicated themselves to the global challenges of the first modern age (Herren, 2009). The most famous of these is certainly the League of Nations, which was established in 1919 as the predecessor institution of the United Nations.

In this sense, the background of the Thematic Section is crucial. In recent years the Lab "History of Communication and Media Change" at the Centre for Media, Communication and Information Research (ZeMKI) of the University of Bremen has been the home of a large-scale project on the communication history of the League of Nations. The research project on "Transnational Communication History of the League of Nations in the Inter-War Period (1920–1938): The institutional, professional and public spheres of journalism in the League of Nations in international comparison"[1] aimed at identifying

and reconstructing the communication and media work of the League of Nations from the perspective of a transnational communication history of international organizations (Gellrich, Koenen, & Averbeck-Lietz, 2020). This guiding principle was something we wanted to take up first during the planning of an international conference on "Communication history of international organizations and NGOs: Questions, research perspectives, topics",[2] to apply it more broadly to other organizations, objects, and the phenomenon of the communication of international organizations. On the one hand, the stimulating and topically diverse nature of our conference emphasized the significance of an explicit communication research and communication history perspective on international

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1   The project was led by Stefanie Averbeck-Lietz, who worked together with research assistants Erik Koenen and Arne L. Gellrich. It was funded from 2017 to 2022 by the German Research Foundation (Project-ID: DFG AV 23/7–1). Project website: https://www.uni-bremen.de/en/zemki/research/current-research-projects/transnational-communication-history-of-the-league-of-nations-in-the-inter-war-period-1920-1938

2   International ZeMKI Conference 2021 – Online "Communication history of international organizations and NGO: Questions, research perspectives, topics" (April 22–23 2021). Conference website: https://www.uni-bremen.de/en/zemki/events/conferences/communication-history-of-international-organizations-and-ngos

organizations.[3] Perspectives that communication researchers can add to the discourse with other disciplines, such as history and political sciences, that deal with international organizations. On the other hand, the conference clearly showed that the topic of international organizations in the dimensions of history, communication, institutions, and practices is still a largely unexplored field of communication studies. In order to highlight the possibilities and potentials of communication studies research on international organizations and not least to stimulate further research in this trajectory, we have launched this Thematic Section.

From a communication history perspective, international organizations played a highly visible role in the transnational intertwining and consolidation processes of journalism, culture, media, politics, technology, and the public sphere in the 19th and 20th century (Brendebach, Herzer, & Tworek, 2018). Against the background of the much-discussed boundaries between secret diplomacy and public diplomacy, especially after the First World War, such organizations contributed to the development of the first arenas and forms of international and transnational public spheres with an orientation toward global governance. To spread their concerns and goals globally, they constantly made use of the latest communication technologies and the growing diversity of the available media for their communication; they organized and professionalized their information work and developed specific information-policy instruments and strategies for that purpose. Woodrow Wilson's idea of "open diplomacy" (in fact, the early forerunner of today's public diplomacy), for example, was the idea on which the League of Nations based its information policy (Lange, 1991; Ranshofen-Wertheimer, 1945; Seidenfaden, 2022; Tworek, 2010).

Effects of the differentiation and organization of the communication of international organizations, such as the emergence of institutionalized public relations in these specific contexts, the development of inter-

national summit and conference journalism, the creation of publicity for international politics and, in parallel, the genesis of structures of inter- and transnational public spheres conveyed by the media, are issues and topics within this field of research, which from the perspective of media history has been by and large neglected.

2   Leading questions

In this light, the three relevant research perspectives and topical foci of a transnational communication and media history of international organizations reveal a broad spectrum of questions:

› Communication activities and communication management of international organizations

How did non-governmental and intergovernmental international organizations design their communication to reach and inform the media and the public? Which actors and groups of actors did they address and how? What were the expectations regarding media and public attention? What ideas existed about the relationship between media and politics? What forms, infrastructures, instruments, concepts, and strategies were developed to generate the public and media visibility of international organizations? How and by whom was information and public relations work institutionalized and standardized? How were relations with individual media and their representatives organized and professionalized?

› International organizations, media and journalism

What influence have international organizations had on trends in globalization and on the inter- and transnationalization of journalism and media communication? How did new forms of foreign journalism such as summit and international conference journalism develop? What position did journalistic and media practices occupy within the context of international organizations? Which international media policy agenda developed from

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3   Conference program and review by Elisa Pollack, Niklas Venema and Simon Sax on H/Soz/Kult: https://www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/fdkn-127538

the interaction of international organizations and media institutions, for example, with respect to: ensuring the free movement of global news; tendentious reporting and dissemination of false reports; unimpeded activity of correspondents; and international standards of the freedom of the press and copyright? Which international organizations were established, especially in the media context?

› International organizations in the public sphere

What notions of a global or inter- and transnational public sphere were generated in the context of international organizations? How were conferences involving international organizations publicly staged? What public image did international organizations have? On which topics and with which objectives did international organizations try to address and reach the public (e. g., disarmament, gender justice, health, or nature)? How were international organizations perceived beyond the mass media (e. g., in art, caricature, film, literature, photography, or posters)?

3　Contributions

The contributions gathered in this Thematic Section take up some of the questions posed here, making a significant contribution to the burgeoning field of a transnational communication and media history of international organizations. In doing so, the relevance of this research perspective for questions of the history of journalism, organizations, media and science as well as for the current view on international organizations becomes apparent. The various approaches in this section discuss the institutionalization and the goals of communication in the organizational context of international organizations, they offer perspectives on communication practices and strategies of international organizations, and they deal with film and the press as concrete forms of their media work. International organizations discussed in this section include the League of Nations, the International Labour Organization, the Centro Internacional de Estudios Superiores de Comunicación para América Latina – CIESPAL, and

the United Nations. Based on examples, the contributions by Pelle van Dijk, Arne L. Gellrich, Jürgen Wilke, and Otávio Daros primarily reveal the historical conditions and the diversity of communicative contexts of international organizations. The contribution by Sigrid Kannengießer builds a bridge to the present and addresses current communicative challenges and problems of international organizations.

The first article of this Thematic Section by Pelle van Dijk provides a brilliant addition to the still small yet rapidly growing amount of research on League of Nations public relations. In contrast to the dominant press relations of the League of Nations, here van Dijk focuses on the then still young medium of film and its use in public communication for the organization. The article is especially enlightening in illustrating the complicated struggle in which the League of Nations' information officials found themselves as they tried to reach out to an international public using modern means of mass communication while at the same time being bound by their credo of abstaining from any form of the infamous "propaganda" that had caused such catastrophic effects during the First World War. However, moving away from the institutional focus often taken in studies of League communications, van Dijk does not limit his study to the ambivalent position of League officials but also emphasizes the work of national League of Nations Associations, especially in Britain, the Netherlands, and the U. S., both in their cooperation with the organization and in their own film productions. Van Dijk takes a chronological approach and shows his narrative skills in presenting a documentary text with exactly the "necessary color" which, as League official H. R. Cummings lamented in 1926, was so hard to reproduce by films advertising the League of Nations.

The contribution by Arne L. Gellrich is dedicated to the institution and practice of the almost unexplored press monitoring of the League of Nations in the 1930s. The League of Nations was not only interested in maintaining the closest possible ties with the public and the press, it also wanted to know how its work and its politics did resonate in the public. This means that the communica-

tion work was not only about the PR of the organization, but also about monitoring the public discourse about the public image of the League of Nations. For that purpose, the Information Section as the League's public relations department established what it called a "Daily Press Review". Focusing on this internal reception of external communication about the League and its work, Gellrich asks what processes and practices have been put in place by the organization in relation to media monitoring and which views these practices (re-)produced for the organization. In this sense, by means of a hermeneutic analysis, press monitoring is interpreted and understood as an instrument of the discursive construction of the organization. To do so, he compiled and evaluated a collection of 701 press clippings. The topical focus here is on the international control of the League's colonial policy. In this sense, on the one hand the question of the infrastructures, practices, and processes of press monitoring is central: How and by whom were they handled, read and studied? On the other hand, the public image of the League and its colonial policy in the press is of interest.

In his case study on the communication history of the International Labour Organization (ILO), Jürgen Wilke describes how the ILO was constituted by communication and how communication was instrumentally used by the ILO under difficult conditions as "the means and use of communication were still far less developed and complex than today" (p. 100). Wilke, too, works hermeneutically, based on sources which were mainly produced by the ILO itself. While comprehending the process of development and consolidation in the early years, Wilke explains convincingly the primary role communication and communication processes played in this process. He states that the founding of the ILO was already the result of communication, namely the peace negotiations after the end of the First World War. Against this background, he analyzes the ILO's organizational structure as a basic principle of "tripartism", which is also shown by the signet or even in the seating arrangement of conferences. In describing the internal organization of the office and especially the Central Press Branch, he manages to show

that the internal structure demonstrated the prevalence of communication "as a goal and as a functional principle and means of organisation" (p. 94), which found particular expression by the funds that were earmarked in the organization´s budget and resulted in an extensive publication activity of official, scientific, and individual, topically varying studies and reports. Overall, Wilke presents the ILO as "a model case of an organisation based on communication" (p. 99) and proves that the organization fully met its communicative intentions as defined in its constitution.

Otávio Daros' contribution presents Latin American communication research in the context of its organizational institutionalization, its being transnationally and transculturally influenced from the U. S., from France, and not least, under the auspices of the UNESCO's communication policy, closely related to dependency theory. He highlights how fruitfully the research of the transnational history of communication studies relates to the multi-dimensional analysis of the institutional and the actor's constellation of a discipline in a certain world-regional setting. The institutional body of the famous Centro Internacional de Estudios Superiores de Comunicación para América Latina (CIESPAL) and its underlying body of ideas is traced back to its roots 63 years ago, its founding in Ecuador, the spreading of its ideas across Latin America, the shifts from press studies to social communication research and the constraints under dictatorship. Daros shows CIESPAL's emancipation from U. S. influence (at the same time needing financial support which came from the Ford Foundation and also from the German Friedrich Ebert-Foundation); its emancipation from the development paradigm of U. S.-scholars like Wilbur Schramm and also from the concepts of famous founders of French communication studies like Jacques Kayser, then giving rise to the influential work of the pioneers of early de-Westernization in Latin American communication and cultural studies like Jorge Fernandéz, Luis Ramiro Beltrán, Paolo Freire, Néstor Canclini, Jesús Martín-Barbero, and Eliseo Verón.

Last but not least, Sigrid Kannengießer's contribution illustrates the entanglements

between the impact of international organizations on a particular field of social reality and the research that observes that field. The policies of international organizations, in her case the United Nations', can aim at influencing social reality through their political measures and goals. At the same time, these goals become an impetus for paradigm adjustments in the very research that then observes these institutions and their policies accordingly. Kannengießer takes the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as her starting point. The SDGs were devised in 2015 and replaced the so-called Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of the year 2000 to overcome global poverty and inequality. She argues that the very shift from mere development goals to sustainable development goals doubled and differentiated the dimensions of goals to be achieved. While the goals initially focused primarily on the world's poorest countries and the global South, the addition of sustainability as a target dimension meant that the richer countries of the North were also called to account. For communication research this also necessitates adjustments, since sustainability issues had previously played a minor role in the field of communication for development. Thus, Kannengießer advocates such a paradigm shift and lays out what it means for communication scholarship interested in sustainability, development, and social change. She argues that the concept of communication for development and social change should be transformed to sustainability communication following the shift on the international political level transforming the development goals into the sustainability goals.

The contributions of the Thematic Section can and should only offer a first attempt at a deeper communication studies analysis of international organizations from a current and historical perspective. Yet, we hope that they will stimulate further exchange and in-ter- and transdisciplinary debate in this field and, particularly, encourage further research. In this spirit we believe to have arranged an exciting and diverse Thematic Section for the readers of SComS.

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Seismo

Internationalism on the big screen: Films on the League of Nations

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Abstract
Building on the growing literature on the communication strategies of the League of Nations, this article discusses the films that a variety of actors made on the activities of the international organization. While the efforts of the League's Secretariat in Geneva are at the center of this article, it is important to acknowledge the films made by civil society actors, gathered in national League of Nations societies. Not constrained by the ban on propaganda that applied to the League officials, these societies tried to mobilize their audience by making emotional appeals and adapting the League's message to the national political context. After long delays and eventually with limited success, the Secretariat made its own talkie in the late 1930s, The League at Work. In all three films discussed in this article, the horrors of the First World War were portrayed to convince the audience that international cooperation was necessary to prevent a new catastrophe. With these films, the various actors promoted the League as the organization that could oversee a stable world order.

1 Introduction

> I explained to our Hollywood friends that obviously the League of Nations did not dare to engage in propaganda and so leaned backwards to avoid it. [...] Our film consequently will be a little more argumentative and propagandist than the original. (Eichelberger, 1937)

In October 1937, Clark Eichelberger, director of the American League of Nations Association (LNA) showcased a film produced by the League's Secretariat in Geneva, *The League of Nations at Work* to film experts in California. The LNA, operating independently from the League, had experience in distributing films, and with the advice of the experts they decided to adapt the film made with images shot in Geneva to make it more interesting for the American audience. This episode is revealing for the Secretariat's communication strategies. From the very start of the League in 1919, it was clear that mobilizing public opinion for its causes was a crucial element for the organization to succeed. At the same time, the Secretariat had to refrain from using "propaganda." This concept was heavily scrutinized at the end of

the First World War, as deceiving the public was seen as one of the causes for the war.

As stated by the guest editors of this Thematic Section, the practices conducted by the League's Information Section have only recently been discovered by academics. Throughout its existence, the first generation of international civil servants tried to establish how an international organization could present itself to the public. They had to decide how to approach the public in the member states and their related territories, which consisted of the majority of the world's population. The officials had little precedent to base their activities on and had to create new channels of communication to start their work. The Information Section had a limited mandate and tended to downplay its activities; it presented itself as a neutral outlet of facts and information. In practice, however, the officials working for the League actively lobbied for the international organization in a variety of ways.

In this article we will see that the balancing act for League officials was especially tricky when using film to promote the international organization. The use of "educational cinematography" was stud-

ied by governments in this period and from early on, the Secretariat recognized that this relatively new mass medium could support international understanding between people. However, the fear to engage with what was considered unwanted propaganda was especially strong with regard to film, as it was it was a medium that potentially reached large audiences and was considered to have manipulative power. As we will see the Secretariat refrained from making its own films until the late 1930s. The handling of film provides a lens on how the Information Section relied on and cooperated with independent civil society organizations, such as the LNA, to circumvent the restrictions put on the Secretariat when it came to promoting the League. Building on the existing literature, I will use the archival documents that reflect on the processes behind the making of films on the League of Nations to reveal the intentions of the makers.

After giving a broader contextualization of the Information Section's activities, we will see how in the 1920s it was the civil society organizations that first experimented with bringing the League into the movie theaters. To understand the techniques that were used, I will discuss the movies *Hell and the Way Out* and *From Violence to Law* released by respectively the American and Dutch League societies. Learning from the civil society organizations and cooperating with them, from the 1930s the Information Section became more active in the field as well. Based on the League of Nations' archives, this story shows that officials kept experimenting with new ways to bring the League's activities into the spotlight, and sometimes tried to move beyond their official mandate. It will also show, however, that the results in this field were limited. The Secretariat's film project came in a time when the political climate had turned against the League. Restrictions came from higher offices, translated into budgetary constraints and limitations on the uses of particular techniques. On top of this, the Information Section was originally focused on targeting elites. The turn to film was made with hesitation, which contributes to explaining why the

Secretariat never successfully used film to convince the masses of the value of the organization.

2　The League's Information Section and public opinion

As part of a general re-evaluation of the role of the League of Nations in interwar international relations, scholars from a variety of disciplines have started to look at the activities of the Secretariat's Information Section (Akami, 2018; Gellrich, Koenen, & Averbeck-Lietz, 2020; Seidenfaden, 2019; Tworek, 2010). The liberal internationalist drafters of the Covenant of the League, such as U.S. president Woodrow Wilson and South African general Jan Smuts believed the League had to mobilize a powerful international public opinion for its support. In the aftermath of the war, they claimed a stable peace could be achieved if the war-averse public got involved to a far greater extent than before and during the First World War. Using this rhetoric, they wanted to create a break with the practices of nation states during the war. A backlash against the use of propaganda occurred in the early interwar period, as the propaganda campaigns of belligerent nations were partly held responsible for the size of the horrors in the war (Ribeiro, Schmidt, Nicholas, Kruglikova, & Du Pont, 2019, p. 105). British and American parliamentary investigations revealed that false messages had widely been spread by their respective governments during the war; the propaganda systems in states such as the U.S., France, Britain and Germany were dismantled (Horne & Kramer, 2001, p. 374).

The League's Information Section was framed as being part of a new, "open" type of diplomacy. The decisions in the League had to be made in a transparent way. Journalists were given access to the meetings of the League Assembly and many committees; Without backdoor politics and with the world watching, governments could be held accountable for their actions (Akami, 2008, p. 107; Hucker, 2020, pp. 24–25; MacMillan, 2001, pp. 93–94). The Infor-

mation Section, in this ideal, only had to make sure the public was well-informed about the work that was going on in Geneva. It, therefore, had no mandate to set up a large propaganda system to influence international public opinion in the member states. In its pamphlet *The League and Public Opinion* from 1931, the Information Section claimed that: "At no time, the League Secretariat can be propagandist." The section "Like its name indicated", only distributed *information* "so that the world can form its judgment" (League of Nations Information Section, 1931, p. 10). Reflecting back in 1945, Egon Ranshofen-Wertheimer, former Information Section official and chronicler of the Secretariat, framed it in a similar way: "Propaganda was taboo" (Ranshofen-Wertheimer, 1945, p. 230).

For a long time, scholars have reproduced the image of the Information Section as neutral news outlet, but recently the work of this section has been re-evaluated. It has become clear that this image brought forward by the League itself has to be analyzed critically. The supposedly utopian beliefs of the liberal internationalist have to be nuanced. While official rhetoric implied that the public had to guide statesmen, the liberal internationalists and international civil servants saw an important role for *themselves* in educating the public. Much more than following mass preferences, they strived to educate and influence public opinion, justifying their work by pointing to their moral authority (Hucker, 2020; Wertheim, 2019). In doing so, they followed the democratic states that reinvented their activities in the interwar period. In order to avoid being accused of conducting propaganda, states downplayed their own activities and talked about "educating" and "informing" their citizens.

With the new scholarship that has been published in the last few years, we can safely conclude that, despite the taboo on propaganda, the officials in the League's Information Section actively lobbied for the League. Apart from sending out all kinds of information and official publications (Seidenfaden, 2020), the League

officials accommodated the media present in Geneva (Gellrich et al., 2020), they travelled all over the world to explain their work, and installed local information offices (Akami, 2018). The Secretariat closely followed developments in broadcasting and developed a radio system in the 1930s (Potter, 2020, pp. 65–66). The Information Section transmitted broadcasts in English, French and Spanish, reaching audiences in the British Dominions and South America (Lommers, 2012, pp. 152–163). The officials working in the Information Section were almost exclusively former journalists, often primarily working on the relationship with their native country. Much more than a vague, utopian ideal to make the entire world think in a cosmopolitan way, they tried to firmly anchor the international organization in the world order that emerged after the First World War. In this work, they often overstepped the narrow mandate that had been agreed upon by the governments that oversaw the League.

The core part of the strategy of the Information Section was the attempt to mobilize a network containing a large variety of non-state actors. By convincing journalists, politicians, university professors and other public intellectuals, these individuals could make propaganda on behalf of the League. Especially journalists were considered opinion-shapers and were obvious targets to influence. Focusing their activities on elites, the officials believed the League's message would trickle-down to the rest of society. An important role was also seen for the wide range of League of Nations societies that emerged throughout the interwar period. These organizations were established by civil society actors in at least forty different countries. Much more than the present-day United Nations Associations, these societies often stood in the middle of national public debates on foreign policy issues. Various historians have described their work in specific national contexts (Birebent, 2007; Kuehl & Dunn, 1997; McCarthy, 2011) and on their cooperation in the International Federation of League of Nations Societies (Davies, 2012; Richard, 2020). The largest society was the British

League of Nations Union (LNU). This mass organization played an important role in British civil society. It had hundreds of branches throughout the country and had over 400 000 members in the early 1930s (McCarthy, 2011, pp. 132–133).

Through their ties with national politics the national societies formed an important intermediary between member states and the League of Nations in Geneva, but little research has been done on their cooperation with the Information Section in Geneva. While remaining independent from each other, officials in Geneva understood the advantages of keeping close ties with the organizations that were often backed by wealthy individuals and made active propaganda for the League (Seidenfaden, 2019, p. 81). In my own research I show that Information Section officials actively supported League of Nations societies in various member states. This was not a clearly defined part of the Information Section's strategy, but often depended on initiatives of particular officials. In some countries where activity of civil society actors was limited officials encouraged particular individuals in their network to get organized. In other states, such as the Netherlands and the United States, discussed below, League officials and civil society actors cooperated. In the following sections we will see that the Information Section often relied on the societies to bring the League's message in the cinema theaters.

3　Films on the League in the 1920s

The League's Secretariat engaged with film from early on. The international organization was active in a period in which film became a mass medium, with cinemas drawing large audiences. National governments studied the role cinema could play in educating the youth and the working class (Hung, Hampton, Ortoleva, van Eijnatten, & Weibull, 2019, p. 116); Scholars such as Walter Lippmann debated the influence of images on the human brain (Sluga, 2018, pp. 138–139). The League's Section on Intellectual Cooperation hoped

that film could support international understanding between peoples. Their work resulted in a special organization set up in Rome in 1928, the International Educational Cinematographic Institute (IECI). The institute conducted a variety of activities to support the use of educational films that promoted peaceful international relations. It gathered information on the use of educational films all over the world, promoted the circulation of films by lobbying for lower duty rates and published a journal in five different languages (Druick, 2007; Taillibert, 2020; Wilke, 1991). Zoë Druick (2008, pp. 72–73) argues that the League became a "forum for international discourse about cultural film." All these efforts were focused on fostering knowledge on educational cinematography, however, and the institute did not create any films on the work of the League of Nations. The organization became a kind of think tank, discussing educational cinematography and monitoring its use.

In the context of this article on the way the League communicated its own achievements, it is important to note that, similar to the IECI, the Secretariat did not produce any films of its own until the late 1930s. Because of the surge of the medium, the Information Section discussed the matter from relatively early on, but apart from the bad connotation to propaganda, producing films was also an expensive venture. In this period, the Information Section mostly assisted production companies when they wanted to make recordings at League meetings for the purpose of newsreels. A large number of short clips is available in the UN's online audio-visual library (Seidenfaden, 2019, pp. 98–99; United Nations Audiovisual Library, n. d.).

A first sobering experience occurred when the Secretariat got financially involved in a failed experiment in 1926. A Swiss company was given the rights to film the special Assembly that discussed the German accession to the League, but Secretary General Eric Drummond stopped the film makers from shooting scenes at the last minute, as the deliberations developed less smoothly than expected. Drummond agreed that the Secretariat

had a moral obligation to cover some of the company's losses. This will have set back any ambitions of League officials themselves to shoot material, as Drummond argued: "It is clear that had the League itself undertaken cinematographic arrangements at the Assembly […] the resultant losses would have been large" (Secretary General, 1926).

In a meeting following this incident, English Information Section member Henri Cummings concluded that it was not viable for the Secretariat to produce successful longer films. Hinting at the taboo on propaganda that existed for the administration's public communication, he argued that it was impossible for the Secretariat to "add the necessary color" to the films which would be necessary to attract large audiences. Judging from a cost-benefit perspective, producing cinematic material in the dry style of the Information Section's written publications was not worth the investment. He claimed: "It would therefore be better to leave the initiative to private organizations. Serious efforts are already conducted by the League of Nations societies" (League of Nations Information Section, 1926). The experiment and the deliberations in 1926 also show that the Information Section was on unfamiliar territory when it came to film. The officials working for the League were all former newspaper journalists and much of their work focused on targeting elites. These individuals lacked the expertise in this field; The strategy of the Information Section was not changed in such a way that it allowed large investments in film.

Until well into the 1930s, it was some of the independent League of Nations societies that saw film as an interesting opportunity to showcase the League's activities to large audiences. It is not clear how many films were produced by these societies in this period. It seems likely that it was only feasible for the larger, wealthier societies to be active in this field. Apart from the films discussed here, the author has so far not encountered scripts of other films. Historian Helen McCarthy describes that the British society LNU released two films, *Star of Hope* (1926) and *World War and Af-*

ter (1930), which were shown to over half a million schoolchildren (McCarthy, 2011, pp. 112–113). In this article I focus on two other films that have not surfaced in recent literature so far. An early example is the film *Hell and the Way Out*, which was released in 1925 by the LNA. The U. S. Senate famously did not join the League even though U. S. president Wilson had been one of its architects; this meant that the League movement had a concrete goal to rally for: American accession to the League and to the related international organizations. The LNA grew out to be one of the larger League societies and was backed by wealthy individuals that wanted a less isolationist American foreign policy (Kuehl & Dunn, 1997). The LNA stood in close touch with Secretariat officials, most notably the resourceful American Arthur Sweetser of the Information Section (Löhr & Herren, 2014), and organized a large variety of activities, with branches active in all states.

In 1925, the association hired the services of James K. Shields, a movie director who had gained most of his experience creating movies for evangelical audiences (Parker & Lindvall, 2012, p. 32). In cooperation with employees of the LNA he developed *Hell and the Way Out.* The film lasted thirty-five minutes, but unfortunately only a flyer and the script have survived. In the first fifteen minutes Shields portrayed a dramatic turn of events – Hell – in which two former school friends, American Charles Keith and German Max Huber, find each other on opposite sides of the trenches in 1917. In the latter part – The Way Out – the film meticulously displayed the workings of the League. Using maps and animations, the director accentuated the absence of the United States. Shields discussed the first five years of the League's activities, describing some of the conflicts it had resolved. One of these conflicts was the Corfu incident, a dispute between Italy and Greece in 1923 started by the murder of an Italian general on Greek territory (Tollardo, 2016, p. 4). Despite the fact that fascist Italy taunted the League in this crisis, the aftermath was presented as a success for the organization. Some intertitles read: "Even the fiery dictator Mussolini

could not withstand the moral protest of this much of the world" (Shields, 1925, p. 15). In the final scene the accession of the U.S. to the League was predicted, with Uncle Sam dealing a final blow to the symbolic God of War (Shields, 1925, p. 20).

Figure 1:   A flyer for Hell and the Way Out
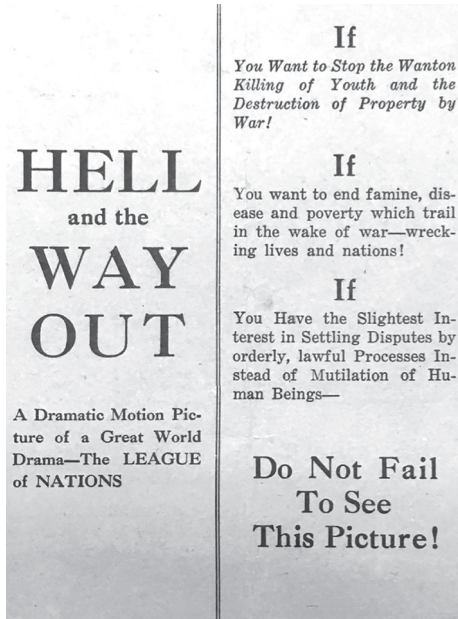
Source: LNA (1925).

The movie premiered at a dinner organized by the LNA to commemorate the sixth anniversary of the League. Several copies of the film were sent all across the country to local branches of the LNA (League of Nations Association, 1926, p. 8). Archival sources help us reconstruct how the organization tried to maximize the effect of the film in various states. Florence Kitchelt, director of the branch in Connecticut, used the movie to launch a considerable campaign, which lasted over a year (Sluga, 2013, pp. 64, 72). After a successful screening at Yale University in March 1926, the branch organized smaller viewings in all kinds of venues, but also convinced commercial theaters to show a shorter version of the film. In these theaters the movie was paired with highly anticipated Hollywood movies, and *Hell*

and the Way Out was shown several times a day. The branch claimed that after seven days of screenings in this type of theaters, 30 000 people in Connecticut had seen the movie (Kitchelt, 1927, p. 1). The branch made sure to have a group of volunteers ready to hand out leaflets at every showing. In every town the LNA had set up a committee of prominent local people that supported the League. The movie and this list of people were announced in the local press long before the screening. Kitchelt commented on this strategy: "Just to show the film is not enough. It is important to rouse a town to the fact that it is coming, so that people who are thinking along international lines may have a chance to go." At the end of the campaign, she claimed, 70 000 Connecticuters had seen *Hell and the Way Out* (Kitchelt, 1927, p. 3). The national association reported that the movie was still screened a few hundred times in the second year of its existence and in 1930 the movie was updated and released for new screenings. The copies owned by the LNA were used especially for screenings at schools.

In the Netherlands, the lively League movement released a similar movie in 1926 and it is useful to compare this film to *Hell and the Way Out*. The Dutch state had remained neutral during the First World War, but with an eye on retaining its overseas colonies in South-East Asia and the Caribbean, the Netherlands became a relatively willing member of the League. The influential civil society actors that started the Vereeniging voor Volkenbond en Vrede [VeV, The Society for the League of Nations and Peace], made the organization into the most influential organization focused on foreign affairs in the Netherlands in this period (Richard, 2018, p. 102). The VeV developed various periodicals, but in the mid-1920s it also started experimenting with film. Using its influential network, the director of the society was able to commission Willy Mullens, a pioneer in the Dutch cinema world, to produce a movie on the workings of the League (Hogenkamp, 2016, p. 22).

The film *Van Geweld tot Recht* [From Violence to Law] can be reconstructed

with a pamphlet that included the script and some stills of the film (Volkenbond en Vrede, 1926). Similar to the American film, the scenario was a mixture of a fiction and a documentary. In the fictional part, the Dutch League society was clear about the message it wanted to portray. A grandfather talked to his middle-class family on Christmas eve about the horrors the past war had brought onto people in other countries: "I will not raise you for war … You will fight for a different world: peace" (Volkenbond en Vrede, 1926, p. 1). Before showing the League and its Secretariat in Geneva, the director tried to appeal to his audience by claiming that the Dutch had played a large role in the history of international law and peaceful international relations. The grandfather described the pioneering work of Hugo Grotius in the seventeenth century and discussed the history of the Hague Peace Conferences in 1899 and 1907, the Permanent Court of Arbitration and the Dutch anti-war movement. In the second part of the film the activities of the League were portrayed. The VeV showed pictures of the League's mandated territories and post-war Vienna, where a Dutch official had led the League's attempts to stabilize the Austrian economy after the war (Clavin, 2014). The last part of the film showed "the fruits of the new spirit," consisting of jurisprudence, safety and disarmament, all products from agreements that were made in Geneva. In the final scene, the important role of public opinion is portrayed, and the society tried to actively mobilize its cinema audience. The grandfather urged his grandson to sign up to the VeV and intertitles read: "The League of Nations is powerless without the support of the public opinion […] That public opinion consists of you, spectator!" (Volkenbond en Vrede, 1926, p. 23).

The film project was considered a success. It premiered in The Hague in February 1926, with various influential politicians and diplomats attending the event. The movie received positive reviews in the major newspapers. *Algemeen Handelsblad* claimed that the film successfully tried to show how "every individual, just by showing their interest, could contrib-

Figure 2:   A still of the film *Van Geweld tot Recht* (1926)

Note: Published in a pamphlet of the VeV (1926). As no copy of the film exists today anymore, it is one of the few visual remnants of the film.

ute to building a sustainable peace" (Een film over den Volkenbond, 1926). The film toured through the country throughout 1926, with members of the VeV often opening the film with a lecture. Local sections of the League society showed the film in eighteen Dutch cities, but independent cinemas rented the film as well. In the following years the film was updated after Germany had joined the League and was shown in many more Dutch cities (Volkenbond en Vrede, 1927, p. 19)

Some important similarities are visible between *Hell and The Way Out* and *From Violence to Law*. In both films the documentary element, discussing the activities and accomplishments of the League, was supplemented with a fictional story to make the film more appealing to the cinema audience. Both the LNA and the VeV often sent members to screenings to provide a lecture with the silent movies. The fictional characters in both Mullens' as Shield's films had experienced the First World War and made an appeal to convince the audience that a future war had to be avoided at all costs. It was these attempts to invoke emotions that separated the efforts of the League's societies from the possibilities of the officials in the Information Section in Geneva, who considered this type of communication incompatible with the League's pledge to abstain from

propaganda. The directors also tailored their message to their respective national audiences. Mullens tapped into the Dutch pride for its supposed contributions to the development of international law and tried to accentuate the central role of The Hague as city of international law. Shields tried to show his viewers that it was a disgrace that the United States was not part of the League. Joining the League would mean that the organization had a much larger chance of success, the LNA argued. The funds and manpower these societies had to adapt their message to the national audiences were unavailable to the Secretariat in Geneva.

4   The Information Section creating its own film

In the 1930s the political and financial climate worsened dramatically for the League. The optimism felt in anticipation of the large World Disarmament Conference (1932–1934) was not followed up by results and the collective security system failed in conflicts involving member states, first at the Manchurian crisis and later in the war between Italy and Ethiopia. Member states, hit by the Great Depression, reduced their funding to the League and the Information Section's budget was cut drastically (Ranshofen-Wertheimer, 1945, pp. 28–31; Seidenfaden, 2019, pp. 136–138). With the budget cut the taboo on propaganda was reiterated as well; the Information Section was ordered to keep its activities to the bare minimum. At the same time, its members understood that they could not rely on the "old" media alone. The archives of the League contain large files on how the Secretariat could become active in this field. Secretariat officials requested the script *From Violence to Law* and corresponded with members of the American societies, to check whether they would in theory be interested to circulate official League material.

In 1932, the Secretariat hosted a meeting with film experts and representatives of League of Nations societies to study how the production of educational films on the League could be encouraged. The Information Section submitted a report in which it discussed the potential values and dangers attached to the Secretariat producing films, in which they distinguished fiction, documentary and animated films (League of Nations Information Section, 1932). The overreaching conclusion at that moment was, however, that the Information Section could not fund these activities itself. It meant that in the ten years following *Hell and The Way Out* and *From Violence to Law,* the Secretariat had not followed up on the experiments of civil society actors. In 1937, Australian Information Section official Hessel Duncan Hall gave a damning report:

> The Secretariat has so far had very little experience in making, and still less in distributing films on the League. These [few existing, author] films consist of several patch-work films, built up from newsreel material which has been used on special occasions by members of the Secretariat. No general attempt appears to have been made to circulate them. And in fact, they were not of sufficiently high quality or general interest to make it possible for them to be used. (Duncan Hall, 1937)

The lack of films was the result of the hesitation of the League officials discussed above. In the same period, however, the Secretariat started to act. The financial issues remained for the entire 1930s, but later discussions show the Information Section became more eager and creative to overcome this problem. In 1936 the Information Section director, Dutchman Adriaan Pelt, undertook serious steps to create films for the League. In September 1936, he met with Margery Locket, educational director of the Gaumont-British film company, to set in motion the production of short educational films. In a revealing statement, he showed that he tried to find a creative way to get around the public taboo on propaganda. Pelt told Locket that "the watchword is: no direct propaganda, even if it be only remotely connected with League work." The cooperation had to be "of the closest possible nature, but unofficial" (Pelt, 1936). The film had to show the

League had agreed to the content, but not that it had been part in producing it. The proposed content was fairly direct, in a way that did not match the public image of a neutral and passive Information Section. The introduction to the scenario created by Pelt and Gaumont argued that the core of the films

> [s]hould be based on the main general idea that confusion, unhappiness, and disaster follow from the refusal of man to submit himself to the rule of law and to cooperate for this purpose. It is this general idea that must form the basis, whether the film deals with health work, the campaign against dangerous drugs […] or whatever the subject is. (Pelt, 1936)

With this scenario, the League tried to convince the audience that the international organization could prevent disaster from happening. The cooperation with Gaumont showed that Pelt was exploring the boundaries of the mandate that his Section was given. By not crediting the movie to the Information Section, he believed it could use more outspoken techniques.

In the end, however, the short unofficial films were not produced. One possible explanation is that Pelt did not have the necessary support for this "unofficial" strategy. Instead, the Assembly and higher offices in the Secretariat finally encouraged the Information Section to make its own film. As a consequence, however, the content of the new film had to fit into the rules set for the Section. A film that "brought out a certain ideological conception of the League would evidently rank as propaganda," and therefore they had to focus instead on films that "should be informatory [sic!] and should describe the manner in which the League works" (Secretary General, 1937, p. 8). In the same year, Information Section officials therefore set everything in motion to create what would be the only lengthy talkie on the League: the documentary *The League at Work*. Because of the budget constraints, the eventual film became a cooperation between different actors. The British and American League of Nations societies

committed to buy copies of the film and American philanthropist James J. Forstall loaned out the rest of the necessary budget, with the condition that the Secretariat committed to repay this loan with the other copies it would sell (Secretary General, 1938, pp. 3–4).

The film was produced by the Realist Film Unit (RFU) of the British General Post Office. The background of this organization fit well with what the Information Section was looking for. The public relations department of the postal company had built up a name making documentary films for the British government. John Grierson, a famous Scottish documentary maker and head of the Film Unit, was an important pioneer for how the democratic state conducted a form of propaganda during the interwar period (Grant, 1994, pp. 18–20). Grierson and his Brazilian colleague Alberto Cavalcanti, in charge of directing the League's film, had experience in displaying internationalism, shooting other films for the RFU in Geneva in the same period (Aitken, 2013, p. 668).

The Information Section was involved in creating the scenario. Pelt asked the directors of all the Sections in the Secretariat to submit a summary of the work of the Section:

> It is, of course, left entirely to your discretion as to what you care to say about the work of your Section, but you are asked to bear in mind that any special point of interest, i.e., a successful achievement should be referred to. (Pelt, 1937)

In the film, available online and recently studied by other scholars, the viewer travelled through the Secretariat's offices (Strandgaard Jensen, Schulz, & Seidenfaden, 2019; United Nations Audiovisual Library, n. d.). The film was, in contrast to the ones of the League societies, fully non-fiction; Section directors explained their work and images of the League's buildings were alternated by pictures, maps and statistics. In this part, the directors clearly stayed very close to the rules set to the section. Frank Walters, head of the Political Section, listed eight major conflicts his

section tried to deal with, while the Information Section displayed a wide variety of pamphlets and discussed its radio broadcasts. The representative of the Opium Advisory Committee explained the exchange of information had helped governments and boasted that the exports in the major drugs heroine, morphine and cocaine had been halved in seven years' time.

Figure 3:   Edouarde Rodolphe de Haller, director of the Mandates Section in front of a map of the League mandates in Africa.

Source: League of Nations Information Section (1937).

In the introduction of the film the viewer is shown a cemetery with victims of First World War. The voice-over states: "Here's the League of Nations at work. Judge it for yourselves" (Information Section, 1937, 1:42). In this message, much of the Secretariat film policy comes together. By giving the audience the option to judge the work of the League for themselves, the directors tried to comply with the ban on propaganda. In the – successful – attempt to convince the British Secretary of State Anthony Eden to make a short speech to be included in the movie, the Information Section once again confirmed this policy. A Section official told the British delegation:

> I should like to make it quite clear that this film is only propagandist in nature in so far as it will show the actual activities of the League. The utmost care […] will be taken to exclude all political elements of a nature to upset any particular State […]. The film is designed, in

fact, to be purely informative. (Information Section official, 1937)

By asking the viewer to judge the organization for themselves, it is clear the tone of the League's film was considerably different from the claims made by the VeV and the LNA, as these organizations tried to mobilize their viewers in a more active way. At the same time, by showing some of the League's accomplishments and reminding everyone of the horrors of the First World War, the viewer could only be expected to come to the conclusion that the League was an essential factor in creating a stable world order.

The release of the movie led to a serious campaign in the Summer of 1937 to bring the League into the public eye. The Information Section had multiple copies in its possession, both with French and English narration. The Secretariat sent four copies to the Paris World's Fair of 1937, attended by millions of visitors, where it was displayed in the general Peace Pavilion. Two copies were used in Geneva as part of the guided tours to the buildings of the League, where over one hundred thousand visitors saw the films in the first year of its existence (League of Nations Information Section, 1938). Individual Secretariat members also brought the film on their travels abroad, where they would show it to audiences in the member states.

More important than the use by the Secretariat was the campaign to distribute it amongst League of Nations societies. The British LNU had multiple copies and advertised the possibility to rent it out to its local branches. Together with the other films shot by the RFU the branches had the possibility to have "an attractive and profitable evening" (Garnett, 1937). As mentioned in the introduction, the American LNA gathered funds to adapt the film by Hollywood experts, in order to make it more appealing for an American audience. In their version, the endeavors of U. S. president Wilson and American senators that had tried to bring the United States into the League were accentuated. The success of this American release is unclear. The Dutch society also made

creative use of the copy they bought together with a cinema entrepreneur. After having added Dutch subtitles, the film toured thirteen cities and was shown over five hundred times (Volkenbond en Vrede, 1938, p. 17). In his correspondence with the Information Section the director of the VeV argued that it was a rare opportunity for the society to reach the "mass audiences" that came to the movie theaters. He claimed that: "When we organize normal film nights with our society, only a few hundred show up; in this case we are reaching the large cinema audience." He concluded therefore, that "it is excellent propaganda to show the film in ordinary cinemas and not only at the [VeV's] meetings" (Van der Mandere, 1938). The secretary of the society was excited about this collaborative action between the VeV and the Secretariat.

The Dutch reviews of the Secretariat's film varied. Liberal newspaper *Het Vaderland* was surprised that "the real meaning of the League is barely made explicit." The editor criticized the artistic choices of the Secretariat and the film director: "a bit more passion, a bit more persuasiveness would not have been out of place" (J. H., 1938, p. 13). Nevertheless, in his communication with the Secretariat, Van der Mandere was happy to forward positive newspaper articles. In one of these, *Het Volksblad* echoed the intentions of the VeV and the Secretariat with the display of this late-1930s movie: "Young and old should visit the City cinema to regain strength for their own mental resilience, to shake off the fatal misconception: 'It won't work anyway'" (Het Volksblad, 1938).

These reviews already showed that the film was no unanimous success. The experiences of the various societies made clear that it was complicated to create a uniform film that could be displayed in all member states of the League. Societies working in countries in which French or English was not the lingua franca had to find a way to make the audience understand the film. The experience of the American society shows that a lack of national context was also considered an obstacle; The films created by the LNA and the VeV in the 1920s

showed that these societies often tried to adapt the general League's message to the context of their own society. The lack of budget and the price tag attached to the film also hampered the success of the film. The Information Section aimed to earn back the money invested in this project and was therefore not able to honor requests by League societies in South Africa, Egypt, and Austria to send copies free of charge. It can be considered a missed opportunity. With a larger budget to distribute the film, League societies across the world could have displayed the film.

The Information Section tried to continue its activities in this field in the last years of the 1930s, but, also because of the increasingly unstable international situation, it never managed to create a coherent policy regarding to film. In 1938, it received a budget to organize a prize competition; Amateur screenwriters were invited to come up with a scenario for a new film. The result of this competition was disappointing. The jury, consisting of film experts, considered none of the submissions worthy of the first prize and "was struck by the indifferent character of most of the scenario's" (League of Nations Information Section, 1938). One of the jury members complained to Deputy Secretary General Sean Lester that the competition was not interesting for professional screenwriters and thought that the prize money was too low for amateurs to be able to participate seriously. The jury suggested that the Information Section should work together with a selected professional to create a satisfying result (League of Nations Information Section, 1938). The fact that this exact procedure was used to make *The League at Work* the year before shows that budgetary constraints and lack of streamlined cooperation between the Secretariat and the Assembly hindered the Information Section in making larger films in the last years before the war. It shows the Secretariat did not create a uniform strategy on film throughout the interwar period.

5   Conclusion

In 1937, the Secretary General explained to the League's Assembly one of the major challenges international organizations encounter when trying to get their achievements on the big screen: "The League is under the disadvantage of having to produce films which are not designed to be shown in any particular country, but which are capable of being shown in many countries" (League of Nations Information Section, 1938). It showed the Secretariat still had not found a sound strategy in this field. The use of film by international organizations accelerated during and after the Second World War (Sluga, 2018). The funds invested in projects like these increased rapidly. Nevertheless, the very nature of these organizations dictates that a taboo on propaganda remained an issue of concern also for organizations such as the European Union and NATO nowadays (Clemens, 2016; Risso, 2014, pp. 8–9).

The images displayed in *The League at Work* correspond well with the recent literature on how the League wanted to portray itself. In theory, by showing the activities of the League in Geneva, the public would be convinced that the only way to a stable world order was with the League at the center of it. The success of the film was however limited. Throughout the interwar period, the Information Section had trouble creating a proactive strategy for film. It missed the opportunity to use this medium to target mass audiences. This article has also shown the importance of taking into account the cooperation between the Secretariat and the League of Nations societies. Though in theory independent, the actors in these organizations had similar goals, closely cooperated with League officials, and often used their deeper pockets too. Without the cooperation of these societies, *The League at Work* could not have been financed. They had their own network and stood closer to the publics in the member states. In their own films, such as *Hell and the Way Out* and *From Violence to Law,* the societies used more engaging techniques. They tried to mobilize the public by making an emotional appeal and by tailoring their message to the preferences of the national audiences. The activities of these societies and their cooperation with Geneva are important to fully understand the League's communication strategy.

Acknowledgements

Conflict of interests

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Seismo

A "careful study" on public opinion. An exemplary investigation of media monitoring through press clippings collections in the League of Nations' Information and Mandates Sections

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Abstract
This article seeks to shed some light on institutional monitoring practices employed by the League of Nations during the 1930s. It explores internal reception of external communication on the organisation and its work and asks (and partially answers) what processes and practices were established by the organisation concerning media monitoring and which views and interpretations these practices (re-) produced. For that purpose, it discusses findings from four exemplary hermeneutic case studies conducted on collections of a total of 701 press clippings collected and curated by League organs. To provide a topical focus (and, simultaneously, increase the transdisciplinary value of the presented research) all four collections concern the League of Nations' project of international control over colonial policy and are accordingly sourced from the archival section files of the organisation's Mandates Section. The article contextualises the findings concerning the clippings with information derived from the minutes and reports of the League's experts' commission on Mandates, the Permanent Mandates Commission.

Keywords
press clippings, cuttings, media monitoring, clippings agencies, League of Nations, interwar media analysis, Mandates, colonial policy

1 Introduction

As the first attempt of an organisation for global governance, the League of Nations expressly relied on institutional interrelations of diplomacy, public relations and journalism: "Publicity", as League veteran Egon Ranshofen-Wertheimer writes, "became an inseparable element of the League's action. [Its] very existence depended [...] on the degree to which it is backed by an actively interested public opinion" (Ranshofen-Wertheimer, 1945, p. 201; see also Pedersen, 2007, p. 1096). This meant that League communication management not only involved the organisation's output, but also monitoring the public discourse relating to its work. To that end, the League's public relations department, the Information Section (LoNIS), created what it described as a "Daily Press Review [...], comprising 35 to 40 typewritten pages, which reproduces newspaper articles or extracts from articles dealing with

the League [...] for internal circulation only". It furthermore received "from 800 to 3500 [...] cuttings [from newspapers] on League subjects" and "distributed [them] to the Sections concerned, which make a careful study of them" (LoNIS, 1928, p. 62).[1] Research on League communication so far confines itself to looking at the interrelation of outward communication (e.g., Gellrich, Koenen & Averbeck-Lietz, 2020; Lange, 1991; Seidenfaden, 2019; Wilke, 1991) and external perception (Beyersdorf, 2016; Nordenstreng & Seppä, 1986). The present article seeks to complement that approach by shedding some light on the internal perception of media output in the form of institutional monitoring practices. It investigates the internal

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1 For additional and more in-depth information on the League of Nations Information Section and its work, see Seidenfaden (2019) as well as the contribution by Stefanie Averbeck-Lietz (2023) in the comprehensive edited volume currently being prepared by Erik Koenen.

handling and, in part, reflection of external communication. As a thematic frame, it looks into press clippings selected and prepared by the League in the context of its internationalised system of colonial administration, the so-called Mandates system, and asks which way they were selected, handled and (re-) produced. The article is based on case studies concerning a specific case (South African policy) and two more general topics (the organisation and potential reform of the Mandates system and so-called "native policy"). Given this consciously chosen, – if, arguably, quite narrow – limitation and the explorative nature of the underlying studies, this article aims at developing a point of departure for a better understanding of and potential future research into historical institutional approaches to media monitoring rather than giving definitive answers.

1.1 Delimitations and historical and institutional context

These delimitations deliver a sample of four collections, that were sufficiently distinctive to allow for a comparative approach, yet similar enough to assume that their contents were submitted to the same institutional practises. All four of these clipping collections originate from the 1930s and are kept among the files of the League Mandates Section in the League of Nations Archives at the UN Library in Geneva. By the early 1930s, the League administration, especially concerning LoNIS, had been reorganised significantly (Kahlert, 2019; Seidenfaden, 2019, pp. 85–86), taking the shape it would essentially keep until its dissolution in 1946. At the same time, bureaucratic processes and personnel constellations established in the early 1920s had had a decade to professionalise (or at least to acculturate themselves to the new institution). This puts the second decade of the League's active existence at the threshold between the original interwar world order as it was intended in 1919 and the 1945 UN-system still in place today.

The Mandates Section was the central institutional body behind what is usually referred to as the Mandates system: In 1919, articles 22 and 23 of the League Covenant and the Versailles Peace Treaty established this system of quasi-colonial administration,

which concerned the former colonies of the German Empire in Africa and the Pacific and the former Ottoman provinces of Mesopotamia (Iraq), Palestine, Alexandretta, Syria and Lebanon. The Covenant described these territories, which remained under foreign administration at the hands of victorious allied powers (the United Kingdom, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, France, Belgium and Japan), as "inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world" with the implied perspective that they would one day be released into independence (Treaty of peace with Germany, 1919, p. 56).[2] The powers administrating mandated territories sent representatives to Geneva twice a year to present and defend its administrative policy before an international commission of experts, the Permanent Mandates Commission (PMC). In turn, the PMC delivered a report to the Council, the League's executive body. The Mandates Section was thus a relevant part of global governance. Due to its special structure, with an expert commission and its reports to the League council, we can assume that its work was thoroughly organised and documented. The Mandates Section therefore seems a fitting choice for the study of administrative practice. Furthermore, the Mandates system takes a special position in the history of international governance discourse, as it represents a point in history in which the colonial world order converged with post-war ideas of decolonisation and development (Anghie, 2005, p. 115; Treaty of peace with Germany, 1919, p. 56). A focus on the Mandates system therefore contributes not only to League communication history but also to the fields of colonial and development history.

The clippings in question were (for the largest part) provided by the Geneva-based agency Argus Suisse de la Presse. In its mechanics not unlike today's Google searches

2　Before the dissolution of the League in 1946, independence had come only for Iraq, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. The latest former mandated territory to become independent was Namibia in 1990, while the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, formerly under Japanese Mandate, remains an unincorporated territory of the USA to this day.

(albeit relying on a much lower bandwidth), media monitoring in the 1920s and 1930s was at the time most efficiently done through clippings agencies, which scanned the international mass press for previously defined search keywords. Since the late 19th century, these agencies had established themselves as prime service providers even for social scientists such as Ida Wells-Barnett and her pioneering research on racially motivated lynchings in the U.S. (Wells Barnett, 1901) and even offered much more complex and detailed analyses, including, for example, market research and targeted advertising (Popp, 2014).

Having denied an offer by the U.S.-based Luce's Press Clipping Bureau in 1919 (van Alstyne, 1919) the League chose a local solution and a basic service offered by the Argus Suisse (LoNIS, 1920). Indeed, personal connexions between the Argus and the League seem to have been tight: Based on the handwriting on unrelated files from both the Argus and the League archives, at least one employee worked for both institutions at some point of their career. However, as will be shown below, the clippings agency was evidently not the only source of material for the comprehensive clipping collections prepared by LoNIS.

1.2 Sources and methodological approach

In the following I will introduce the sources based on which my studies were conducted. The clippings collections will be referred to by their respective archival nomenclature: S.302-1, S.302-2, S.303-1 and S.303-2. The "S." here signifies that they are archived among the "section files", which comprise of the documents used in the day-to-day work of the section in question (in this case the Mandates Section). The initial is followed by the number of the box in which the file is kept (302 and 303 respectively) and the number of the file within that box. Two of the collections are organised around more general issues concerning the Mandates system: S.302-1 focuses on the discussions on possible reforms of the system in the light of international political developments during the 1930s, most prominently the Japanese exit from the League in 1933, which meant that the Japanese administered "South Seas Mandate"

(including modern-day Palau, the Marshall Islands, the Northern Mariana Islands, and parts of federated Micronesia) was effectively withdrawn from League control. "S.302-2 Native policy" is concerned with philosophical, (pseudo-)scientific and political perspectives on colonised persons. These collections cover the time period of 1933–1938. The two other collections ("S.303-1 South Africa 1936–juin 1938", and "S.303-2 SWA") are concerned with the more specific matter of the administration of the mandated territory of South West Africa (SWA, modern-day Namibia), which was then under the control of the South African Union (SAU). These collections cover the periods of 1936–1938 and 1935–1937 respectively. I have digitised all four clipping collections, comprising of a total of 701 individual items, by hand in the UN Library reading room in Geneva in March 2019. The collections were at the time only physically available and had, judging by their condition, to a large part hardly been handled by anyone other than library personnel.[3] For the purpose of reference and comparison, the studies were also informed by the session minutes and reports of the PMC (1933a, 1933b, 1934a, 1934b, 1935, 1936a, 1936b, 1937a, 1937b, 1938a, 1938b) for the relevant time period. While only a few select meetings during these sessions were held in public, all sessions were recorded in detailed minutes. Edited versions of these protocols were at the time distributed by the League as prints in English and French for public libraries and bookstores worldwide. The studies on which this article is based employed digital English versions of these authorised prints that are in part publicly available from the UN online library, in part provided by the archivists in Geneva.[4]

Following the reflexive methodology framework put forward by Mats Alvesson and Kaj Sköldberg (2009), the studies employed hermeneutic analyses of the four clippings

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3   The League of Nations Archives have since been professionally digitised and made available online in their entirety (UN, 2023a). This service was not yet available at the time of the research on which this article is based.

4   The material is catalogued, but not fully accessible through the digital League archive (UN, 2023b).

corpora. As its main aim is to develop a point of departure concerning the physical mechanics of discursive construction within the organisation rather than the discourse itself, the article does not reproduce these analyses in full. Instead, it concentrates on predominantly descriptive aspects of the source critical dimension and casts a light on the basis for understanding in the sense of *verstehen* (i. e., the "understanding of underlying meaning, not the explanation of causal connections", Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009, p. 91) of institutional discourse and (discursive) practice. After a purely descriptive appraisal of the sources informed by historical background research, the analytical focus rested on their remnants' quality, that is as "sources which offer unintended information" (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009, p. 109). The concerned clippings corpora proved especially rich in that respect as they contained a sizable amount of traces in the form of pencilled annotations and markings. Accordingly, they provided not only a record of the mediated discourses on imperial colonialism manifest in the cut articles themselves, but also of the biographies of the clippings: How and by whom had they been handled, read and studied? It should be noted that these processes can only partially be reconstructed from traces alone; a full(er) reconstruction would doubtlessly require additional complementary sources, which have not been included in the present strict delimitations. However, the findings allow for a preliminary understanding of selection practices and infrastructures within the concerned organs of the League.
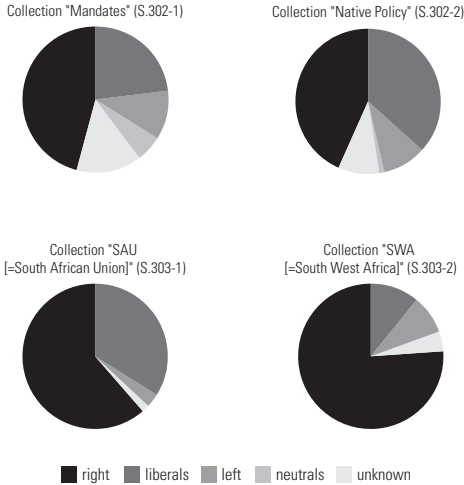
This article reproduces findings relating to eight analytical packages: (I) annotations and markings, (II–V) discourses reflected in the individual collections, (VI) highlighted passages throughout the clippings sample, (VII) clippings forwarded to the PMC and (VIII) PMC session minutes and reports. To not unduly strain the scope of this article, findings from packages II–V and VIII are knit together into a common section, sub-divided only by the topical foci of the collections. For research packages I, VII and VIII, the clippings themselves and the different layers of traces are central. The following short description of the form and general appearance of the clippings in question may help

to better understand how these traces were conceptualised (e. g., Fig. 2). While some other collections in the League Archives simply comprised of stacks of articles, merely cut from newspapers and organised only by their publication dates, most of the items from the four collections studied here were rather more processed. Usually equipped with a slip of paper added by the clippings company, these cuttings were more or less diligently mounted on a sheet of writing paper. To differentiate more thoroughly I here use the term "clipping" to refer to these processed items as found in the files, while the term "cutting" is employed to refer only to the actual newsprint cut from the original publication. Underlined portions of text, ciphers and symbols that are not recognisable as writing I refer to as "markings". Any instances of written text are referred to as "annotations". Typically, markings are found on the cutting itself, while annotations are generally left on the mount of the clipping. There are, however, exceptions. Based on the position, the colours used and, for annotations, their content, it can accordingly – with varying degrees of certainty – be deduced by whom and at which point of the individual clipping's biography these traces were left.

2 General composition of the clippings sample

The full sample of all four clipping collections comprises of 701 items from a variety of national, international and regional publications in six languages. By far the largest portion of the cuttings (435 items) originates from English language publications, followed with quite an interval by French (113 items) and German (106 items) language publications. All three languages were spoken by representatives on the PMC and were of some relevance in the mandatory and colonial context, considering that Germany was the former ruler of most of the mandated territories, while Britain and France ruled over the two most prominent colonial empires at the time. This applies, to some extent, also for the Netherlands (19 cuttings are from Dutch publications). Italy, which also had a seat on the PMC, stands for 22 of the analysed items.

Figure 1: Proportions of clippings from media by their political background in each of the four analysed collections

Collection "Mandates" (S.302-1)

Collection "Native Policy" (S.302-2)

Collection "SAU [=South African Union]" (S.303-1)

Collection "SWA [=South West Africa]" (S.303-2)

■ right ■ liberals ■ left ■ neutrals ■ unknown

Other languages spoken by PMC members, specifically Spanish, Portuguese, Norwegian and Japanese, are not represented in the sample. Two of the cuttings are from English-language Japanese dailies, and one item is a type-written French translation from the Spanish language newspaper *El Día* of Montevideo. Finally, there are six clippings in Afrikaans, from the Windhoek-based *De Suidwes Afrikaner.*

Agencies like the Argus Suisse prided themselves to cover a wide range of the global media sphere – and, as noted, there are in fact cuttings from (English-language) Japanese and Indian publications. In terms of geography, unsurprisingly, the European political centres still stand for the paramount portion of the items in the collections. In fact, cuttings from only two publications, the conservative *Times* and the left-wing liberal *Manchester Guardian,* together make up over half of S302-2 (98 of 185 clippings) and S.303-1 (116 of 229 clippings). A large number of the cuttings from the *Times* and the *Guardian* are letters to the editor, which means that they cover a comparatively wide range of views beyond those supported by the editorial staff. If this was a motivation behind their preferential treatment, however, remains unclear.

It is noticeable that, despite the strong presence of the (at the time) left-leaning liberal *Guardian,* all four collections have a certain bias to the political right (Fig. 1). This is especially pronounced in the two collections on topics pertaining to the administration of South West Africa, S.303-1 and S.303-2. In both cases, conservative and moderate to extreme right-wing publications together stand for well over half of the clippings. Similarly, items originating from publications here classified as liberal make up a sizable portion in all four collections, specifically in collections S.302-2 ("Native policy") and S.303-1 (on South African administrative policies). This is in part a direct result of the disproportionately large number of cuttings from the *Times* and the *Guardian,* which bolster the numbers for what are here classified as conservative and liberal cuttings respectively. It remains unclear at this point what causes this political skew. It could be the result of the sampling as practiced by the agency (and potential additional clippings providers), or of later reductions of the sample performed by League organs. Of course, it is also possible that the issues selected for during the sampling process were simply more prevalent in certain publications than others. Finally, as is common with historical sources, we cannot preclude the possibility that part of the material has simply been lost, distorting the sample. It should also be noted that the samples are necessarily skewed towards the political right where they contain articles from German media organisations, which with the notable exceptions of the *Jüdische Rundschau* and the exiled *Deutsche Volkszeitung,* were at the time under more or less direct control by the Nazi government and therefore summarily classed as right-wing to extreme right publications. The political skew in the sample will be further discussed in the topical analyses below.

3 Reconstruction of practices in clipping selection and handling

After even a superficial study of the traces left on the clippings it becomes apparent that they represent several stages in the handling of the items. From the different symbols, no-

Figure 2:   Exemplary clipping from the collection S.302-01 "Press Clippings Mandates 1933–1938"
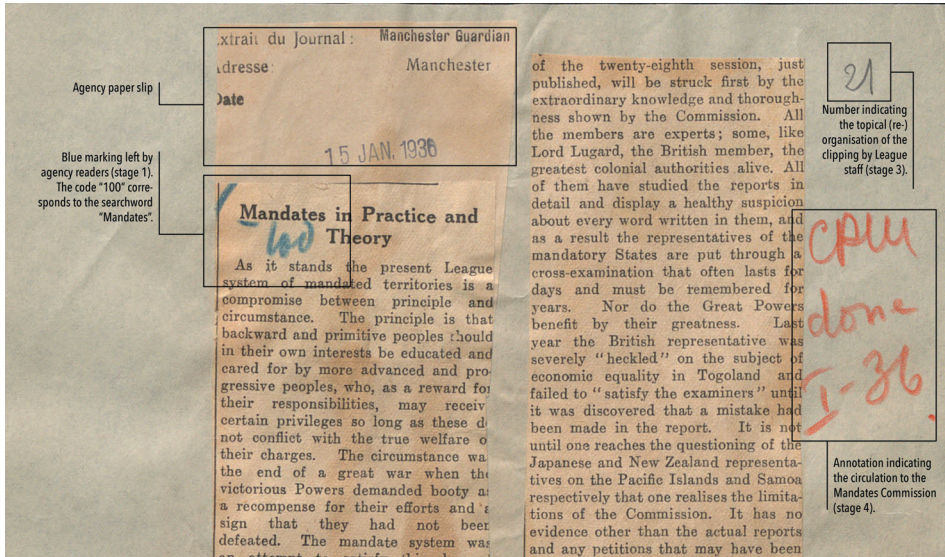
tes and markings scribbled on the pages at least four such stages can be identified, each leaving its distinctive traces on the source material:

1. The original selection of the articles by Argus Suisse readers,
2. the preliminary organisation of the cuttings by Argus Suisse,
3. the curation processing of the collections by League officials,
4. the reproduction and circulation of clippings by League officials.

The first layer of these markings is made during the selection process in the clipping agency. They comprise of a shorthand note referring to the keyword according to which the original article has been selected and blue or red demarcations of the geometrical boundaries of the articles, along which the paper is cut.[5] In the example shown in Fig. 2, these markings are in blue pencil; the keyword is "Mandates", apparently corresponding to the agency-internal numeral code "100" (or sometimes "M100"). Including synonyms and translations, for the four collections

analysed, three such search phrases have been reliably identified: "League of Nations", "Mandate(s)", and the rather less obvious phrase "Forced Marriage(s)". Further markings suggest that there may have been more such terms and phrases, but it has so far not proven possible to discern whether these specific markings were left during the selection process at the agency or at a later stage. Variations in the cyphers used by the agency to code article categories furthermore suggest that there were several more specific topics on which League-related articles were collected and preliminarily organised by the agency before being sent on to the League. An additional trace left on this stage is typically the paper slip giving the name and date of the publication. As in the example shown in Fig. 2, this slip is often partially cut, sometimes missing completely. This suggests that LoNIS, rather than the agency, handled the mounting and final preparation of the clipping (LoNIS, 1928, p. 62).

A large part of the collection on "Native policy" (S.302-2) is marked with the Letter "N" in pencil identical to that used for the respective boundary-markings, suggesting that the League officials, once they had received the cuttings, largely adopted the topical organisation undertaken by the agency. In the

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5   Popp (2014) describes the practicalities of clippings preparation within the agency.

Figure 3:   Cutting from the Osaka Mainichi, 15 January 1935 (collection S.302-1)
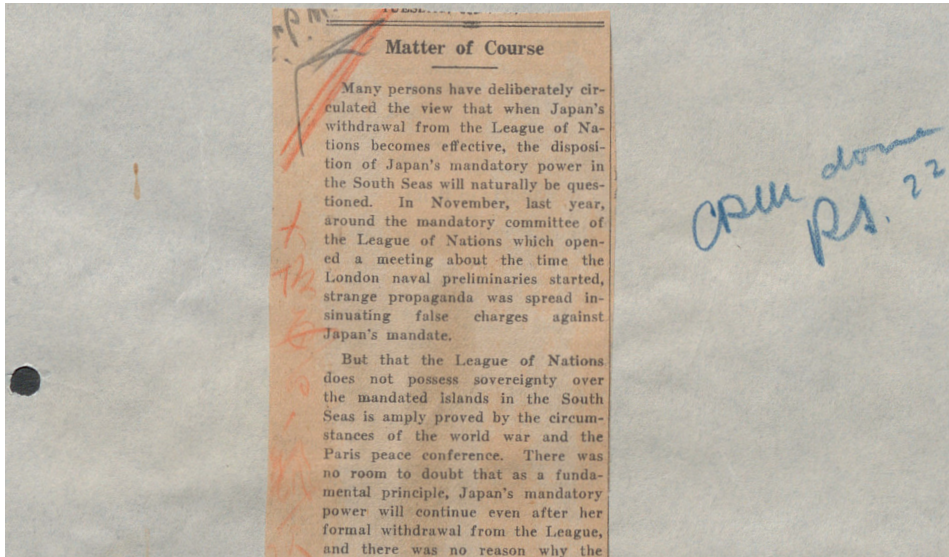
other collections, inconsistencies in similar markings suggest that they were rearranged at some point. A considerable source of potential noise in this respect are traces and potential reductions of the collections resulting from the reorganisations of the archive since 1946. Although the collections have theoretically been accessible to researchers and the interested public for many years, it seems unlikely that the clippings have passed through too many hands since 1946, as the thin and brittle newsprint is still in mint condition in most cases.

The co-existence of very specific topical collections and large files concerning hundreds of cuttings on "various" or "diverse" issues suggests, however, that large portions of the raw material collected were reorganised. Likely this process was part of the "careful study" by the Mandates Section (LoNIS, 1928, p. 62). Such reorganisation can be identified by a pencilled number signifying the collection to which the clipping belongs (even if it remains unclear whether the according markings were actually made at this stage of the clippings' handling).[6] The numbers 21

and 35 (see Fig. 2 and Fig. 4) correspond to the respective focus of the collection and can be identified on collections from other contexts that are concerned with similar issues. The many markings in different colours on some of the clippings suggest that they were reorganised at several occasions. Most of these processes are very hard – perhaps impossible – to reconstruct, though studies on other collections and other material from the archive may render additional information. Also, the handling of some items seems at times to have been somewhat clumsy. For example, on a clipping from the *Osaka Mainichi* dated to January 1935, the publication's title is noted down in Japanese (大阪毎日新聞), with an added question mark (Fig. 3). This suggests that it was likely handled by the Tokyo bureau of the Information Section and that its original publication context had temporarily been lost before it was forwarded to Geneva.

Although it was the main supplier of cuttings, only about half of the items across all four collections can safely be said to have

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6   While these numbers could have been left at a later instance, for example during some sort of reorganisation of the archived material, it

seems most likely that they were added at the suggested point in the process, as there is no other obvious marking or note that would identify the topical context of the respective clipping.

Figure 4:   Notes on a clipping from the Times, 3 September 1937 (collection S.303-2)
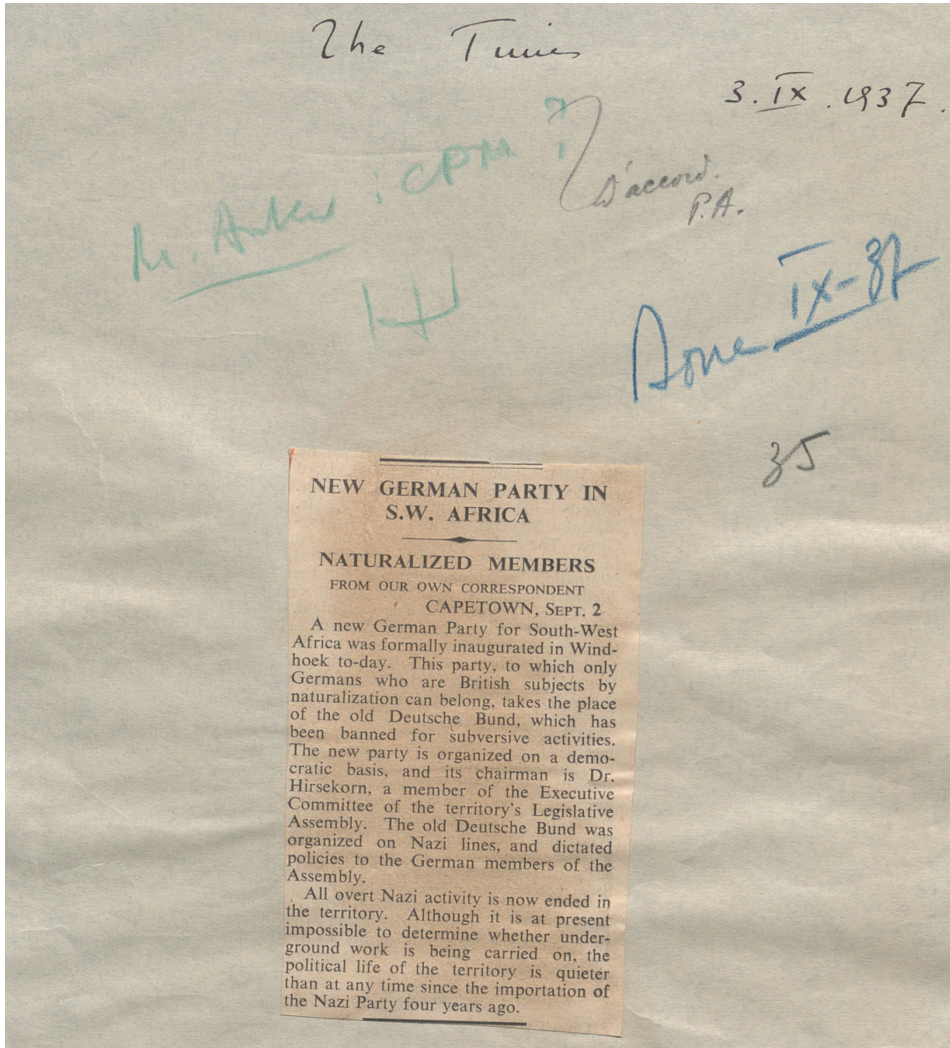
Note: Annotations in chronological order: messages containing signatures of section director Edouard de Haller (left, originally in green pencil) and Paul Anker (middle, originally in grey pencil) and the confirmation by the clerical employee (lower right, originally in blue pencil).

been provided by the Argus Suisse. This can be derived from either the typical paper slip or notes pertaining to the keyword in the blue or red pencil used by the agency's readers. A large portion of other clippings also contain markings designating the boundaries of the respective article and have accordingly been sourced, if not from the Argus, at least under circumstances similar to those in the agency's reading rooms. But there are also items that clearly came from sources other than an agency: A handful of items contain notes or markings that suggest that they were sent in individually; others are what appears to be type-written extracts and summaries taken from League-internal press reviews. S.302-1 even contains an excerpt from the minutes from a 1934 session of the British Commons; and S.302-2 includes the full 25th volume of the German colonial journal *Der Ring,* identified by a stamp to be a "gift by the German Colonial Association".

The collections were clearly not exclusively kept for later reference, but also actively passed along between League officials and the experts on the PMC. There are markings or annotations on a fair portion of the clippings, that document their handling and circulation in that manner. In the example depicted in Figure 2, we can see that the concerned clipping was transcribed and circulated in January 1936 to the PMC (here identified by the French abbreviation CPM for *commission permanente des mandats*). In most cases, the markings are much subtler, taking the form of small tick marks in different colours, in others, they contain shorthand signatures. Most of those seem to belong to clerical staff tasked with preparing copies or, perhaps, translations of the documents in question. However, higher ranking staff have also left traces on the material. League official Edouard de Haller, especially, documented his consultation of 45 of the clippings by signing them with his shorthand "Hr." and at times pencilled direct requests on the items, directing his staff to prepare copies and circulate the material to specific individuals. De Haller, a Swiss civil servant, had become a member of the Mandates Section in 1932 and rose to the post of director in 1935. However, his signature starts to appear on items from early August 1934 onwards. Also, his notes, like the example in Figure 4, seem more like suggestions than instructions. This implies that his consultation of the clippings was not so much connected to his rank but more likely to his expertise or possibly to his personal interest. In the example, he clearly relies on his subordinate Peter Anker's opinion as to whether the clipping in question should be included in the PMC-briefing. Anker, a former secretary with the Norwegian foreign office, predates de Haller as a member of the Mandates Section by a few months, but formally soon became his inferior. It has been shown in other contexts, that the formal structures and hierarchies were not always strictly adhered to by staff in the secretariat's subsections (Gellrich, Koenen & Averbeck-Lietz, 2020; Seidenfaden, 2019, pp. 49–51); this, perhaps, is another such example. Apart from de Haller and Anker, there are three more signatures that appear more

frequently on the clippings; however, none of those have so far been identified.

222 items across the sample contain markings or annotations that document some form of consultation or circulation, including 62 pencilled highlights in the text (other than agency search phrases) and 71 annotations in the margins. Only in 28 of these cases do markings unmistakably document circulation specifically to the PMC. While these circulated documents do come from all four collections, three quarters of the items are from the topical collection on South West Africa (S.303-2). This makes sense, considering the small size of S.303-1 (which only covers two years). S.302-2 and especially in S.302-1 are concerned with rather more general, conceptual issues, which makes these collections more relevant to the administrative institutions of the League itself and the international, rather than to the experts on the PMC.

4   Content

The majority of markings that highlight text passages in the clippings are clearly left by (or for) organisational units other than the PMC: They mostly deal with general matters of organisation, law or administration. The criteria by which clippings were selected for PMC briefings remain unclear from the study of the articles themselves. Topical items as well as articles which deal with the PMC or its members directly are at times forwarded to the concerned parties. However, there is no clear pattern as to when (and, if so, why) they were (not). Those that were sent on are oftentimes likely selected for the purpose of information, but they do also tend to contradict the positions taken by the experts during PMC sessions. In fact, despite its underlying racism and general pro-imperial positions, the PMC puts quite some weight on issues that (within the bounds of a racist paternalist frame of reference) may even seem comparatively progressive, for example the protection of the natural environment (e. g., PMC 1933b, p. 131) and the preservation of "the sound and valuable features of the native culture and customs" (PMC 1934a, p. 151). The latter notion is also occasionally present in the clippings. However, none of these clippings are

among those forwarded to the PMC. Overall, it may be said that, considering the restrictions of the 1930s zeitgeist, positions taken by PMC members tend to be more progressive than those propagated by most of the newspaper articles included in the clipping collections. This is, perhaps, less surprising considering the collections' overall right-wing bias.

The following gives a short overview over the discourse as represented in the respective clipping collections and the issues that seemed to be of interest to the institutional organs.

4.1 To own or not to own – collection S.302-1

On the organisational level, a number of articles from collection S.302-1 on "Mandates" give voice to different interpretations of the authority over the mandated territories, which some see held by the victorious allies of World War I and others by the League. At times (though not frequently) the journalists condemn colonial exploitation though this seems politically rather than ethically motivated. Notable is also the opinion that the status of the international Mandate (as opposed to that of European colony) should be expanded to all colonised regions. This finds support in a number of other clippings, especially from the left-wing liberal *Manchester Guardian*. It also seems to chime well with the institutional position: An otherwise unmarked cutting from S.302-1, an article originally published in an unknown U.S. newspaper in April 1937, had evidently been cut and sent in personally by a League veteran and former Assistant Director of the Information Section, Arthur Sweetser. In an accompanying note, he addresses Edouard de Haller personally, expressing that he considers decolonisation "good" and largely synonymous with "development" in the spirit of the League Covenant. Sweetser further seems to expect that de Haller shares this position (Fig. 5). The article in question itself, however, does not as expressly argue for decolonisation but rather for the internationalisation of colonial administration. Notably, while it does cite the notion of development, the author seems to think of the abolition of colonial empires as a means to an end (specifically, that of preventing conflict driven by

colonial envy) rather than an end in itself. Sweetser, on the other hand, takes a clear normative position, favourably evaluating the decolonisation of the Philippines, Haiti and San Domingo.

However, among the highlighted passages are also those voicing opposition to this idea. One such passage is from the *Natal Witness* (19 September 1935), which describes the PMC session as "unnecessary interference", another, from the aforementioned *Oska Mainichi*-article of 15 January 1935, states that Japan, after its League exit, would no longer have to adhere to League obligations. Passages discussing challenges posed or presented by Japan are highlighted especially often. The future of the Northern Pacific Mandate under Japanese administration threatened by annexation was evidently seen to be of paramount importance by the League officials – not least since it showed the limitations of global governance.

Interestingly, Italy's conflict with the League seems to have played a subordinate role here. The country's colonial ambitions culminated in 1935 in a war of aggression against Ethiopia, a course clearly at odds with the spirit of the Mandate as well as the greater pacifist project of the League. Although it was not a mandatory power itself, Italy certainly had an elevated position in the Mandates system as, like Japan, it held one of the five seats on the League council and its delegate, marquis Alberto Theodoli, served as president of the PMC. Still, while this issue is discussed in the clippings comparably frequently, none of the concerning articles show any traces suggesting exceptional attention among the staff or the PMC.

4.2 Stuck in the past – collection S.302-2

Notedly, the clippings from collection S.302-2, entitled "Native policy" refer to a great number of colonised territories and do not restrict themselves to the Mandates. Thus, the collection seemingly aims to give contextual information rather than help in the discussion of specific issues on the ground. Central issues treated throughout this collection on "Native policy" are the illicit import and production of alcohol, unfair treatment of colonised workers, human trafficking, especially trade in children and, prominently,

polygyny in African colonies. Four clippings that represent a thematic cross section of this collection are documented to have been forwarded to the PMC. While these clippings cover a wide political and topical spectrum, they all share a set of racist assumptions of African inferiority. This is independent of the political stripes of the respective publication. Even articles from hard-left publications, such as the Marxist *Presse Coloniale,* which criticise systemic discrimination and argue for better inclusion and rights of colonised persons, stick to an overall civilisationist, pro-colonial stance deriving from the racist notion of "backward races". The reports of the PMC reproduce this discourse linguistically in using terms like "immaturity" (e.g., PMC

1934a, p. 149), at once infantilising colonised persons and biologising their assumed underdevelopment. Infantilisation is also an element in the oft-cited context of illicit smuggling and distilling of alcohol. Ideas about alcohol and sobriety, of course, have to be seen in their historical context, in which alcoholism is frequently cast as social problem in need of state regulation and as connected, among other aspects, to the feminist struggle (Dannenbaum, 1981). In the clippings as well as the reports, alcohol has a special place as a dangerous vice from which the "natives", like children, have to be protected at any price (e.g., Manchester Guardian, 22 October 1935; PMC 1937a, p. 192).

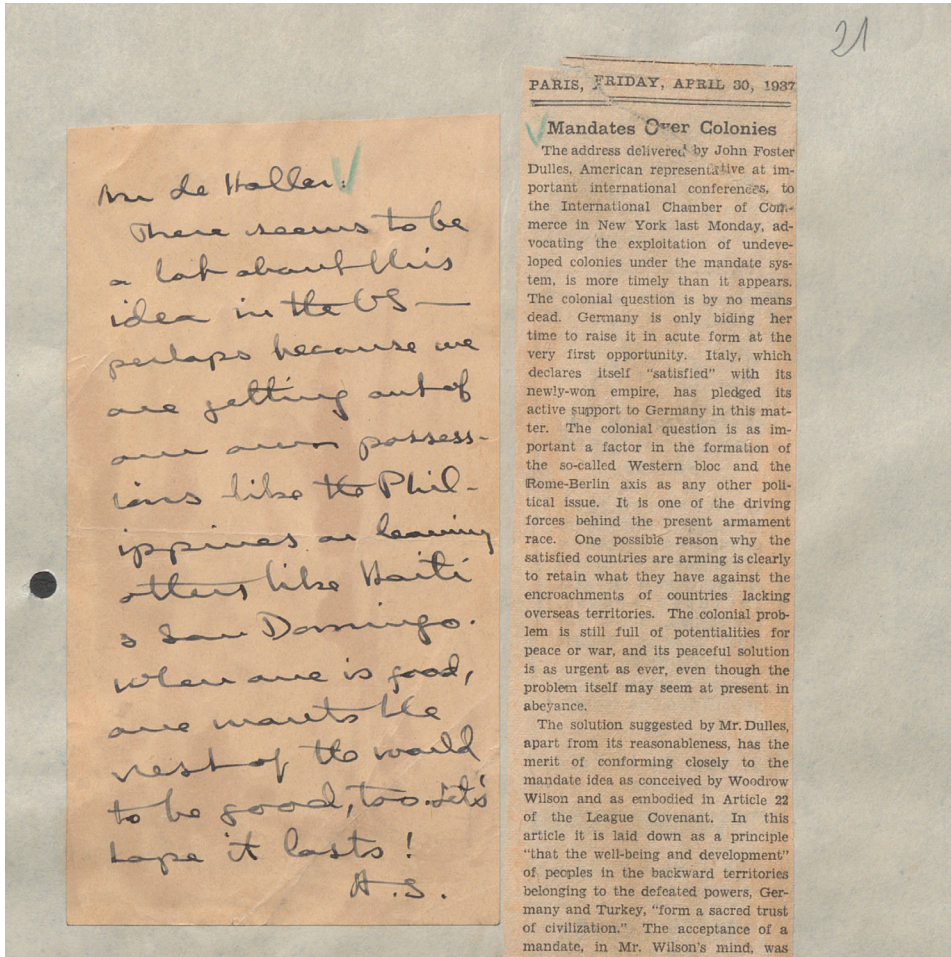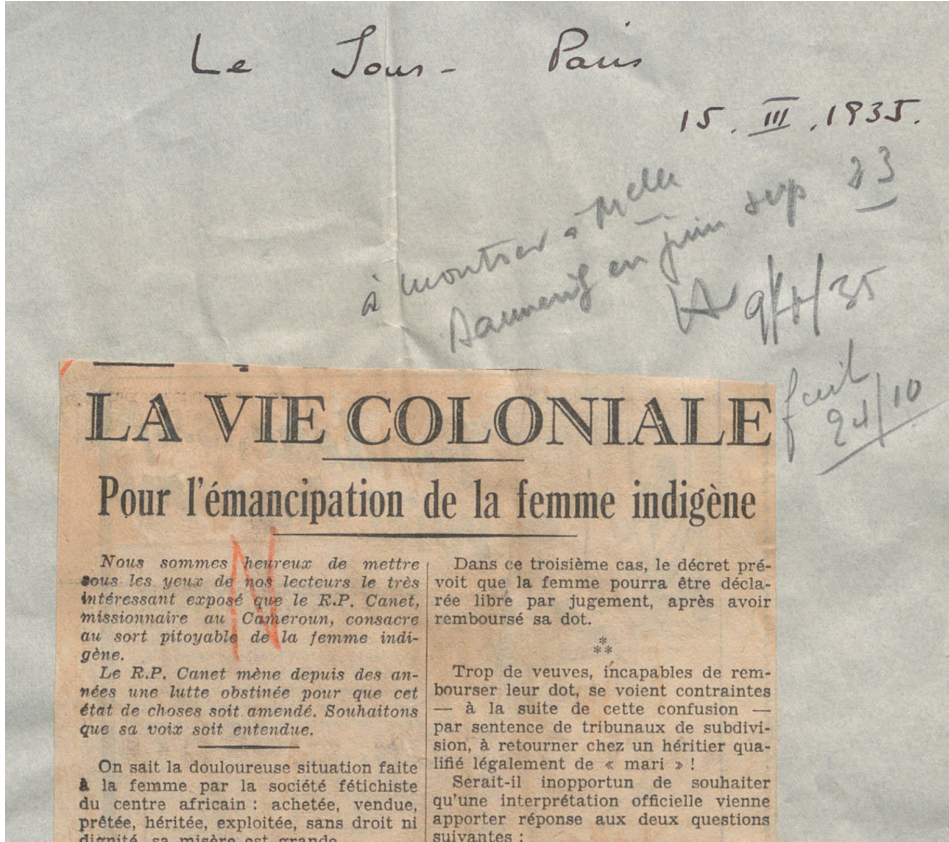Figure 5:   Press cutting and accompanying note sent in by Arthur Sweetser in 1937 (collection S.302-1)

Figure 6:   Clipping from *Le Jour,* 15 March 1935, on "The emancipation of the indigenous woman",
shown to Valentine Dannevig, the Norwegian (and only female) member of the PMC
(collection S.302-2).)

A further topic is the "condition of women" (e.g., PMC 1934b, p. 204), which appears frequently throughout S.302-2. Notably it is mostly employed in the context of alleged polygyny, misogyny, sexualisation and sexism among colonised persons, a frame that is also expressed in the choice of "forced marriages" as an agency search word for the selection of the original articles. It is also present in a forwarded clipping from the *Temps* as well as one from *Le Jour,* which had evidently been "shown" to the Norwegian member Valentine Dannevig in April 1935 (Fig. 6). Another frequent issue, albeit unrelated, which is especially interesting from the perspective of media history, is the use of film as an educative medium. The topic also features in a *Times*-cuttings forwarded to the PMC in

May 1935 and is not uncommon, especially in other cuttings from that paper, as well as the PMC reports (e.g., PMC 1933b, p. 133). This illustrates the pronounced interest of the League Secretariat in modern technologies in public communication.[7]

Looking further at the PMC reports, there are also cases of clear disparities between the discourses common in the clippings and the commission's positions. One such case is the question of "economic equality" (e.g., PMC 1935, p. 228), meaning equal access to the market and raw materials of the Mandated territory, a concept hardly represented in

7   For more on the League's interest in and ambivalent relation to film, see also van Dijk's (2023) contribution in this Thematic Section.

the studied sample (though it may of course play a larger role in other collections). To the PMC, the Mandates were accordingly still framed as a matter of economic opportunity at least as much as a humanitarian obligation, a motif that is otherwise typical for press clippings from far-right publications. Apparent is also the matter of insurrection and conflict in mandated territories. While many articles, notwithstanding political affiliation, treat uprisings among colonised inhabitants neutrally or even with sympathy it is clearly condemned by the PMC (e. g., PMC 1934b_EN, p. 207).

4.3 White natives and the brown menace – collections S.303-1 and S.303-2 SWA

As has been noted above, the two collections "S.303-1 South Africa 1936–juin 1938" and "S.303-2 SWA" that deal with the specific case of South African policy towards so-called South West Africa under its mandate seem to have been deemed of greater relevance to the work of the PMC than the collections dealing with more general topics. Twenty-nine of the items from these two collections have been forwarded to the PMC (as compared to only two from S.302-1 and four from S.302-2). As far as can be derived from the minutes, however, only one of these clippings, an article from the *Times* of 16 September 1935, is explicitly referred to by a member of the commission (the Belgian Pierre Orts, PMC 1936a, p. 127). The article deals with anti-Semitic transgressions by Germans in South West Africa.

In fact, it is remarkable how large a role the German minority and the Nazi movement in the South West African territory plays throughout the selection. Fourteen of the forwarded clippings (and 96 in the two collections overall) discuss *this* issue rather than questions of "development" or colonial policy. Radical settlers and the German minority, as the territory's former colonial masters, seem to have been especially interested in the issue of a possible annexation of the territory by its mandatory power, the South African Union. This could partially explain the collections' strong bias towards right-wing media. The focus also clearly reflects the League's increasing alertness concerning the political situation in Germany. Markings in

several of the clippings show that anti-Jewish sentiments among the German minority in South West Africa were of special interest to the Geneva officials. It cannot be discerned beyond a doubt, whether these markings were left by agency readers or during later consultations of the items; it is therefore possible that "anti-Judaism" and related terms functioned as agency search words. In the context of Germans in the territory, it is furthermore interesting that the clippings frequently frame them as "natives" in much the same way as the black indigenous population of the territory. Notably, where indigenous Africans are referred to (in these two clippings corpora especially) they are usually portrayed as obstacles to civilisational progress. The rights of these "natives" are only referred to in a single article published by the exiled left-wing *Deutsche Volkszeitung*,[8] and in this case fulfils the rather instrumental function to stress the inhumanity of the Nazi ideology. As opposed to collections S.302-1 and S.302-2, the term (and concepts relating to) "development" only ever appears in the sense or context of economic growth.

5 Discussion and conclusion

It seems evident that League officials, in accordance with the central role that communication and the "the public" played in the Covenant of the League, saw international media reporting as an important and central factor in their daily work. Though it may remain debatable just how methodical the handling and monitoring of the clippings was performed, there were clearly dedicated functionaries within the administrative staff (in the case at hand at least two of them have been identified, Edouard de Haller and Peter Anker) that handled the clippings once they were prepared. But it is unclear whether that was their official job and what exactly their routines were.

Returning to the question of the internal perception of public opinion and routines

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8 The article, published 14 February 1937, notably cites what is today known as the 1904 genocide against the Herero at the hands of the German imperial so-called *"Schutztruppe"*.

related to it, it is little surprising (but worth mentioning) that the work of the League and the PMC (or its individual members) are commented on in a large portion of the reporting, even outside collection S.302-1 (which is directly concerned with the actors involved in Mandatory administration). It does stand to reason that the public view on the institution and its work was among the motives for the monitoring effort, even if it is clearly not the main focus in the present sample. Further, where clippings were forwarded to the PMC, they were not always about the issues central to the discussions at their sessions or, indeed, their main task of mandatory development, but also contained feedback on their work. It is a distinct possibility that the collections were also seen as a source of factual information, since in a few cases single experts were consulted on specific clippings as if they were to either be alerted to their content or asked for their opinion on the item in question. The collections' main function, however, clearly remained to record the opinions and interpretations of colonial policy and Mandatory administration abound in the public sphere. As we know from Popp (2014) and contemporary sources (e.g., Burelle, 1905), clippings agencies had already begun to develop rigorous approaches to media analysis. Whether League officials adapted these methodologies remains unclear based on the present sources. Their professional focus, after all, lay on the theories of propaganda and PR that were just developing. Once more, Lo-NIS section files, that recorded the section's day-to-day work (and that are only partially preserved) may yet hold answers to those questions. It further remains unclear based on which criteria exactly the collections of the clippings were curated once they arrived at the League. Their political bias suggests that they were not representative of the full spectrum of public opinion. While it seems evident that the Geneva community was alert to the dynamics and destructive potential of German politics in the 1930s, this focus cannot on its own explain the skew: Even purging the sample of German articles, clippings from right-wing publications still make up the largest share of each of the four collections. Also, arguably, the future of German colonial ambitions and Nazism may reasonably be ex-

pected to have been at least as relevant to the left-wing press as to its liberal and right-wing counterparts. From the PMC session minutes and reports, it is evident that the commission was aware of progressive voices criticising racism and colonialism as well as conservative ones preaching the insurmountability of racial hierarchy. It itself encouraged education and "progress", yet stuck to a pseudo-biological racist worldview. Depending on how and by whom the collections were consulted within the League framework, their political bias has the potential effect of dampening surprisingly progressive positions like that taken by Arthur Sweetser in his 1937 note to de Haller (Fig. 5).

The bias of the collections towards European publications is less surprising. The choice of the languages represented, as alluded to above, makes sense considering the regions concerned and the languages spoken among League officials and PMC experts. In fact, the inclusion of clippings from (anglo- and francophone) Indian, Japanese and Vietnamese publications hints at the global scope of the monitoring exercise (even if it cannot conclusively be determined whether these items were collected by regional League staff or collaborators, or by the agency). Despite this, there is still a lingual and cultural bias to be discerned, especially considering the collection on "native policy", S.302-2, where more than three quarters of the items originate from British, and francophone French and Belgian publications, demonstrating whose colonial policies were seen as most relevant.

Finally, it should be stressed, that the studied collections are only four of a total of 240 clippings collections kept for the Mandates Section alone – which in turn is only one of 10 League sections active during the 1930s. To my knowledge these collections have so far not been part of any systematic study. From this it should be clear that the case studies summarised here really cannot render more than a very tentative first glimpse into the issue, giving but hints as to which media voices and issues were acknowledged by the first institutional organisation in global governance and which were or were not deemed especially relevant. Furthermore, it demonstrates that press analytics, as far as

clippings collections were concerned, served multiple purposes (which, however, remain partially unidentified). Political biases manifest in the selected material beg the question what the criteria were for the selection and if those that undertook it were aware of their gatekeeping function. To that end it may be worthwhile for future research to both concentrate on additional clippings collections, as well as historical files documenting internal communication of relevant League organs. Both types of sources are held in the Geneva archive. Given the similarities and continuities between structures and practices of the League of Nations and the United Nations (UN), comparative analyses between the two institutions might also contribute to a more holistic understanding of media analytics as well as its role in the discursive construction of North-South development. The Mandates system factually ceased to exist during the Second World War and was afterwards replaced by the UN Trusteeship Programme. Most (but not all) of the territories formerly under Mandate have today achieved full formal independence from foreign nations, with Namibia (formerly known as South West Africa) being the most recent country to do so in 1990. But the notion of institutionally organised North-South development certainly persists. The UN, as the League's successor organisation, acts as a central forum for the global discourse on this endeavour through organs such as its Development Programme (UNDP) or the Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA). Although the UN, like the League, has a common News Monitoring Unit (UN, 2018a), its organs, like those of the League, do not seem to be a compulsory common strategy on the handling of mediated public discourse. The UNDP, for example, has its own Bureau for External Relations and Advocacy (BERA). Yet, BERA clearly does not handle media analytics (UN, 2018b) but instead employs "a media monitoring company to monitor, assess and evaluate the coverage of UNDP in the media" (Obrien, 2016). Recent reports by the UN DESA and the UNDP illustrate that the (free) press is recognised both as a value in itself and an instrument in sustainable development (e. g., UN, 2020; UNDP, 2019), and that the presence of devel-

opment issues in the world press is implicitly acknowledged (UN, 2020, p. 25). Possible interactions between media discourses and institutional policy, like back in the times of the League, are not further reflected upon. The question remains, how and by whom the according monitoring and analysis are actually undertaken. It has not been the central aim of the research presented here to dive deeply into UN practices, but their investigation certainly seems worthwhile before this background.

While the League and its infrastructure has been replaced (or, it could be argued, adapted) by the UN system, the major commercial players of its time remain the same today: Robert Luce's clippings agency, chided by the League in 1920, has merged with its erstwhile main competitor Burrelle's (Burrelles, 2021) and, at the time of writing, continues to provide services described as "Highly Targeted Media Outreach", "Comprehensive Monitoring" and "Analysis" (Burrelles, 2022). The League's agency of choice, the Argus Suisse de la Presse, has since been rebranded Argus Data Insights, and is based no longer in Geneva but in Zurich and Berlin. It, too, has not much changed its core business in the past hundred years, describing its main services as "Media News", "Media Analytics", "Media Engagement" and "Media Services" (Argus Data Insights, 2022) – concepts, by the way, that seem rather fluid, considering that this description has changed since 2020, where the same range of services was described with the terms "media review" and "media analysis" (Argus Data Insights, 2020). Of course, for both agencies, traditional print media as a data source have for the largest part been replaced by online sources.

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Conflict of Interest

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Seismo

The prevalence of communication. A case study in the communication history of the International Labour Organisation (ILO)

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Abstract
Organisations are – as communication studies know – constituted through communication. Against this theoretical background, the International Labour Organisation (ILO), which was founded in 1919 after the end of the First World War as a sub-organisation of the League of Nations, is examined here. It came into being in the course of the Versailles peace negotiations with the aim of harmonising the rules and standards of labour internationally and creating common standards for this purpose. The primary function of the ILO was to collect and disseminate information and communication on labour conditions in the world in order to adopt conventions and make recommendations on the basis of this information (e.g., on daily working hours, night work, women's and children's work, etc.). The external constitution and the internal structure of the organisation were designed for this. The prevalence of the ILO's communication is also confirmed by the considerable communication costs and the wide range of communication instruments it used. Methodologically, this is a hermeneutic examination of the sources produced by the ILO in the process of its foundation and establishment. The organisation documented and archived its activities extensively from the beginning.

Keywords
organisational communication, International Labour Organisation (ILO), internationalisation, labour and social policy

1   Introduction

In communication science it is known that organisations and communication are interrelated and have created their own field of research ("organisational communication"; Theis-Berglmair, 2003). In the meantime, this field is well developed and encompasses a variety of approaches and conceptualisations. For a long time, communication was understood instrumentally, as a means to achieve the goals and purposes of the organisation. More recently, however, the relationship between the two phenomena has been defined much more fundamentally, on the assumption that "organisations are communicatively constituted" (Putnam & Nicotera, 2009; Schoeneborn, 2013). This assumes that organisations emerge from ongoing communication processes and cannot be thought of without them. Even within this tradition of thought, there are now various schools of concepts and differentiations.

With this theoretical background in mind, the communication history of a major international organisation, the International Labour Organisation (ILO), will be examined below. By tracing how this organisation came into being and developed in its early years, it will become clear what a primary role did communication and communication processes play in this process. This latter aspect has remained almost entirely absent from previous literature on the ILO (Alcock, 1971; Maul, 2019; Servais, 2011; Tosstorff, 2005, 2020; Van Daele, Rodríguez García, Von Goethem, & van der Linden, 2010). If this deficit is to be addressed here, it is in two respects: not only to describe the instrumental use of communication by the ILO, but also to show in what respects the ILO was constituted by communication. The extent to which this was the case justifies speaking of a "prevalence of communication" in this instance. Here, this term is not used in the strict sense of medical statistics, but as in a generalisable understanding.

A German dictionary speaks of "preponderance" or "having priority" to explain this ("Prävalenz", n. d.).

Methodologically, the following is a hermeneutic examination of the sources produced by the ILO in the process of its foundation and establishment. The organisation documented and archived its activities comprehensively from the very beginning. Of central importance is the *Official Bulletin,* a continuously printed periodical with various contents: official documents of the ILO, the minutes, motions and resolutions of its general conferences, of the meetings of its governing body and the numerous commissions. This also included documentation of the budget and internal changes. It also printed important (circular) letters and the questionnaires used for surveys. Furthermore, the *Bulletin* constantly reported on innovations in the labour legislation of the member countries. For this reason, it was essential to strive for objectivity, which adds to the value of the source. In addition, there are some early collections of sources and contemporary accounts (Shotwell, 1934; Solano, 1920) as well as the ILO's other extensive publications (see below). Not to be forgotten as a source of their own kind are the numerous photographs available from the early days of the ILO. Although they do not speak to us verbally, they show us things visually. The guiding principle for the evaluation of the sources was their relevance to the guiding research question how and by which means communication was constitutive for the International Labour Organisation. The study presented here is made possible above all by the fact that the ILO has now excellently digitised its source material and made it accessible via its website. On this website, a special link "History of the ILO" leads to a retrospective self-portrayal ("History of the ILO", 2019).

2 Communication as the root: Founding the organisation

The founding of ILO was already the result of communication, namely the peace negotiations after the end of the First World War. If the "root-metaphor" is used for this, this already casts a specific perspective on the object of analysis, namely a "symbolic frame" (Smith & Eisenberg, 1987, p. 369). Roots are life-giving and bring something out of the sub-ground and make it grow. After years of military weapons and international communication dominated by propaganda, the conclusion of a peace treaty required the hostile states to make a fresh start and communicate directly with each other.

However, this was not a symmetrical communication between the victorious powers and the war losers (Conze, 2018; Leonhard, 2018; Platthaus, 2018). Rather, one must speak of a "peace dictate". The expectations of a new era of open diplomacy, raised in particular by U. S. president Woodrow Wilson, were also disappointed (Steller, 2011, p. 361–470). After all, in Versailles (and the other places where the former enemy powers met), not only was the end of the military use of arms sealed and arrangements made for the consequences of the war (territorial cessions, reparations, demilitarisation). It also paved the way for a future peace order in Europe (and the world). Such an order seemed desirable, even urgent, for the sphere of human labour. Social conflicts that could possibly trigger uprisings were to be avoided as far as possible or at least settled amicably.

On 25 January 1919, the Peace Conference established a Commission on International Labour Legislation. It was only one of 58 commissions involved in the negotiation of the peace treaty and its level of complexity is documented (Steller, 2011, p. 391). After 35 meetings, from 1 February to 24 March 1919, the said commission submitted its report (Alcock, 1971, p. 18–37; ILO OB I, 1923, p. 1–259; Maul, 2019, p. 24–30; Shotwell, 1934, p. 149–322; Tosstorff, 2020, p. 46–57). It contained a draft convention to create a Permanent Organisation for the Promotion of the International Regulation of Labour Conditions. The stenographic minutes of the meeting make it possible to follow the discussion of the individual articles in the Commission. In the mode of communication one fol-

lowed parliamentary customs, for example through the practice of three readings. The main concern was how the future institution should be organised and function, not so much its objectives. The fact that, in addition to government representatives from each country, employers' and employees' representatives should also be involved was less controversial than the question of how many there should be in each case (Tosstorff, 2020, p. 48).

The starting point for the debates in the commission was a British draft. On 11 April 1919, the Peace Conference confirmed the final draft. The defeated enemy states and the countries that remained neutral were not represented in the commission. When they were informed of the outcome, the German delegation responded with counter-proposals and its own draft of an International Workers' Charter (ILO OB I, 1920, pp. 309–326). However, Georges Clemenceau, the French Prime Minister and chairman of the Peace Conference, rejected this on behalf of the Allies as "deficient" and "inferior". With minor modifications, the Commission's draft was incorporated into the Versailles Peace Treaty as Part XIII with Articles 387–426 (the same wording was also used in the peace treaties with Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Turkey). With the signing of the treaty on 10 January 1920, the ILO came into being, at the same time, incidentally, as the League of Nations, that other large representative body established for international cooperation (Bendiner, 1975; Ikonomou & Gram-Skjoldager, 2019; Lange, 1991; Walters, 1952). From then on, the ILO functioned as its sub-organisation. Its secretariat, initially located in London, moved to Geneva, Switzerland, on 19 July 1919, henceforth the headquarters of the ILO (as well as the League of Nations).

Since the late 19th century – in the course of the internationalisation that has since spread (Herren, 2009; Sluga, 2013) – there have been initiatives to reach agreements on rules and standards in the area of work. In 1900, the International Association for the Protection of Labour (IALL) was founded, with an office that began its work the following year in Basle, Switzer-land, as the "International Labour Office". A number of country sections came into being, and several conferences were still held in the pre-war period. Even during the war years, these initiatives did not completely evaporate (Shotwell, 1934, p. 1–145). Such preliminary stages were followed up in 1919/20.

After the turn of the century, the trade union movements that had already emerged in various countries had also sought to improve common social standards through international cooperation. In 1913, the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU) was founded, which had already been preceded by a respective secretariat since 1901. As a result of the outbreak of the First World War, this also came to a halt, so that a reconstruction was necessary in 1919, to a certain extent parallel to the founding of the ILO, where the IFTU was given consultative status (Tosstorff, 2005, 2020). It could only achieve its goals there as far as this was possible due to an agreement with the governments and the employers. The latter also began to organise internationally (International Organisation of Industrial Employers) in 1920 on the basis of common interests (Ghebali, 1989).

The 39 articles of the Peace Treaty mentioned above formed the "Constitution of the International Labour Organisation" (ILO, 1920, p. 1). In its first section, the reasons for its establishment – often unjust and poor working conditions in the world – are cited. Examples given were working hours, unemployment, adequate pay, women's and children's work, health and accident protection, as well as the principle of workers' free self-organisation and vocational training. These complexes of social life posed a threat to national and international peace, which could only be based on social justice.

The founding members of the ILO initially included the 29 contracting parties at the time of the peace agreement: Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, the British Empire, Canada, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Italy, Japan, Liberia, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Po-

land, Portugal, Romania, the Serbo-Croatian-Slovenian State, Siam, South Africa, and Uruguay. Another 13 countries were also declared founding members: Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Persia, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Venezuela. European and South American countries in particular were initially members, but only five from Asia and only two from Africa. In 1920, the decolonisation of large parts of the world was still pending. The United States was not a member, nor did it initially join the League of Nations, although its founding was primarily the result of a proposal by U. S. president Wilson. Germany and Austria, which had lost the war, were also missing from the list of founding members (Fehlinger, 1927). However, they were already admitted to the first General Conference in Washington in 1919 (by 71 votes to one) and joined the ILO in 1920, rather than the League of Nations. The supporters wanted Germany to join because of its importance as a large industrialised country.

3   Organisational structure of the ILO

Articles 387 to 395 of the Peace Treaty laid down the organisational structure of the ILO. Two permanent institutions were envisaged: the General Conference of Representatives of the Members and the International Labour Office (called *Internationales Arbeitsamt* in German). The General Conference was to meet at least once a year. Each country could send four representatives, two from the government and one each to represent the interests of employers and workers. This was hailed – along with universalism, namely the potential inclusion of the whole world – as the ILO's basic principle of "tripartism". In addition to its practical significance, it also had a highly symbolic meaning, which was later represented by a triangular visual signet (Figure 1). The principle later found expression in the new headquarters building on the shores of Lake Geneva, which was finished in 1974 (Central Block,

North Wing, South Wing) (Figure 2).[1] At the ILO conferences, even the seating arrangement was based on this principle: The representatives of the governments sat in the middle, those of the workers' organisations on the left and those of the employers on the right. Visual, architectural and proxemic sign systems thus also had a communicative function in the ILO's self-presentation.

Figure 1:   Signet of the International Labour Organisation
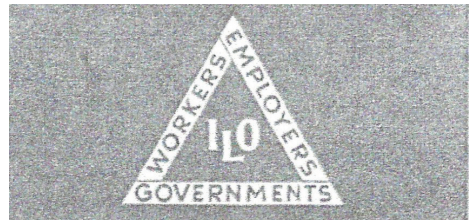
Source: The International Labour Organisation. A Reference Handbook (1951) (excerpt).

Figure 2:   Headquarters of the International Labour Organisation (1974) (Geneva)

Source: 100 years of ILO History. A house for social justice –- past, present and future (2018).

The representatives of the ILO member countries could call in further experts. However, these did not have the right to vote. The General Conference had to decide on conventions and recommendations for labour rules and labour standards, which had to be ratified by the member countries after 18 months at the latest in order to become national law.

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1   After its foundation in 1919, the ILO was initially housed in Geneva in an existing building called La Châtelaine.

However, there was no obligation to do so. The first General Conference, which took fundamental decisions, was still held in Washington in 1919, the following ones in Genoa, then mainly in Geneva, but also in other metropolises of the world. The first main issues the ILO dealt with and sought conventions on, were the limitation of daily or weekly working hours, unemployment, adequate remuneration, the work of women and children, protection against sickness and accidents, as well as the principle of free self-organisation and vocational training (Maul, 2019). These complexes of social life were seen as threats to national and international peace, which were to be counteracted.

For the General Conferences, there were formalised rules of procedure with strict regulations for the conduct of debates, following the customs of parliamentary communication. They concerned the admission of speakers, the use of two official languages (English and French, otherwise translations),[2] the limitation of speaking time, the concentration of speeches on "general principles", as well as rules for the intervention of the president and the way in which decisions were taken. Interruptions and "audible conversations" that disrupted the proceedings were not allowed. Everything was to be documented by "Verbatim Reports" ("Standing Orders", ILO B I/1920, pp. 442–450). The link between communication and effective decision-making preoccupied the ILO for years.[3]

The procedures for internal communication had already been tested at the first General Conference in Washington in 1919. The debates were still held only in English and French, without translation ("interpretation"). "But this means discussions were greatly shortened" – noted the General Secretary H. B. Butler, obviously pleased (1920, p. 208). In order to ensure an equal level of information, printed reports of the previous day's negotiations were presented each morning in three languages (besides English and French, in Spanish). In order to shorten the discussions, selected spokesmen were supposed to summarise the respective statements of the groups. Butler also believed that it was not a disadvantage, but rather a benefit,

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[2] Speeches in French and English "had to be summarized in the other language. If someone spoke in another language his delegation had to give a translation by an interpreter in English and French" (Art. 11). As photos show, this form of presentation was facilitated in the course of the 1920s by the use of headphones and simultaneous interpreters.

[3] In 1924 a "second-reading procedure" in two successive sessions had been introduced in the sense of a "more thorough-procedure of discussion": "This procedure did not prove as advantageous as had been hoped. It certainly helped to slacken the speed at which the Conference worked, by spreading the discussion of each question over a period of two years. But, in practice, it had certain
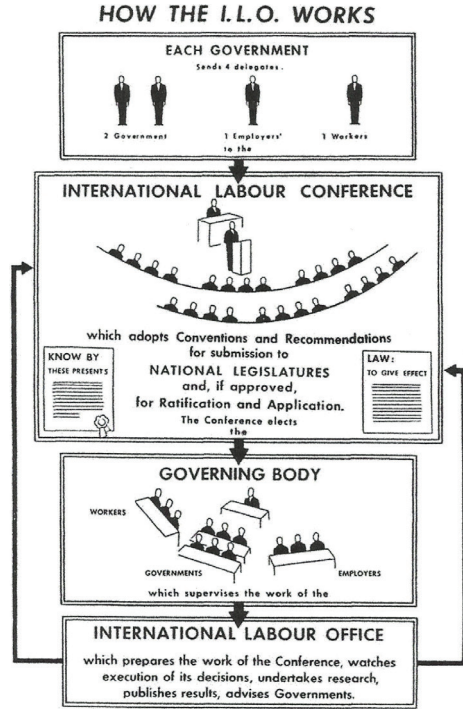
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serious drawbacks. While it had been hoped that the interval of a year would enable the holders of opposing theories to arrive at an agreement and produce a formula which would make ratification possible for a greater number of States, events showed that the exact opposite was the case. The intervening period was, in fact, used by all parties as an opportunity to defend and justify their attitude at the Conference in the eyes of public opinion. When delegates met a year later, they were more closely tied than before to the views which they had supported. These views were sometimes embodied in proposed amendments to the texts adopted at the first reading. Instead of suggesting amendments on points of detail, as had been the original intention of the authors of the system, they proposed to alter the Drafts adopted at the preceding Session in some of their essential points." Based on this experience, the system was replaced in 1926 by a "double discussion procedure": "The first stage consisted of a general discussion which more or less cleared the ground; at the close, the Conference would decide by a two-thirds majority whether the question should be placed on the agenda of the following Session, and if so on what points decisions should be taken by the Conference. The second discussion would take place at the next Session, and it would only be then that the text of a Convention or Recommendation might be adopted. In short, at the first Session the Conference would discuss a problem on a general basis, and at the second it would discuss the draft of a Convention on the subject" (International Labour Office, 1931, pp. 73–74).

that the governments were represented by two delegates, while the workers (like the employers) were represented by only one delegate from each country. For example, the former often voted in a split (Butler, 1920, pp. 210–211).

A Governing Body was formed as the executive body of the ILO according to the same "tripartite" principle. Of its initial 24 members, 12 were appointed by governments, eight of them nominated by the most important industrialised countries. Who belonged to these was decided by the League of Nations. Six members each of the Governing Body were elected by the delegates to the General Conference from among the employers and the workers. The members of the Governing Body appointed a chairman. The International Labour Office was headed by the Director. The first was Albert Thomas, a French socialist, who had been Minister of Armaments during the war (Tosstorff, 2020, pp. 84–110). He was represented by a Deputy Director. Cox called the regiment in the ILO a "limited monarchy" (Cox, 1974, p. 102). According to Article 395 of the Versailles Peace Treaty, the Director had to employ personnel composed of different nationalities. "A certain number of these persons," it continued, "shall be women."[4] Director Albert Thomas also demanded bilingualism. "It will, moreover, be required as far as possible that all the members of the Staff should understand both English and French" (ILO, 1920, p. 26). The Governing Body was empowered to set up commissions to deal with specific issues. The Peace Treaty itself already provided for a Commission of Enquiry. Figure 3 shows a simplified organisation chart of the ILO.

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4   As the ILO's rich photographic material from the 1920s documents, it was still mainly men who held offices and spoke in the organisation. In 1923, a photo shows only five female delegates, in 1934 there were 13. As workers, women were still largely employed in service occupations, as telephone operators, steno-typists and interpreters. The situation was very similar at the League of Nations at that time (Pinguet, 2019).

Figure 3:   Organisation chart of the International Labour Organisation

Source: The International Labour Organisation. A Reference Handbook (1951).

4   Information and communication as primary functions of the Office

The ILO's tasks were defined in several articles of its constitution. The terms "information" and "communication" run through them like a red thread. Although these were not defined, one senses that two types of processes were intended. In the case of the former, a targeted one-way process (in the sense of imparting knowledge or eliminating ignorance), and in the case of the latter, a two-way process (in the sense of exchange, both technically and in terms of content). The basic formulation of Article 396:

> The functions of the International Labour office shall include the collection and distribution of information on all subjects relating to the international adjustment of conditions of

industrial life and labour, and particularly the examination of subjects which it is proposed to bring before the Conference with a view to the conclusion of international conventions, and the conduct of such special investigations as may be ordered by the Conference. (ILO The Labour Provisions, 1920, p. 4)

The activity of the Office is defined here primarily as a centre for collection and distribution of information in preparation for the deliberations and decisions of the General Conference. This task is specified and supplemented in several other paragraphs in the Constitution. The governments of the member states were to communicate directly with the Director of the Office through their representatives in the Governing Body (Article 397). Ratifications of conventions were to be communicated to the Director and the Secretary General of the League of Nations. Each country was to submit an annual report on the means it had taken to implement the ILO conventions or recommendations. In cases where complaints were made, for example by the Commission on Enquiry, it was also expressly ordered that these be communicated.

The ILO constitution not only determined the great inner-systemic importance of communication for the organisation, but also shaped its task that was directed outwards. Article 396 stated that: "It will edit and publish in French and English, and in such other languages as the Governing Body may think desirable, a periodical paper, dealing with problems of industry and employment of international interest" (ILO The Labour Provisions, 1920, p. 4).

5　Internal organisation of the Office

The first important task for the Office was to establish an internal organisation. This was not easy to do, as there were hardly any models for such an international organisation. After Albert Thomas was elected Director (he served until 1932), he submitted a memorandum to the Governing Body with a provisional organisation schema

for the Office. Communication was again inherent here in two ways. On the one hand, as a recurring element in the objectives of the individual departments, and on the other, because the Governing Body in turn commented on the memorandum and took a position on it (ILO OB 1, 1920, pp. 7–10, 26–31; Thomas, 1920). Even more than the constitution of the ILO, the memorandum recurred to the manifold tasks of internal and external communication as an organising principle of the Office. In its own way, all the designated departments had to serve it: a Translation Staff as well as a Central Typewriting Staff and the Printing Branch, the three Main Departments (Diplomatic Division, Scientific Department, Political Department). "Nothing is more difficult," Thomas stated, "to organise, to distribute in a large administration, than the various press services" (Thomas, 1920, p. 28). Repetition and overlap were to be avoided, but different agencies would have to deal with the press. At one point, a Central Press Branch was envisaged in the Director's Secretariat, which

> will work in contact with the Press Branch of the League of Nations. This branch alone will, when necessary, approach the newspapers in order that they may make the work of the Office known to the public and help to popularise it. (Thomas, 1920, p. 28)

On the other hand (in the second department) through "a methodical collection of all press announcements … concerning social movements which will be of service also to the League of Nations" (Thomas, 1920, p. 28). With slight modifications, the Office was set up according to the proposed plan. It was to be autonomous, even if it was subordinate to the League of Nations with regard to finances and jurisdiction (ILO OB 1, 1920, pp. 7–10):

› *The Cabinet:* Director, Secretariat of the Director, Special Staff, Press Relations Officer
› *The Common Services:* Deputy Director, Establishment Sector, Financial Relations and Commercial Services, Section for the Examination and Control of Ex-

penditure, Section of Accountancy, Section for Staff questions
› *The Diplomatic Division*
› *The Scientific [1922: Research] Division*
› *[1922: Intelligence and Liaison Division]*
› Technical Services
› National Correspondents

At the head of the organisation was the Director with the *Cabinet* together with a Special Staff, "containing representatives of all the most important countries, specially organised in order to keep the Office constantly in touch with the Trade Union movements in the different countries…" (ILO OB 1, 1920, p. 8). This staff was thus again mainly assigned a communicative function, namely with the respective system-relevant environment. The "press branch" was supposed to work from the inside to the outside, in connection with a corresponding department of the League of Nations.

The second department, *Common Services,* was headed by the Deputy Director and comprised five sections. The Establishment Sector contained the registry (especially of correspondence) and material responsibilities. This also included a "pool of French and English typists and duplicators…" (ILO OB 1, 1920, p. 8). The Section for Financial Relations and Commercial Services was charged "with all the commercial or quasi-commercial activities of the Office, such as the sale of its publications, etc." (ILO OB 1, 1920, p. 8). The activities of both sections were thus also directly or indirectly in the service of the Office's communication. Three further sections had administrative purposes (Examination and Control of Expenditure, Accountancy, Staff Questions).

The *Diplomatic Division* had to organise the substantive work of the Office, i.e., prepare meetings and conferences, monitor the ratification of the conventions in the member countries and ensure "official communication" with the Secretariat of the League of Nations. The name of the Division, as well as the choice of the term *Cabinet* for the governing body of the Office, bring to mind similarities to established political-administrative bodies and instruments ("Cabinet (government)", n. d.). The original idea of a separate *Political Division* was dropped.

The *Scientific Division* was to fulfil the tasks according to Article 396 of the Peace Treaty,

> namely, the collection and distribution of information on all subjects relating to the international adjustment of conditions of industrial life and labour. It is accordingly responsible for the publications of the Office, including the continuation of the legislative publications of the Labour Office of Basle, and for the collection, classification and dissemination of information on labour and social subjects. (ILO OB 1, 1920, p. 8)

The division, which can already be seen as an instrument of scientific communication, was divided into five sections: "The Intelligence Section follows the daily press and periodical literature for events happening in the field of labour and industry" (ILO OB III, 6, 1921, p. 12). It also included the Translation Branch in five languages (English, French, German, Italian, Spanish). This was indispensable in an international organisation, both orally at the General Conferences and the meetings of the organs of the Office as well as in the production of written documents and printed material. The second subdivision was the Publications Section "which has the charge of editing and printing of all publications issued by the Office" (ILO OB III, 6, 1921, p. 12). Another small section was responsible for the Legislative Series, consisting "of translations or reprints of the principal labour laws issued during the year in various countries…" (ILO OB III, 6, 1921, p. 12). Furthermore, the Statistic Section and the Library were assigned to the *Scientific Division*, the latter "growing at the rate of about 100 per day. The library is also responsible for receiving and distributing all the periodicals and newspapers received at the Office which now amount to a very considerable number" (ILO OB III, 6, 1921, p. 13). In addition, the library of the predecessor institute in Basle had been taken over.
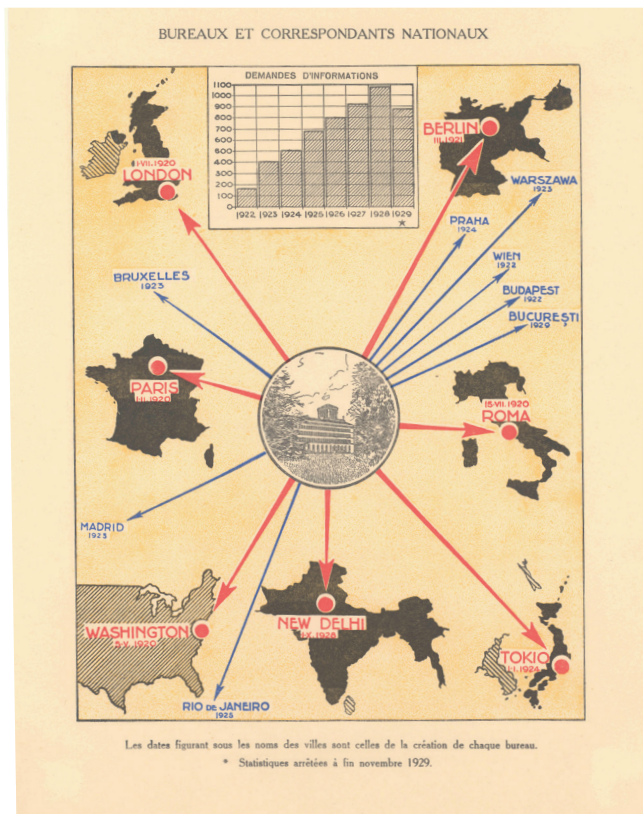
The *Diplomatic* and *Scientific Divisions* were able to draw on the support of eight Technical Services for various sub-areas of the world of work. Their function was again described as "to keep the Office informed of the latest developments in the most important fields of social problems …" (ILO OB III, 6, 1921, p. 9).

Finally, there were National Correspondents whose task was "to keep closely in touch with the movements in their respective countries and to render assistance in connection with rapid investigations and enquiries" (ILO OB III, 6, 1921, p. 9). On the one hand, they had to provide the head office in Geneva with information on working conditions and socio-political aspirations in their home countries or to meet the need for relevant knowledge.

On the other hand, they had to communicate the ILO's decisions and proposed measures to relevant actors and the public in their respective countries. Initially there were four correspondents, in Paris, London, Rome, and Washington. The number of these liaison officers was successively extended to other countries in the following years. In 1951, there were 29. Figure 4 shows the communication network with the liaison offices at the end of the 1920s. Interesting is the diagram inserted at the top of the graph, which shows how the number of enquiries increased in the course of these years. Unfortunately, it is not possible to make more detailed statements, for example about the content.

The internal structure of the International Labour Office demonstrates through

Figure 4:   ILO National Correspondence Offices (1929)

and through the prevalence of communication both as a goal and as a functional principle and means of organisation. Internationality demanded a composition of staff "of many different nationalities, accustomed to different varieties of administrative method … [and] attempting to work together for the common end …" (ILO OB X, 1, 1920, p. 9). Experience was expected, but also "sufficient flexibility to enable it to be adjusted to new demands as they arise …" (ILO OB X, 1, 1920, p. 9).

The work of the newly established organisation was reviewed by the Commission of Enquiry as early as 1921. On the basis of its observations, it made a number of proposals for changes (ILO OB III, 1921, pp. 14–17). The Cabinet system was seen as too centralised, to the detriment of the heads of the individual divisions. This should be modified once the Office had been consolidated. In addition, the Commission's report called for closer coordination between the Divisions and the Technical Services. A regrouping of the divisions was also proposed. Consequences were drawn from this in 1922 (ILO OB V, 5, 1922, pp. 1–6). A new, third division with three sections was formed under the name *Intelligence and Liaison Division*. Basically, the Office's communicative tasks were strengthened once again. The General Section of the division comprised, in addition to a National Information Service subdivided according to language groups, a Social Information Service, a secretariat and archive, "charged with preserving cuttings from newspapers and information in periodicals and with furnishing the Scientific Division with its raw materials" (ILO OB V, 5, 1922, p. 4) There was also the Translation Service. A second section was responsible for liaison with employers' and workers' organisations, and a third served as the ILO's Sales and Publicity Branch. In addition, the library remained affiliated to the new division. In the course of the internal reorganisation, the *Scientific Division* was renamed the *Research Division*.

6 Communication costs

The importance of communication as the primary function of the ILO can be seen from other indicators, especially the financial expenditure. According to Article 399 of the Peace Treaty, the member states had to pay for their representatives at the General Conference or in the Governing Body themselves. All other expenses of the Office were to be met from the general budget of the League of Nations. The budget of the ILO was a delicate matter, it had to be carefully calculated and was supervised by a Financial Commission. This cannot and need not be examined in detail here. However, the budget plan for 1921 should be considered as an example (Figure 5).

Figure 5:　ILO budget estimate for 1921

Estimates for 1921 adopted by the Governing Body.

GENERAL SUMMARY.

			Gold Francs
Subhead	A	Salaries	3,070,000
»	B	Travelling and Miscellaneous. . . .	318,000
»	C	Establishment and Office Expenses.	1,560,000
»	D	Correspondents and collection of information.	455,000
»	E	Conferences and Enquiries.	670,000
»	F	Non-recurring Expenditure	884,000
»	G	Emergency Expenditure	143,000
		Total Estimate . . .	6,600,000
		Balance	400,000
			7,000,000
League of Nations Enquiry			10,000
Total as voted by the Assembly of the League.			7,010,000

Source: ILO OB III, 6 (1921, p. 166).

For the total budget this year more than 7 000 000 Swiss gold francs (GF) were earmarked.[5] There was no separate budget item for "communication costs". But those are hidden in a whole series of cost centres. First of all, salaries, which accounted for the lion's share of the total budget at 3 070 000 gold francs (= 44 %). The salaries were distributed among all sections. The staff of the Governing Body already

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5　The gold franc was an international fictitious currency in the 1920s (until 2003), originally introduced as a uniform measure of value for the settlement of postal and telecommunications services. It was equivalent to 0.81 German Reichsmark (after the end of rampant inflation in Germany) ("Goldfranken," n. d.).

comprised in 1926 129 persons, 362 were responsible for administrative obligations, 43 for editorial and publishing expenses, 44 in the "Diplomatic Section" and 71 in the "Scientific Section" (Fehlinger, 1927, p. 26). The *Scientific Division*, whose five departments were entrusted with communications tasks in various ways (see above), required the most funds (801 850 GF), followed by Central Services (712 052 GF). Communication costs in the Establishment Branch included the telephone service, the registry with the increasing correspondence of the Office, the Distribution Branch "with the constantly increasing number of publications which have to be dispatched, amounting sometimes to as many as 2000 per day" (ILO OB III, 6, 1921, p. 9). The Financial and Printing Services had to take care of the public output of the ILO. The development of printing capacities and sales required relevant investments. The expenses for the material production of the publications were booked under Establishment and Office Expenses (a total of 816 000 GF). For post, telegraphy, and telephone, 185 000 GF were earmarked. The costs for the pool of typists and stenographers also had to do with (international) communication.

The share of salaries was also considerable in the *Cabinet*, from where the connection to the national labour organisations and correspondents had to be centrally maintained. "The Director must also keep himself informed not only of the general economic and social life of the various countries, but also of all the other circumstances of which a knowledge is indispensable to timely and effective action" (ILO OB III, 6, 1921, pp. 7–8). This required a whole series of employees speaking different languages. The same applied to the offices of the correspondents, without whose supply the Office would not have been able to carry out its tasks. The highest expenses were for the office in Washington. For 1921, modest costs were foreseen for the first time for an office in Berlin, "partly because a very large number of enquiries are received as to industrial developments in Germany … and partly because very special interest is taken by the German organ-

isations in the work of the Office" (ILO OB III, 6, 1921, p. 8).

The costs of organising the conferences and surveys (620 000 GF) also largely related to the organisation of direct or indirect communication, be it their preparation, their conduct or their publication ("reporting and publication of provisional and final records", ILO OB III, 6, 1921, p. 9).

Calculating its financial budget initially confronted the ILO with some problems, especially as it began to expand rapidly. Some of the cost centres had to be rethought. The high proportion of printing costs, for example, led to the consideration of setting up its own print shop. A particular problem was the high postage costs that had to be paid in Switzerland. In this matter, the director of the ILO turned to the Swiss Federal Council and the International Postal Union as early as 1920 / 21. Referring to the international obligations imposed on the ILO by the Peace Treaty, he tried to obtain cost-effective regulations for its postal traffic, as the League of Nations had already done in turn (Lange, 1991). He justified this with the circumstance that "the working of an organisation so completely new as the International Labour Office raises problems which have no analogy in the past and to which consequently it should be possible to find new solutions" (ILO OB III, 6, 1921, p. 37). However, a resolution of the Governing Body to guarantee the ILO freedom of postage for its mailings under the same conditions as the national administrations was rejected by the Swiss authorities at the time, as was a kind of "postal autonomy".

Not surprisingly, the ILO's budget grew rapidly with its expansion in the following years. As early as 1922, the budget rose to 8 750 000 Swiss gold francs (an increase of a quarter).

7 Communication tools

The information and communication function mainly imposed on the ILO resulted, as already mentioned, in extensive publication activity. The ILO's own advertisements distinguished between

Figure 6:   Types of ILO publications
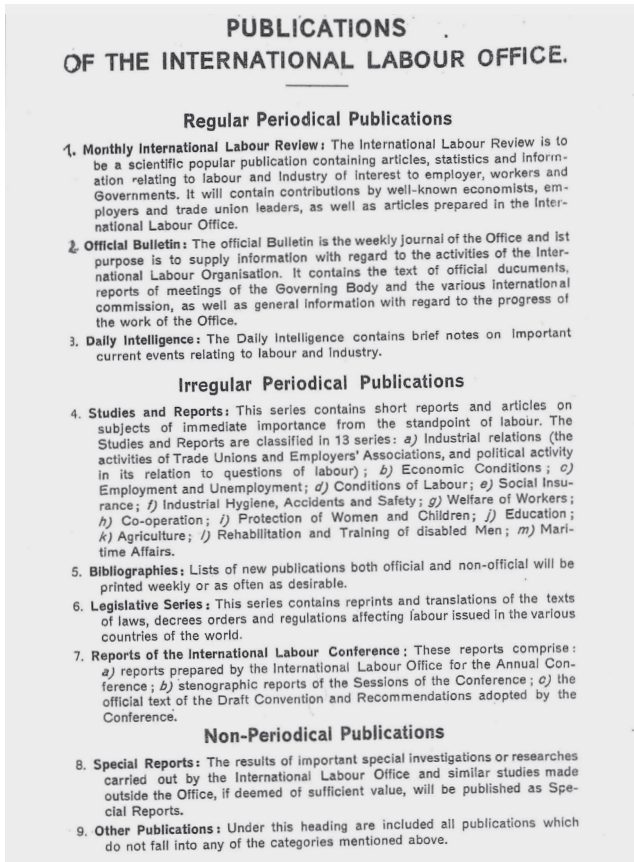
three types of publications: Regular Periodical Publications, Irregular Periodical Publications and Non-Periodical Publications (Figure 6).

The first group included three titles that fulfilled the mandate set out in the Constitution in different forms: *Daily Intelligence*, which was published daily from January 1921, initially with 12 to 16 pages, and brought short reports on current events in the international labour world and its organisations. Even the first audit report on the work of the ILO criticised the high costs of this publication and recommended that it should be published less frequently. 120 000 Swiss gold francs a year, which did not even include postage, was too much, especially as the length

of time it took to send the issues by post made the current content seem outdated in distant parts of the world (ILO OB 1, 8, 1920, p. 17). In fact, *Daily Intelligence* was discontinued with the issue of 30 December 1921. It was succeeded the following year by *Industrial and Labour Information* as a weekly periodical of varying scope but largely the same content. News from the field of work in the member countries was documented in more than 15 columns.[6]

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6   The headings were: International Labour Organisation, International Labour Legislation, National Labour Organisation, Industrial Organisation, Economic Situation, Employment and Unemployment, Emigration and Immigration, Conditions of Labour, Ex-Service Men, Social Insurance, Industrial Hygi-

The main advantage of the less frequent publication "was the opportunity of wider and closer investigation of the documents and publications from which its information is drawn" (ILO ILI 1, 1922, p. 3).

As early as 1920, the Office began to report on its work in an *Official Bulletin*. It is a unique source for the history of the ILO and the changes in working conditions and labour rules in the world. It was supposed to be published weekly, but then came out at longer intervals or was summarised at longer intervals. In terms of content there were three focal points:

1. The texts of all formal official documents relating to the work of the Office and to the International Labour Organisation.
2. Miscellaneous information relating to the work of the Office and the progress of activities.
3. Information as to the procedure followed in the various countries with regard to the ratification of Draft Conventions and to the legislative action taken in order to give effect to the Draft Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the International Labour Conference. The texts of important Bills relating to these matters will be printed in extenso with explanatory notes where necessary. (ILO OB, 2, 1921, p. 2)

The *Official Bulletin* published the proceedings and decisions of the General Conferences, informed about activities of the Administrative Council and the various commissions and committees that had been set up for special tasks in accordance with the guidelines of the Constitution. They served special problem areas or gave administrative advice.[7]

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ene and Safety, Co-operation, Protection of Women and Race, Education, Agriculture, Maritime Affairs, and Welfare of Workers.

7 These included: Commission on Enquiry, Commission on Standing Orders, International Emigration Commission, Joint Maritime Commission, Commission on the Application of Standards, Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations.

In March 1921, the *International Labour Review* also began to appear, initially on a monthly basis. It was the ILO's scientific journal on the whole field of labour economics (Bollé, 2013). More than twenty subject areas were included in the publication plan submitted by the Director to the International Labour Conference in 1921. The journal became a recognised organ of economic and labour science, in which several later Nobel Prize winners published articles.

All three periodicals mentioned here were published in English and French. German editions were also produced. Not only was Germany immediately admitted to the ILO in 1920. One was also prepared to recognise German as an "auxiliary language" (ILO OB 6–7, 1920, p. 8) because there was an interest for this especially in northern European countries. However, this did not mean that it functioned as an official language (Fehlinger, 1927). The German edition of the *Official Bulletin* was titled *Amtliche Mitteilungen* until 1922, and *Internationale Rundschau der Arbeit* even until 1940, although Nazi Germany had already left the ILO (as well as the League of Nations) in 1935. An Italian and Spanish version of the latter journal was also published for years from 1922/1923 (Bollé, 2013, pp. 6–7). In the early years, it was difficult for the ILO to determine the subscription fees for the periodicals for different countries. The reason for this was the rampant inflation in many places and the fluctuating exchange rates. These were economic obstacles to the functioning of international communication.

Several types of ILO publications appeared continuously but irregularly. These included studies and reports "on subjects of immediate importance" (in 13 thematically specialised series), bibliographies, Legislative Series with relevant legal texts from various countries, and Reports of the International Labour Conferences. They documented the meetings and resolutions held there. Singular Special Reports on research outside the ILO were also listed under Non-Periodical Publications.

The ILO's work diversified enormously in just a few years. This can also be seen

in the large number of studies and reports that were presented in thematically separate series:
› Series A: Industrial Relations
› Series B: Economic Conditions
› Series C: Unemployment
› Series E: The Disabled
› Series F: Industrial Hygiene / Safety
› Series G: Housing and Welfare
› Series H: Co-operation
› Series I: Protection of Women and the Race
› Series K: Agriculture
› Series L: Professional Workers
› Series N: Social Insurance
› Series O: Migration
› Series P: Seeds
  (ILO, OB III, 2–3, 1921)

In the individual series and reports, different numbers of titles appeared depending on their importance, in the first (A) already more than a dozen within a year. Some of them were also published in several languages, in English and French, and for a while also in German. One pioneering study published 1922 in Series L was in all these three languages dedicated to the life and working conditions of journalists (Artus, 1929; Wilke, 2021). After the Second World War, Spanish was recognised as the third official language.

8   Further development and expansion

This article concentrates on (and is limited to) the history of communication in the founding and start-up phase of the ILO. Its further development can only be briefly sketched here. Inevitably, the organisation was caught up in the maelstrom of the escalating international political conflicts in the 1930s, and these brought it a chequered fate. Although the United States became a member in 1934, Germany left the League of Nations the following year and with it the ILO. Italy, which had been a founding member, followed in December 1939. Even in the case of war, the Governing Body and the participating countries agreed that the work of the

ILO should continue (ILO OB XXV, 1944). However, one year after the outbreak of the Second World War, in 1940 the ILO was forced to withdraw its central administration from Switzerland, which was surrounded by warring states (Alcock, 1971, pp. 151–187; Maul, 2019, pp. 109–134). The headquarters were moved to Montreal, Canada, where they were housed at McGill University.

With the Philadelphia Declaration, the ILO initiated a new programmatic start in 1944. It was not until 1948 that it returned to Geneva. At that time, the organisation had already been a sub-organisation ("Specialised Agency") of the United Nations (UN) founded in 1946 (as successor to the League of Nations) for two years and received a new version of its constitution in the same year (Alcock, 1971, pp. 188–205; Maul, 2019, pp. 135–140). Like the UN, the ILO experienced enormous expansion from the 1950s onwards, and not only through the growing number of member countries. In the early 1950s, more than 60 states belonged to it; nowadays there are 187 (2022). On the one hand, the Soviet Union and its satellite states also joined the ILO, which meant that the organisation was also confronted with competition from free-market and state-socialist economic systems and became embroiled in the conflicts of the Cold War. The ILO expanded even more, however, because many colonies in Asia and Africa became independent and gave rise to their own state entities. These all aspired to join the ILO, just as they had joined the UN. The result was a structural change in democratisation (Dupuy, 1987). At the same time, this was accompanied by an increase and change in the complex of problems to be dealt with in labour and social policy. The focus of the ILO's activities shifted from the creation of common and internationally binding standards to technical assistance (Cox, 1974; Maul, 2019).

The internal organisation of the ILO was soon subject to changes with which it had to adapt to new conditions of the system environment. An amendment adopted in 1922, but which did not come into force until 1934, meant that the Gov-

erning Body was now made up of 16 government representatives and eight representatives each of employers and workers. Two of the latter two groups had to come from non-European countries. As a result of the increase in the number of member countries, a further enlargement of the Administrative Council became inevitable, to 56 members, 18 of them government representatives and 14 each from the workers and employers. The bureaucracy as a whole branched out and the staff became more pluralistic. Communication nevertheless remained the central objective and operating principle of the ILO. And, of course, it did not remain unaffected by the far-reaching changes in the instruments and media of communication in the second half of the 20th century. An impression of the complexity of the whole organisation and the placement of communication within it is provided by a look at the ILO's organigram following a reform of the organisational structure introduced in 2013 (ILO, Reform). To describe and analyse this systematically, however, would require a separate study.

9 Conclusions

As outlined earlier, the ILO appears to be a model case of an organisation based on communication. Communication was the very root from which it emerged and communication was its primary purpose and function as defined in its constitution. Both were decisive for its external and internal organisation. For the latter, they created their own procedures and rules of communication. The various communicative sub-functions and tasks accounted for a large part of the communication costs in the total budget of the ILO. Finally, the communication instruments used were numerous and varied.

The ILO was characterised by its specific character and that – as already quoted – "the working of an organisation so completely new as the International Labour Office raises problems which have no analogy in the past and to which consequently it should be possible to find new solutions" (ILO OB III, 6, 1921, p. 37). The organisation's activities were geared towards international understanding and agreements on a socially acceptable harmonisation of working conditions in the world. In order to achieve this, it was first necessary to take comprehensive stock of the respective status quo. The conventions and recommendations that were then agreed upon had to be implemented in practice by the member countries. In this respect, the ILO lacked power, at least in terms of decision-making and legislative power. Instead, it had to seek a balance, and not only between the opposing goals of the representatives of the "tripartite system" with different logics of action: the profit striving of capital, the workers' striving for social justice and the goals of the state, which depended to a certain extent on the orientation of the governments, but certainly intended the preservation of power and the maintenance of internal peace. Compromises were also necessary between member countries. In the end, conciliation and compromise can only be achieved through communication. Decisions, according to Niklas Luhmann (2018) the main principle of the theory of organisations, concerned at most the formulation of guidelines, which was a matter for the nation states to apply, although they had agreed to do so through their membership. The international character of the ILO was a governing factor with considerable consequences for its communication.

It is not only in principle that the ILO can be viewed under the premises of the "Communication Constitutes Organisation"-perspective. Specific approaches that can be assigned to it can also be related to ILO. For example, the distinction made by Taylor and Every (2000) between the communication modalities "text" and "conversation", i.e., between forms of written communication that require a certain stability and the necessarily fluid oral exchange. But the interrelationship of "communication produces organisation" and "organisation produces communication" postulated by Ruth Smith can also be illustrated with the help of the ILO (Putnam, Nicotera, & McPhee, 2009, pp. 6–7). The

same applies to the types of organisationally constitutive communication flows with four addressees distinguished by McPhee and Zaug (2009, p. 21).

> They [i. e., organisations] must enunciate and maintain relations to their members through membership negotiation, to themselves as formally controlled entities through self-structuring, to their internal subgroups and processes through activity coordination and to their colleagues in a society of institutions through institutional positioning.

In the first case, then, it is a matter of communication with the members or their representatives, in the second it is a matter of reflexive self-structuring and self-control of the actors, in the third it is a matter of coordination of the work processes, and in the fourth it is a matter of institutional self-positioning at the macro level with, for example, governments and partners (such as the League of Nations). Finally, to speak with Luhmann (2018, pp. 26–60), one will also be able to understand the ILO as an "autopoietic system" that produces the elements of which it consists from itself. As much as it separated itself from the outside by closing itself off, it cannot be overlooked that the impetus for the creation of the organisation came from the environment and that this was essential for its maintenance.

This raises the question of whether the ILO only had autopoietic functions or how far its actions actually extended. The General Secretary H. B. Butler (1920, p. 238) had already said at the first General Conference in 1919 that international conferences "have met frequently in the past, and have adopted manifold resolutions which have done little but increase the quantity of printed matter in the world", and he added to this statement the question: "Will the decisions of the Washington Conference be translated into action, or will they meet a similar fate?" If one wanted to answer the question raised adequately, one would have to go into the activities of the ILO in detail. This cannot be done here, especially since this article was intended to be historical-genetic rather

than communication-theoretical. For the rest, reference can be made at the end to the existing literature (Maul, 2007, 2019).

The above study goes back a hundred years and describes beginnings in two respects: On the one hand, it led into the early days of international organisations, in which they first had to find their role and develop their functions, and on the other hand, into a much earlier phase of media and communication history, in which the means and use of communication were still far less developed and complex than today. There were still hardly any role models and blueprints to orient oneself by, but had to find pragmatic solutions for the problems of international organisations and their communication step by step. At best, common practices from other political organisations could be adopted or adapted. This happened close to other international organisations that were emerging at the time, such as the League of Nations in particular. Moreover, innovation forced a learning process in which the ILO's communication was subjected to several transformations and changes in the course of the founding phase – in a continuous process of trial and error, so to speak. The ILO has been forced to do so again and again up to the present day in order to adapt its services to changes in the organisation and its assignments, as well as its working conditions and the media of communication.

Conflict of interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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CIESPAL and the development of education and research in communication in Latin America

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Abstract

As a regional international organization focused on education and research, the Centro Internacional de Estudios Superiores de Comunicación para América Latina (CIESPAL) played a key role in institutionalizing the field of communication studies in the so-called "Third World" countries. Founded in 1959, in Ecuador, it is an initiative of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) with the objective of implementing a set of strategies to improve the training of journalists and academics in the area. Referring to the Cold War context, its development was linked to other international organizations and political-cultural entities, which ended up stimulating the formation of an environment marked by relations of cooperation and cooptation, but also by resistance. By reconstructing the 60-year trajectory of this Latin American center, the aim is to show how its role has been dynamic and is related to the political and social changes that have taken place in the region, notably the rise and fall of military dictatorships in South America.

Keywords

UNESCO, regional international organizations, journalism schools, communication studies, higher education, internationalization of research, Latin American politics

1 Introduction

While most newspaper research institutes that emerged in Europe and Asia were disfigured from their original projects and later even completely closed after World War II (Averbeck-Lietz, 2015; Rüdiger, 2017), it was during this period that the first university programs in journalism began to be implemented in Latin America, starting in Argentina and Brazil. Throughout the second half of the 20th century, these and other Latin American countries such as Mexico, Colombia and Chile saw a progressive expansion in the number of schools for both academic and professional training of journalists. According to a report organized by Nixon (1982), from the 13 journalism schools that were operating in the region in the 1950s, there was a leap to 163 schools in the 1980s.

Their history cannot be properly understood without characterizing the social, political and economic context in which they were born and developed. Amidst the crisis faced by Europe in the post-war period, in many parts of Latin America there was a late industrialization based on import substitution and then the adoption of a "bureaucratic-authoritarian" model (O'Donnell, 1973). At the same time, economic development was boosted and remained dependent on the numerous stimulus policies created by the United States, in part as a strategic response against communism. Notably after the Cuban Revolution in 1959, North Americans reinforced their surveillance of the region, supporting and interfering in the right-wing dictatorships that rose in the 1960s and 1970s (Schmitz, 2006).

It is not unknown the role that U. S. agencies and their programs have played in different segments of social life, including the university and with regard to the evolution of communication studies at the national and international level. As Simpson (1996) explains, "government psychological warfare programs helped shape mass communication research into a distinct scholarly field, strongly influencing the choice of leaders and determining which of the competing sci-

entific paradigms of communication would be funded, elaborated, and encouraged to prosper" (p. 3). Among the assimilated approaches, it is possible to point out "a positivist reduction of complex phenomena to discrete components; an emphasis on quantitative description of change; and a claimed perspective of 'objectivity' toward scientific 'truth'" (p. 6).

As these U. S.-financed projects have had considerable reach and their leaders, such as Wilbur Schramm, have assumed prominent positions in shaping the academic field of communication, it is not difficult to identify how the informational conception of mass communication and the empirical approaches of the social sciences were transformed into foundations for structuring new research centers in the area, as well as restructuring old newspaper research institutes around the globe. This article will focus on historicizing one of the most expressive cases: the Centro Internacional de Estudios Superiores de Comunicación para América Latina (CIESPAL, International Center for Higher Studies in Communication for Latin America), created by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1959.

2   Justification and considerations for the historical synthesis

As an agency of the United Nations (UN), UNESCO has mobilized efforts, since its formation in 1945, to favor the diffusion of culture and the free circulation of information among nations. Aiming at improving this situation, one of the projects developed was to implement specialized training centers for journalists not only in Europe, but also in the so-called "Third World" countries. In this context of the Cold War, marked by power disputes between the Western and Eastern blocs, the first of these international and non-governmental establishments was the Centre International d'Enseignement Supérieur du Journalisme (CIESJ, International Center for Higher Education in Journalism), opened in France in 1957. To expand its activities, another was opened in Ecuador, which began operating under the auspices

of the local government, providing CIESPAL with material and human resources through the Universidad Central del Ecuador (UCE, Central University of Ecuador).

Our work, which aims to reconstruct its trajectory, matters insofar as it seeks to critically analyze the role of a pioneer center for teaching, documentation, and scientific research on journalism and communication in Latin America. As Fuentes Navarro (2019, p. 40) recognizes, its foundation "allowed a first transnational reference for the dissemination of intra- and extra-Latin American communication projects of different scope and orientation." And for León Duarte (2012, p. 253), more than that, because from its constitution

> the germ and cement of greater weight is established for the development of the academic field of communication in Latin America, which also originates the way to open, on the one hand, the development of institutionalization in its research and, on the other, of the consolidation of teaching.

In better detail, through this, a first definition of the parameters of press research was offered to the countries of the region, while allowing the carrying out of quantitative and comparative transnational investigations on Latin American daily newspapers. Furthermore, the Ecuadorian center played a key role in organizing journalism schools throughout the region and later in their transformation into schools of communication – initially under the adjectives of *comunicación de masas,* then *comunicación colectiva,* and finally *comunicación social* (Feliciano, 1988, p. 56). Still under its influence, the guidelines for pedagogical models of undergraduate programs were developed and put into practice, establishing their minimum time of duration and essential subjects for courses.

With an interest in exploring such topics, the present analysis is based on comprehensive bibliographic research, using mainly three types of sources: books published by CIESPAL since the 1960s, as well as articles and interviews published by the journal *Chasqui,* in circulation since 1972. However, this is not about proceeding with the reproduction of its institutional discourse, since

the selection of works explored includes a diverse set of intellectual actors who participated in the process of constituting the aforementioned center. Based on this documentation, the aim is to examine the genesis and metamorphosis of this institution, focusing on aspects related to teaching and research.

As a work of historical synthesis, the intention is to identify the main trends involved in the development of CIESPAL and place them within a chronological framework, which comprises the decades from 1960 to 2020. Due to the scope of the period, on the one hand, there is a risk of privileging interpretations and revisiting already known discussions on the subject, without delving into specific themes. On the other hand, as a historical synthesis, this is intended to provide a general and informative framework for readers outside Latin America interested in knowing the trajectory of a unique organization, which practically marks the beginning of academic research in communication in this region.

The argument to be explored, throughout the analysis that follows, is that the foundation and development of CIESPAL are closely related to the political and social changes that have taken place on the continent, from the second half of the 20th century onwards. That is, instead of being static, its role has been dynamic and is deeply related to the environment in which it is inserted. To support this, it begins by describing how the center was initially configured as a reception space for theories and methodologies of mass communication research, at the height of the Cold War. Then, it is shown how, instead of being merely assimilated by Latin American researchers, these theoretical-methodological orientations became the object of criticism and gave rise to other trends, which can be read as expressions of the crisis of right-wing authoritarianism and an indication of the turn to the left in the region.

It then goes on to discuss how this turn, paradoxically, coincided with the beginning of CIESPAL's loss of preponderance in an emergency scenario and, subsequently, with the expansion and diversification of the field of communication studies in Latin America. In other words, the examination of the trajectory of this center also addresses the process of decentralization of its acting role, which is no longer the protagonist as it was between the 1960s and 1980s, although it remains an important reference for the academic community in a regional level.

3 Establishment of CIESPAL as a regional international organization

Attributing importance to the media in the development of nations, but realizing that there was a lack of training among information professionals as well as few investigations into the impact of communication phenomena, UNESCO began to evaluate ways to intervene in this situation. At its house in Paris, meetings were organized with representatives of academic, professional and governmental entities, the main one being held in 1956, with the presence of experts from more than 20 countries (UNESCO, 1956). One of the results of this work was the planning of regional centers that would be responsible for qualifying professional journalists and academic staff for the emerging area.

At the end of the following year, the UN agency promoted the foundation of the first of these centers in the city of Strasbourg. Directed by Jacques Leauté, CIESJ would seek to meet the demands of the European community, although it extended some actions to Africa. In 1958, during the 10th General Conference of UNESCO, the establishment of a center similar to the French one in the Ecuadorian capital was recommended, this time to contemplate the emerging Latin American community.

> With this background and the valuable auspices of the Government of Ecuador, UNESCO, and the Central University of Ecuador, CIESPAL was established [...] as a regional, international, non-governmental center, with its own legal status and which has its scope on the study of journalism issues, [whose] immediate objectives are focused on three essential aspects: a) teaching; b) documentation; and, c) scientific research. (CIESPAL, 1960, p. 6)

In the context of teacher training, the performance of this center was notorious for offering seminars on information and com-

munication sciences, with the distribution of scholarships financed by UNESCO, but also by the Ford Foundation and the Organization of American States (OEA). With regard to the documentation service, priority was given to the collection and systematization of data relating to the Latin American periodical press, as well as to the journalism schools that were operating in the region. To carry out this and other tasks, it was necessary to raise multiple resources. The first step took place with the provision of physical infrastructure by the Central University of Ecuador, which gave CIESPAL the status of an autonomous university body from the beginning. However, more than that was needed to create an environment and conditions conducive to academic work.

Contributions were received from various institutions such as the East-West Center (EWC) and the Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (CEPAL, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean), the Instituto Interamericano de Cooperação para a Agricultura (IICA, Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture) and the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica (ICH, Institute of Hispanic Culture), in addition to the Universidad de Navarra (UNAV, University of Navarra), Universidad Veracruzana (UV, University of Veracruz) and Universidade de São Paulo (USP, University of São Paulo), which donated books in Portuguese and Spanish. Among the Anglo-Saxon foundations, there were financial donations from Thomson and mainly from Ford (CIESPAL, 1971, pp. 1–13).

The center's first administration was headed by diplomat Homero Viteri Lafronte as director and by journalist Jorge Fernández as secretary general, who was soon promoted to the position of director general. In the press, he worked for *El Comercio*, a traditional Ecuadorian newspaper, controlled by the Mantilla family, in which Fernández became a trusted man. At the head of CIESPAL, he was "aware of the theoretical gaps existing in Latin American universities" and sought to align the center "with the theories of development cultivated by CEPAL, in Santiago de Chile, place of birth of dependency theory." After a decade as academic director, "the Government of Ecuador summoned Fernán-

dez to assume new positions; among them, that of ambassador to the United States" (Marques de Melo, 2012, p. 11–12).

His successor was Gonzalo Córdova, who held the position of secretary general during Fernández's administration, and for this reason was considered a continuator of his project. However, during the administration of Córdoba a series of significant changes were made, which should be highlighted. One of them was the approach of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES, Friedrich Ebert Foundation) in Germany, which started to financially support CIESPAL events and publications, such as the journal *Chasqui*. Launched in 1972, the choice of its name already denoted the commitment on the part of the new board to value regional culture and move away from the North American ideological zone. On the other hand, its proposal contemplated a wide range of issues in Latin American communication instead of focusing on journalism – which is nevertheless an acquired influence of mass communication research.

Such thematic opening was, in fact, symptomatic of a major change that was underway: the submission of journalism education / research to communication studies. This is evident from the name of the center which was changed after 14 years of activities. Founded as the Centro Internacional de Estudios Superiores de *Periodismo* para América Latina, CIESPAL was renamed the Centro Internacional de Estudios Superiores de *Comunicación* para América Latina. Another notable reform that materialized at that time occurred at the structural level: the construction of its own headquarters, with offices and an auditorium, which was inaugurated under the direction of Marco Ordóñez Andrade, in 1979.

At this time, it should be noted that Ecuador was entering a process of democratic transition, after a period of military intervention that began with the 1972 coup. In this sense, there are reasons that help to understand why this set of changes in CIESPAL found impulses to be carried out in that context. The Ecuadorian dictatorship of the 1970s supported economic modernization and social reforms, while seeking to assert national sovereignty, in contrast to foreign

interests. To put it better, "during an era in which a majority of countries in Latin America were governed by ruthless dictatorships charged with stabilising and resuscitating ailing economies, the Ecuadorian *dictablanda* (milquetoast dictatorship) enjoyed the *fortuna* of overseeing a period of unprecedented economic expansion" (Isaacs, 1993, p. 4).

4 Quantitative and comparative content analysis as a methodological paradigm

Under Fernández's administration, CIESPAL's first decade was marked by the reception of the theoretical-methodological premises of mass communication research. This influence can be explained, in part, as a consequence of the resources provided by U.S. foundations and agencies, which stimulated both the hiring of professors from North American universities and the publication of translations of their works (e.g., Deutschmann, 1965). Throughout the 1960s, scholars such as Raymond Nixon led projects and taught seminars at the center, while others such as Wilbur Schramm, Ralph O. Nafziger, and David Manning White had their works elected to be part of the field's canon.

In the case of Schramm, it is worth noting that he held a privileged position internationally as a special consultant at UNESCO, although he "was not a professor at CIESPAL" (Marques de Melo, 2011, p. 20). His works have been translated, among other languages, into French by UNESCO and into Spanish by the Ecuadorian center (Schramm, 1964, 1965, 1967). Thus, it can be said that this institution mediated the reception of Schramm's ideas in Latin America. Taught by his disciples, his conceptions and perspectives were little by little assimilated by scholars from other countries.

The translated books express an interest both in transforming journalism schools into communication and in bringing them closer to empirical research in the social sciences. Furthermore, the ideological dimension of his proposition should be noted. It is a functionalist view according to which the role of communication is to be an engine of the economic and social development of nations. In his words,

> communication research, therefore, is concerned with finding the way to be effective in communication, how to be understood, how to be clear, how people use the media, how nations can understand each other, how society can use the media to achieve maximum well-being [...]. (Schramm, 1965, p. 12)

In turn, Nixon had another type of relationship with CIESPAL, as he was present for a long time on its staff, including as a professor of the center's inaugural course. His participation was especially important for the internationalization of CIESPAL, since at that time Nixon was president of the recently founded International Association for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR). One of his merits was to systematize material to offer a global understanding of the evolution of the academic field of journalism, since its origins on the European continent (Nixon, 1963). On the other hand, it cannot be ignored that he ended up supporting the project of inserting newspaper research into communication studies. Even because for him, "journalism is that part of communication that is concerned with the function of collecting, preparing, distributing timely information (news and its interpretation) and opinions, also timely (editorials and other forms of comments)" (Nixon, 1963, p. 7).

Among the academic leaders from outside the United States who participated in the structuring phase of the center, it is worth mentioning the name of Jacques Kayser, deputy director of the Institut Français de Presse (IFP, French Press Institute). Despite his death in 1963, the teachings of his seminars on comparative and morphological content analysis of newspapers were quickly assimilated after they were compiled and translated into Spanish (Kayser, 1961, 1963). His defense was that "any comparative press study at the international level allows a better understanding of the problems that arise in other countries, the disconcerting way in which they are treated, the influence that their existence and evolution may have on public opinion" (Kayser, 1961, p. 58).

Used for content classification and quantification purposes, such investigation procedures were introduced in the Ecuadorian center because they were considered "scientific." Its adherents produced descriptive and measurable incursions around Latin American newspapers. The objective was basically to list the affinities and differences between them, "relating them to the treatment given to the most important events in the region" (CIESPAL, 1967, p. 4). However, given the superficiality of the interpretive analysis, their conclusions were tied to limited findings. For example, it was observed that "South American newspapers generally contain more than twice the volume of foreign news than US newspapers" (Markham, 1962, p. 17). Or that "in almost all the daily newspapers, issues referring to economic and cultural development had limited spaces, while those referring to reporting on crimes, catastrophes and disasters, entertainment and other events of the genre were very wide" (Ordóñez Andrade, 1972, p. 64).

In an overview of the initial phase of CIESPAL, Parente Aragão (2017) summarizes the scenario up to the mid-1960s well by recovering data previously made available by Gonzalo Córdova. First, most of the books published were by authors and institutions from the United States (12 publications) and France (8). Another point concerns the nationality of the professors: 10 were from the United States, 9 from Europe (4 from France and the rest from Belgium, Germany, Poland and Spain), and 8 from Latin America (3 from Ecuador, 3 from Chile, and 2 from Brazil). The predominance of Latin Americans was only among students: there were 366 enrolled coming from 20 countries in the Americas, of which 186 were scholarship holders: 114 from UNESCO, 63 from the OEA, and 9 from the Ford Foundation.

As noted by Parente Aragão (2017, p. 350), "CIESPAL was characterized by being an international center, but its internationalization did not refer to the dissemination of thought from several Latin American countries," being too limited to the United States and Europe. In other words, the center operated under a colonial vision of teaching and research, since the strategy consisted of summoning foreign professors to transmit their knowledge to Latin American academics. In turn, they should apply these foreign theoretical-methodological models to the framework of the Latin American press. Upon returning to their home countries, Latin American academics should reproduce this set of ideas and techniques for their students in journalism schools.

This does not mean, however, that the reception of this was passive or that critical reactions did not arise among researchers affiliated with CIESPAL. Armand Mattelart (1970) was one of the first and most powerful critics of the premises spread by mass communication research. In his view, this tradition failed to ignore ideological aspects of the messages, as well as the point of view of the recipients. Because of that, "the results of such content analysis are often very meager." Adding that this type of approach "whose statistical reiteration is recorded, and whose appearance percentages are calculated, leads, in most cases, only to monotonous and superficial results" (Mattelart, 1970, p. 15).

5 Autonomization and conversion of journalism schools into communication schools

Until the beginning of CIESPAL's activities, more than 40 journalism schools in Latin America were characterized, for the most part, by a humanistic education, and not by the emphasis on practical teaching and professional training as was common in U.S. schools. This characteristic was due, in general, to the fact that Latin American universities were established under the influence of European models and, specifically, because their first journalism programs were generally created as annexes to the faculties of philosophy or other areas of the humanities. They were not autonomous establishments, with their own academic staff and specialists in press studies. What prevailed was the teaching of subjects such as philosophy and ethics, art history and literary criticism, languages and grammar, taught by professors from the respective fields. Even because hiring specialized personnel and setting up laboratories for journalistic practices required

investments that did not fit into the budget of most universities or were not their priority.

After the installation of the Ecuadorian center, its leaders "convened a group of directors of journalism schools and directors of Latin American newspapers to hold a consultation meeting and establish what the purposes of CIESPAL should be, according to the criteria of the schools and the profession" (Fernández, 1965, p. I). The consensus – or dominant idea – was that these schools needed "to have a common basic scheme, which would give them a reference to maintain the dialogue and make it possible" (CIESPAL, 1965, p. 27). On the other hand, there was an effort against training with a generic theoretical basis linked to the humanities, as it was believed that this did not meet the requirements for working in the professional press or in other emerging sectors of communication.

The first model for journalism education designed by CIESPAL was submitted for evaluation by representatives of Latin American schools in 1964. This pilot model includes improvements arising from discussions at the regional conferences, which were held in the cities of Medellin, Mexico City, Buenos Aires, and Rio de Janeiro. According to Marco Ordóñez Andrade (1974), one of its former directors, the objective of the model was, firstly, to make journalism schools autonomous within universities and no longer subject to the faculties of philosophy, letters, law, etc. At the same time, there was an insistence on transforming them into collective information science schools and, later, into social communication schools, as they remained. One of the justifications was that, in this way, the excessive emphasis on print journalism would be removed in favor of a vision that included other activities in the media and cultural industry.

CIESPAL defended that communication education should be at university level and that undergraduate programs should have a minimum duration of four years. Recommendations were also made about the courses and subjects to be taught. Courses such as communication theory and communication sociology, which did not exist in the old journalism schools, should be included in the new curricula. Furthermore, it was suggest-

ed that half of the courses offered should be technical-professional, maintaining a balance with the number of theoretical courses. This reformulation was accompanied by the justification that it was necessary to invest in the training of multi-skilled communicators, in line with the demands generated by the expansion of radio and television, of advertising and public relations agencies.

The vision of multi-skilled training, consequently, stimulated a mischaracterization of the professional and academic identity of journalists in favor of the emergence of the generic figure of the "social communicators." Based on this approach, CIESPAL intended to assign to new schools of communication with multiple roles and make them capable of serving broad objectives, far beyond training for conventional press activities:

> Technical assistance and commercial production, so that the University is able to offer its advice to state and private organizations in the field of communication and so that the School can operate as an entity of cultural diffusion, or promote programs by which prepare: newspapers, magazines, radio and television programs, at all levels and for various sectors of the population; and so that, eventually, it can also act, as a commercial production center, to supply the press, radio, television and cinema with adequate materials, both in the general field and in that of advertising; or failing that, offering their facilities so that they can use them – subject to the relevant financial agreements [...]. (Ordóñez Andrade, 1974, p. 22)

Although, since the end of the Cold War, CIESPAL has lost its power to intervene in shaping journalism education (see for an overview Mellado, 2010), communication schools had already become hegemonic when divergences to this project began to increase, especially among journalism scholars. One of its longtime critics, Eduardo Meditsch (1999, p. 72) argues that

> CIESPAL was not limited to proposing the creation of a new type of professional: it proposed the extinction and substitution of previously existing professions, [...] since its objective was not to understand the improvement of these existing practices, but rather to replace them with anoth-

er form of practice that is more productive from the point of view of its political objectives.

For him, by diverging from this functionalist approach, the humanism that was the core of training in the old journalism schools would have been rejected by the leaders of the Ecuadorian center, under the influence of the North Americans.

Criticism in this and other directions has not disappeared, on the contrary. So much so that in the case of Brazil, this situation was recently reversed. Since 1969, journalism and others had lost their bachelor's status and been linked to bachelor's programs in communication. However, in 2013, the Ministry of Education responded to demands made by the class and approved national curriculum guidelines for the reestablishment of specific bachelor's programs in all universities in the country. On the other hand, the more than 50 postgraduate programs in the area existing in Brazil continue to be developed under the aegis of communication studies, similarly to other countries on the continent (Vassallo de Lopes, 2012).

Regardless of whether this or that path has been taken – about which there is no space for detailed discussion here – what cannot be ignored is the fact that in times of authoritarianism and centralizing regimes, certain educational reforms, not by chance, were carried out or prioritized over others. Mainly in the case of countries under military dictatorships, curricular reforms took place without a favorable environment to be properly debated by different segments of the academic and professional communities. Likewise, it is not surprising that it was in this context of the 1960s–1980s that CIESPAL found conditions to assume an interventionist character in the field of journalism / communication studies.

6 Against the "dominant paradigm" and the search for a Latin American perspective

If, in academic terms, there was a deepening of this project of converting journalism schools into communication schools and their autonomy in relation to the depart-

ments of philosophy and other humanities, in epistemological terms, there was a transitional movement in another direction: the attempt to move away from the ideological influence zone represented by the models imported from the United States. This movement does not concern only CIESPAL, nor is it limited to the field of communication studies. On the contrary, it forms part of the context in which the strong reception of the ideas of neo-Marxist critical theorists began and, as a whole, left-wing culture gradually conquered ground in the university environment, from the 1970s onwards. Contradictorily, in this period, left-wing parties saw their political influence almost disappear in South America in the midst of right-wing military regimes.

With specific regard to CIESPAL, criticism against the "dominant paradigm" increased after a conference held in the capital of Costa Rica, in 1973, whose objective was to present a preliminary assessment of communication research and define the paths for its development in Latin America. From an organizational point of view, it should be noted that this meeting in San José was organized with funding from the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and with the support of the Centro de Estudios Democráticos de América Latina (CEDAL, Center for Democratic Studies of Latin America). This means that the change in theoretical orientation that took place at CIESPAL, from the 1970s onwards, did not happen by itself, but was related to incentives from Latin American and European organizations, especially from Germany, and to the values linked to social democracy.

The first point discussed at the meeting was about the situation of dependency that was created in the Latin American field due to the uncritical reception of theories and investigation techniques imported from metropolitan centers – and often taught by foreign professors with the aim of reproduction rather than reflective discussion. As reported, these theories and methodologies "do not always correspond to the reality and research needs of backward and dependent countries, but they are applied indiscriminately to situations in the region, with obviously inadequate and sometimes distorting results." Such use was problematic because "it was

induced under the assumption that social theory is universal and that its validity goes beyond the framework of cultural spaces and historical processes" (CIESPAL, 1973, p. 13).

More than identifying the ideological dimension of mass communication research, academics affiliated with the Latin American center encouraged their colleagues to cultivate propositional attitudes, so that they could design their own approaches and undertake contextual analysis. To elaborate this "much more accurate and critical work instrument, it is necessary to discover all the economic, political, social and cultural interrelations that configure the structures of domination and power that often condition and determine the predominant systems of communication." In this sense, it came to believe that the "Third World can contain the privileged possibility of developing new paths, both theoretical and methodological, of extreme importance for communication research" (CIESPAL, 1973, p. 14).

This change in strategy adopted by the Ecuadorian center contributed to Latin American scholars not only occupying prominent academic positions, but also assuming roles of theorists, which in the previous decade had been reserved notably to North American and French scholars. However, the changes were not immediate. This is because the initial recommendation was not to abandon the techniques used in quantitative content analysis or morphological analysis, but rather to adapt or reformulate them in favor of qualitative research. The result, in practice, was a shift toward European influences such as semiology and discourse analysis, Frankfurt School critical theory and political economy. Among appropriations and combinations, there was some consensus that quantitative research should be preserved, but it should operate based on the qualitative interpretation of data.

Other criticisms then flourished and reinforced the epistemological shifts that were underway. One of the main critics of North American cultural domination in the field of Latin American communication, Luis Ramiro Beltrán (1976, p. 127), argued that in cases of influence from both Marxism and semiology – or in cases where they are aggregated – what matters is that this "new approach

stems from understanding communication integrally and dynamically as a process," as well as "from the conviction that such a process is inextricably interwoven with the structure of total society and, particularly, with the economic determinants of this structure." Adding that, finally, his colleagues would be showing signs of being able to critically analyze the products of mass culture within their own realities:

> For the most part, the new communication researchers have focused their efforts on attempting to detect the ideologies of the communicators behind the manifest content of their mass media messages, taking these as expressions of the pro-status quo interests of the power structure that dominates society. They are uncovering latent conservative, mercantilistic, and alienating propositions in the content of verbal and visual messages, particularly in such apparently innocuous formats as comic strips or soap operas. On the other hand, they are accumulating evidence of U.S. domination in Latin America's "cultural industry," ranging from fan and women's magazines through television to advertising, school texts, news agencies, and satellites. (Beltrán, 1976, p. 127)

Amidst the emergence of a movement of denunciations about the increase in the presence of transnational communication companies in Latin America and their power of ideological manipulation over the masses, less dogmatized and mechanical analyzes began to appear. Thus, they sought to provide elements for a critical theorization of the media, considering multiple aspects of the production and consumption of information and images. From the perspective of semiology, one of these contributions was presented by Jesús Martín-Barbero in *Comunicación masiva: discurso y poder* (1978), which was published by CIESPAL with the support of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

While in the 1960s, the Ecuadorian center had prioritized – in part due to financial incentives from U.S. foundations – the translation and publication of works from mass communication research, in the following decades, what was privileged was the promotion of works of a theoretical or practical nature by Latin American authors, such

as Mario Kaplún (1985). Still in the 1970s, CIESPAL inaugurated *Chasqui*, which became a traditional journal for the dissemination of Latin American studies, accepting only manuscripts in Spanish or Portuguese. Furthermore, courses and seminars also diversified, bringing issues such as community media, and were mostly taught by Ibero-American academics and media professionals. In addition to the resources provided by the FES, there were also scholarships provided by other European organizations such as the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS, Konrad Adenauer Foundation) and the Radio Nederland Training Centre (RNTC).

7   CIESPAL's decentralization and the rise of the field of communication studies

After the predominance of the Ecuadorian group belonging to the CIESPAL board – Jorge Fernández, Gonzalo Córdova, Marco Ordóñez Andrade, and later others like Luis Eladio Proaño – the field expanded into Latin America and diversified with the entry of scholars from various other countries. Among the pioneers, in addition to the names mentioned in the sections above, others such as the Chilean Edgardo Henry Ríos, the Brazilian Luiz Beltrão, the Argentinean Eliseo Verón, the Venezuelan Luís Aníbal Gómez, the Paraguayan Juan Díaz Bordenave, the Peruvian Rafael Roncagliolo, as well as scholars from Europe such as Antonio Pasquali and Michèle Mattelart. And still, continuators and renovators of this tradition such as the Brazilian José Marques de Melo, the Argentinean María Cristina Mata, the Ecuadorian Alberto Efendy Maldonado Gómez, and the Mexicans Guillermo Orozco Gómez and Raúl Fuentes Navarro.

Given the diversity of intellectual production and theoretical-methodological issues raised by this group of researchers, it is impossible to carry out a review of the post-1973 literature here, in order to discuss the epistemological trends that prevailed and continue to this day. Otherwise, what matters most here is to realize that, notably over the first three decades of activities, CIESPAL contributed to academic training, supported

the development of research and served as a network of contacts for hundreds of Latin American researchers, who came to occupy prominent positions in universities and organizations in the region or abroad. As these pioneers and their successors established themselves as academics, at the head of new training centers and their own research laboratories, their work began to define the paradigms of the Latin American field and, by extension, of CIESPAL itself.

As a journal maintained by CIESPAL since 1972, *Chasqui* can be considered both an irradiator of themes and approaches that emerged from the Latin American academic community, and an illustrator of the trends that guided the practice of research linked to the Ecuadorian center, after its "critical" turn. In view of this, some topics can be commented only with the aim of indicating the evolution of this scholarship. In the 1970s, examinations of the ideological aspects of media discourses stood out, drawing attention to the relationship between the meanings of texts and their conditions of production (Verón, 1973, 1974); as well as denouncing criticisms of the domination strategies used by the capitalist powers of the North, based on studies that tried to problematize the sale of television programs to Latin American channels (Fox de Cardona, 1974) and the increase in the presence of other foreign content in the region (Ordóñez Andrade & Encalada Reyes, 1976).

Such approaches gained ground with the developments of the New International Information Order (NIIO) and the publication of the MacBride Report by UNESCO at the turn of the 1980s. The concerns raised about the right to information and democratization of communication were embraced by CIESPAL and, therefore, guided a series of reflections beyond cultural policies. Efforts emerged to address the role of popular communication and alternative media in building citizenship and a participatory society (e. g., Díaz Bordenave, 1989; Martín-Barbero, 1983; Mata, 1993). From a theoretical point of view, part of these works was inspired by the understanding of horizontal and dialogic communication by the Brazilian pedagogue Paulo Freire. As he warned in an interview with *Chasqui*, it should be noted that "lan-

guage is ideological: the sender is the subject who transmits the message: the message is its own personal object. This is deeply dangerous" because it ignores the fact that "there is no 'receiver' who is only 'receiver' [and not also a 'producer']" (Freire, 1982, p. 12).

In addition to the continuity of these investigations – often based on cultural approaches – on the social uses of the media for emancipatory education, there has been a significant increase in review essays on communication studies produced in the region. This was due to the progressive recognition that it is necessary to reflect on the existence of a tradition of thought on Latin American communication and the attempt to identify its epistemological specificities. These claims materialized in a series of dossiers and collections on the trajectory of Ibero-American thinkers and their contributions to the field of journalism, communication, and culture. Since the late 1990s, legacies of figures such as Mario Kaplún, Manuel Calvo Hernando, Eliseo Verón, Jesús Martín-Barbero, and Néstor García Canclini have become objects of tribute – mostly laudatory accounts – and less frequently reflective analyzes with epistemological value (e.g., Maldonado Gómez, 2009).

It is noteworthy that as the Latin American field developed and initiatives to think about its own tradition were strengthened, paradoxically, CIESPAL lost the centrality it played in the region, at least until the turn toward the 1980s. In a way, this is explained by the successful creation of other international regional groups in the area, such as the Asociación Latinoamericana de Investigadores de la Comunicación (ALAIC, Latin American Association of Communication Researchers), founded in Venezuela in 1978; by the multiplication of postgraduate programs, research networks, and international cooperation projects, mainly from the 1990s onwards (Vassallo de Lopes, 2012); by the establishment of academic careers and other opportunities in countries that, in the not distant past, passed through dictatorial regimes; ultimately, a set of changes that took place in the last decades and that cannot be separated from the circumstances generated since the re-democratization of countries like Argentina since 1983, Brazil since 1985, and Chile since 1990.

At the same time, however, it became more visible how most Latin American countries remain highly dependent on external financing and with stagnant economies due to crises, which accentuates the environment of political instability and democratic fragility. Within this context, organizations such as CIESPAL have been victims of continuous cuts in investments in education and research made by governments that are not committed to effective policies for national development. In the case of the Ecuadorian center, "this situation has been experienced since 2018, when a budget reduction of 50 % is made and the reductions continue year after year, until reaching the current moment in which even workers do not receive" (CIESPAL, 2021), as explained by its leaders in a letter of adhesion addressed to the presidency of the republic.

8 Conclusions

Our efforts in this article have been to show how, throughout its more than 60 years of history, CIESPAL was formed as a regional international organization through the interaction of both foreign and local forces and interests and, thus, was able to perform multiple roles – sometimes as a protagonist and sometimes as a supporting agent – in shaping the field of journalism and communication studies in Latin America. On the one hand, it acted as a proponent of pedagogical models and epistemological shifts, as well as a space for academic training for the pioneer generation of Latin American scholars; on the other hand, it was influenced and renewed by them and their successors: supporting their investigations, embracing their themes, and reflecting their theoretical-methodological tendencies. In short, it was characterized as a mediator and articulator, but also as an intervener.

Its foundation, in 1959, is somehow related to the broader movement of ideological and geopolitical dispute that characterized the Cold War period, as the establishment of the Ecuadorian center "was marked by a large contribution of funds from US foun-

dations, especially the Ford Foundation" (Meditsch, 2021, p. 128), which supported specialized consultancies, scholarships, and translation of works from English. As detailed, in CIESPAL's first decade of activity, what predominated were the premises imported from mass communication research and the presence of North American professors such as Raymond B. Nixon, who, in addition to "undeniable credentials and great capacity academic," "had a strong articulation with government agencies of the United States, which started to finance his activities in Latin America" (Meditsch, 2021, p. 128).

Nevertheless, it would be naive to assume that there were no contradictions between the opposing political forces, such as the continuity of projects with similarities. With regard to intervention in education in Latin America, "right and left disputed for several decades, in a reflection of what was happening at the international level, but both" supported common curriculum reforms, such as the conversion of journalism schools into communication schools. In either case of ideological influence, there were attempts of "political instrumentation" of the area, sometimes "without realizing that this compromised its technical-scientific development by separating theoretical production and pedagogical orientation from professional reality." In the passage between one and another ideological zone, communication education "continued focused on the supposed needs of an alternative communicator who lives on the margins of the media and despises it" (Meditsch, 1999, p. 72).

In the field of research, the shift identified with left-wing culture in the 1970s was represented by a wave of criticism toward functionalist sociology and quantitative approaches. These changes in theoretical-methodological orientation cannot be separated from the material conditions that favored it. In the case of CIESPAL, there was a rapprochement with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, but also with other European foundations and Latin American organizations linked to the promotion of social democracy, which guaranteed its financial support. With this, the Ecuadorian center renewed the offer of training courses and academic publications, reducing the presence of foreign professors and favoring the participation of Ibero-American researchers.

Although the CIESPAL conference in 1973 was paradigmatic for raising awareness of the situation of dependence on theories and investigation techniques imported from metropolitan centers, the result was not the decolonization of the Latin American field or the elaboration of an autonomous epistemology. Indeed, most critical reactions to mass communication research were grounded in European traditions such as Frankfurt School critical theory and French discourse analysis. Ultimately, it means that a colonization was rejected through the adoption of other Western contributions. From these diverse origins, "the field brought together a hodgepodge of theoretical insights grounded in vastly different experiences, disciplinary backgrounds, and geo-political realities to interpret communication and culture in Latin America in contemporary capitalism" (Waisbord, 2014, p. 4).

Paradoxically, this shift identified with left-wing political forces began amid the rise of military authoritarianism in South America. Since CIESPAL is a regional organization based in Ecuador, the national context in which it operates and the historical circumstances with which it interacts must be taken into account. In this sense, one cannot ignore the peculiarities and contradictions of the regime implemented in the country in the 1970s, which assigned the state a proactive role in economic modernization and social reforms, while its government called itself a "revolutionary, nationalist and humanist character" (Isaacs, 1993, p. 55). On the other hand, attention should be paid to the consequences of this political experience, which "since the transition to civilian rule in 1979, has revealed the difficulties inherent in any attempt to draft into existence a set of rules and an institutional framework that can sustain democratic governance" (Isaacs, 1993, p. 124).

It means that, in addition to the international situation, national and regional contexts have contributed to the formation of cooperative and co-opting relationships between the various historical actors – government officials, foreign agencies, professional, and academic leaders, among others. As

shown, this took place at CIESPAL initially by hiring foreign researchers to hold seminars and translate their works, as well as offering scholarships for Latin American scholars, who later gained prominent positions and were awarded numerous other academic opportunities.

The game of influences and re-appropriation is, however, always more complex when trajectories are analyzed individually. Just to illustrate this, the case of José Marques de Melo can be mentioned, who saw the UNESCO / CIESPAL scholarship as an opportunity to leave Brazil, after the military coup of 1964. Upon his return, he spread functionalist and developmental approaches, but he went far beyond the role of recipient of foreign influences (Rüdiger & Daros, 2020). Inspired by the work of North American scholars such as Nixon, the Brazilian became an international academic leader and pioneer in the study of what he and others used to call "Latin American communication thinking" (Marques de Melo, 2009).

The formation of a multifaceted pioneer generation, which has been succeeded by others, through which the Latin American academic field has developed and expanded, with its own schools, associations and many other initiatives with an international reach; ultimately, all of this provides elements to understand the significance of CIESPAL's decentralization process in recent decades. As a result of this dispersion of powers and pluralism of approaches, new challenges arise to be faced, including the need for discussion and formulation of regional public policies for the area (Kunsch, 2013). But there are also many others, such as the opening of research fronts, still unexplored, to rethink the role of the Latin American tradition in the global field and its potential for contributing to new communication and media studies.

Acknowledgments

Conflict of interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Seismo

From Millennium Development Goals to Sustainable Development Goals: Transforming development communication to sustainability communication

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Abstract

At the highest international political level, the United Nations declared the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015 after having announced (and later not fulfilled) the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2000. This shift from the MDGs to the SDGs, in which the term development was replaced by the concept of sustainability, also demands a paradigm shift within the research field of development communication and communication for social change which needs to put the focus on sustainability, embracing the concept of sustainability communication as key when analyzing and practicing social change by the use of communication and media. The article unfolds this argument by explaining the political shift from the MDGs to the SDGs and the relevant research fields analyzing these different goals and then sketching the research areas of development communication and communication for social change as well as the one of sustainability communication. In bringing all these areas together, it is argued that the change of the political goals provokes the above mentioned paradigm shift in the research area of development communication. Transforming development communication into sustainability communication also allows to focus the broad term of communication for social change on a specific aim – which is sustainability.

1 Introduction

In 2000 the United Nations declared the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to overcome poverty and inequality worldwide – mainly in economic less and least developed countries.[1] Fifteen years later, when the MDGs should have been realized – but have not, although some progress has been made regarding several goals – the United Nations (UN) passed the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) doubling and differentiating the goals while at the same time broadening the focus of the countries being responsible for action and the regions where to act – from only economic less and least developed countries to all countries worldwide.

In this article, it is argued that the transformation from the MDGs to SDGs also demands a paradigm shift in the research field of development communication and communication for social change – shifting the angle from development to sustainability, from development communication to sustainability communication. This also implies to narrow down questions of social change to sustainability, focusing the broad term communication for social change on sustainability communication.

[1] While the term developing countries is criticized for its linear thinking and construction of the binary developed / not developed or underdeveloped, alternative terms like Global South and Global North or Western / non-Western countries are also not appropriate because of their geographical generalizations. Therefore, I use the term economic less developed countries – stressing that I hereby refer to countries whose difficult economic situation leads to diverse social problems – having in mind that this is not the only reason for the diverse problems within these countries and that the term is still inappropriate. I follow Mohanty (2002, p. 506) who argues: "We are still working with a very imprecise and inadequate analytical language."

While theories of development communication and sustainability communication as well as empirical studies in the relevant research fields share questions of justice and participation, among others, there have been differences in the research questions and ambitions of the two fields as sustainability communication did not necessarily focus on social change itself. A complex part of the research field deals with phenomena of science communication which does not automatically imply that questions of social-ecological transformation and justice are posed or faced. But as the article will show, there is a smaller section in this research field of sustainability communication which puts media practices into the focus that try to contribute to sustainability – following similar aims that those practices have which are in the core interest of the research field of development communication. Pointing to these similarities and differences, overlaps of the research fields become obvious and when looking at the phenomena that the research fields are interested in, the necessity of a paradigm shift becomes apparent. Moreover, the UN and their current goals are a research object for both research fields – development communication and sustainability communication. On a theoretical level, the shift from the MDGs to the SDGs has not been reflected in the field of media and communication research in general and communication for development and social change in particular.

Moreover, although research in media and communication has stressed the relevance of sustainability as a research object and at the same time the responsibility of media and communication studies for sustainability (e. g., Kannengießer, 2020a), this argument has not been implemented concretely in the field of development communication and social change.

The article contributes to the research field of development communication demanding a paradigm shift in this field following the political processes on the international level when discussing the political goals of the United Nations. It is this phenomenon, the goals of the UN and its theoretical implications for the research field of development communication, which connects the article to the Thematic Section in which it is published in as this section deals with the history of international organizations at their communication practices. The article puts the transformation of the MDGs to the SDGs and thereby goals of the United Nations into focus, and with it a phenomenon of more recent contemporary history, as well as the paradigm shift that is provoked by the shift in the goals within communication and media studies.

To unfold its argument, first, this article will describe the MDGs and SDGs and summarize briefly the relevant interdisciplinary research fields that have dealt with these goals to allow a basic understanding for the then following theoretical discussion. In this theoretical discussion, which will be at the center of the second part of this article, different theories of development communication will be summarized in their historical appearance. While all approaches of development communication focus in one way or the other on communication and social change, theories differ – mainly according to the then up-to-date paradigms of development politics. In a third and fourth part, the concept of sustainability communication is defined and the relevant research field summarized to bring the approaches of MDGs and SDGs as well as the theories in the field of development communication and sustainability communication together, arguing that the international political paradigm shift also demands a shift in the underlying theories of development communication and social change – putting sustainability into the focus.

2   From Millennium Development Goals to Sustainable Development Goals

The argument that a paradigm shift is needed in the research field of development communication, shifting theories of development communication and communication for social change to sustainability communication, is based on the change that can be perceived on the international level, where the UN declared the Sustainable Development Goals after the period of the Millennium Development Goals.

With the beginning of the new millennium, the United Nations passed the MDGs to combat hunger, poverty, and inequality and promote education, environmental sustainability, and global partnerships for development:

> In September 2000, building upon a decade of major United Nations conferences and summits, world leaders came together at United Nations Headquarters in New York to adopt the Millennium Declaration, committing their nations to a new global partnership to reduce extreme poverty and setting out a series of time-bound targets – with a deadline of 2015 – that have become known as the Millennium Development Goals. (United Nations, n. d.)

The MDGs encompass: "1) the eradication of extreme hunger and poverty, 2) the achievement of universal primary education, 3) the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women, 4) the reduction of child mortality, 5) the improvement of maternal heath, 6) the combat of HIV/AIDS, Malaria and other diseases, 7) the assurance of environmental sustainability, and 8) the support of global partnerships for development." The United Nations Millennium Declaration, which is underlying the MDGs, stresses the responsibility of the heads of states and governments to "to uphold the principles of human dignity, equality and equity at the global level" (General Assembly of the United Nations, 2000, p. 1).

Research has analyzed the MDGs from different angles and with a focus on different topics: Studies focus on biodiversity (Sachs et al., 2009) and forestry (Garrity, 2004), on health issues (Dodd & Cassels, 2006) and human rights (Nelson, 2007), to give some examples – ecological and social aspects in the MDGs and their relevance for development have been taken into account. While some have stressed the importance of the MDGs (Fukuda-Parr, 2004), others criticized them from a perspective of "the South" (Easterly, 2009; Samir, 2006), or pointed to the limitations of the MDGs (Fehling, Nelson, & Vankatapuram, 2013).

Also, media and communication research has put the MDGs into its focus, analyzing how the goals are covered in certain media content (e. g., Kayode & Adeniran, 2012; McArthur & Zhang, 2018) or looking at the role information and communication technologies have for achieving the MDGs (e. g., case studies in Kaur & Tao, 2014; Vilanilam, 2009).

In the Millennium Development Goals Report from 2015, the United Nations state that there is a "reason to celebrate" (United Nations, 2015, p. 4), as they perceive a great success regarding the fulfillment of the eight different goals. That the reason to celebrate might be euphemistic becomes obvious when looking at the SDGs which have been declared by the UN in 2015. As the MDGs have not been fulfilled they are integrated or modified into the SDGs which now encompass 17 goals.

While in the MDGs, sustainability has been reduced to ecological aspects in goal number 7 to "ensure environmental sustainability" (see above), the SDGs apply a broader understanding of sustainability integrating ecological, economic, and social aspects (for a detailed definition of the concept of sustainability, see below).

In the Agenda 2030 (General Assembly of the United Nations, 2015) that is underlying the SDGs, the heads of states admit the shortcomings of the realization of the MDGs (General Assembly of the United Nations, 2015, p. 1) and express the overall ambition: "We are resolved to free the human race from the tyranny of poverty and want and to heal and secure our planet." (General Assembly of the United Nations, 2015, p. 1). The 17 concrete goals that are listed and explained in the Agenda 2030 are:

› Goal 1. End poverty in all its forms everywhere, Goal 2. End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture, Goal 3. Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages, Goal 4. Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all, Goal 5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls, Goal 6. Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all, Goal 7. Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for

Figure 1:   The Sustainable Development Goals

all, Goal 8. Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all, Goal 9. Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation, Goal 10. Reduce inequality within and among countries, Goal 11. Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable, Goal 12. Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns, Goal 13. Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts, Goal 14. Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development, Goal 15. Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss, Goal 16. Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels, Goal 17. Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development (General Assembly of the United Nations, 2015, p. 1; see Figure 1).

One hundred and sixty-nine targets specify the 17 goals. While some goals such as the eradication of poverty and hunger in goals number 1 and 2 or the attainment of gender equality refer back to the MDGs, others such as the insurance of access to energy in goal number 7 or the promotion of economic growth in goal number 8 are new goals.

Although the Agenda 2030 aims at fulfilling the SDGs until 2030, research has already analyzed the goals from different perspectives: from health (Buse & Hawkes, 2015) to gender (Esquivel & Sweetman, 2016), from education (Owens, 2017) to governance (Vijge et al., 2020). For different case studies on the SDGs see Hickmann, Lederer, Marquardt, Schwindenhammer, and Weiland (2021). Different aspects of the SDGs have been analyzed – also from a critical perspective, as e. g., contradictions within the goals can be perceived as it is questionable if economic growth, which is part of goal 8, can be sustainable at all.

Also, media and communication research has been analyzing the SDGs: e. g., the role of information and communication technologies *in* the SDGs (Wu, Guo, Huang, Liu, & Xiang, 2018) or the potential of information and communication technologies *for* the achievement of the SDGs (Kurz, 2021;

Sachs et al., 2016) as well as the relevance of artificial intelligence in achieving the SDGs (Vinuesa et al., 2020).

Looking at the shift from the MDGs to the SDGs by briefly comparing them, it can be stated that the SDGs are not only more complex than the MDGs and more precise, but they also put *all* nations worldwide into a responsible position of acting for a sustainable development: While the MDGs stated the responsibility of all countries, the location where the necessity of action for development was mainly perceived in economically less developed countries. In the SDGs all nations become relevant not only regarding their responsibilities but also as localities where action needs to be taken, e. g., in form of responsible consumption in today's consumer societies in European or Northern American countries in goal number 12. Moreover, as stated above, the SDGs follow a broader understanding of the term sustainability than the MDGs did – which will become clearer in the following section.

On a theoretical level, the shift from the MDGs to the SDGs has not been reflected in the field of media and communication research in general and communication for development and social change in particular. Therefore, on the basis of the explanations about the MDGs and the SDGs, theories in development communication will be sketched to be able to argue that also a shift has to be undertaken on a theoretical level, turning development communication into sustainability communication. On the basis of the above given explanations about the MDGs and SDGs, in the following sections, first, different theories in the research field of development communication are presented. Second, the concept of sustainability communication is defined and the relevant research field of sustainability communication sketched to finally argue that a paradigm shift is again needed in theories and practices in the field of development communication or communication for social change to face current socio-ecological challenges worldwide.

3   Development communication and communication for social change

Development communication was defined as "the sharing of knowledge aimed at reaching a consensus for action that takes into account the interests, needs and capacities of all concerned" (Servas, 2002, p. 1). There are numerous publications which give overviews about the different theoretical approaches within the field of development communication and social change (e. g., Hamidi & Mielke Möglich, 2021; Melkote & Steeves, 2015; Wilkens, Tufte, & Obregon, 2014).

Early approaches within the field of development communication follow the aim of "modernization." Prominent actors of this paradigm were Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm. Modernization theories constructed a binary system consisting of "developed" and "less developed" countries – the latter striving (or were forced to strive) for "modernization." Media were perceived as playing a crucial role within this "modernization process." Schramm (1964, pp. 141, 144) argued:

> It goes without saying that underdeveloped countries have underdeveloped communication systems, too. [...] In the service of national development, the mass media are agents of social change. [...] It is generally the increasing flow of information that plants the seed of change.

Following the above given definition of the term development communication which stresses that the sharing of ideas is in the core of the concept, mass media were perceived as "the vehicles for transferring new ideas from the West to the Third World and from urban areas to rural countryside" (Melkote, 2002, p. 424).

Modernization theory was widely criticized for the construction of this binary and the linear thinking of development, its Eurocentrism and its ignorance of negative side effects of modernization (e. g., Becker, 1984, p. 27). Responding to this critique and acknowledging the role of "developed" countries, "dependence theories" stressed that the "underdevelopment" of countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America resulted from colonialism and imperialism (Baars, 2000, p. 349). Dependency theory was mainly de-

veloped by Latin American social scientists: "The 'dependistas' were primarily concerned with the effects of dependency in peripheral countries, but implicit in their analysis was the idea that development and underdevelopment must be understood in the context of the world system" (Servas, 2002, p. 8). The role of media was perceived as being embedded in these processes of dependency (Hepp, 2006, p. 42).

In the 1990s a further turn happened in the field of development communication stressing the relevance of the people: the concepts of empowerment communication (e. g., UNDP, 2006) and participatory communication (e. g., Morris, 2003; Tufte & Mefalopulos, 2009). This paradigm shift happened in line with the diffusion of the Internet in many parts of the world, which seemed to be a technology that allowed the participation of local and marginalized people in contrast to mass media where mostly only media professionals were producing the media content. Community media, often community radio (Kannengießer, 2006), provided an exception in the era of mass media as here also non-media-professionals were able to express their voice via media in many countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Similar to empowerment communication, also the concept of participatory development communication "is about encouraging community participation with development initiatives through a strategic utilization of various communication strategies" (Bassette, 2004, p. 1), while

> Communication for Empowerment is an approach that puts the information and communication needs and interests of disempowered and marginalized groups at the center of media support. The aim of communication for empowerment is to ensure that the media has the capacity and capability to generate and provide the information that marginalized groups want and need and to provide a channel for marginalized groups to discuss and voice their perspectives on the issues that most concern them. (UNDP, 2006, p. 8)

This citation also shows that UN organizations played (and play) a crucial role within the paradigm shifts and definitions of development communication.

The MDGs were declared within this paradigm of development communication focusing on the people in economic less developed countries which should be empowered also through the use of media (technologies).

With intensifying globalization processes and the development of the "network society" (Castells, 2000; van Dijk, 2006) in which networks are the main metaphor of society, the translocal character of empowerment communication increases as more and more international networks of (non-governmental) actors and organizations are formed which use media and communication as tools for empowerment (Kannengießer, 2017a).

The internationalization of communication and media studies due to the globalization of academia also let to the demand of de-westernizing the discipline (e. g., Curran & Park, 2000; Waisbord, 2015) which also meant and still means for the field of development communication that not only phenomena in African, Asian and Latin American countries are research objects of the field but that scholars from these countries and their studies, theories and perspectives must get an increasing relevance in media and communication studies worldwide.

A more recent perspective in the field of development communication is the more general concept of communication for social change. While the term development communication never lost its implication of modernization and dependency, the concept of communication for social change stressed the relevance of societal transformation striving for more social justice. "Communication for social change is a way of thinking and practice that puts people in control of the means and content of communication processes" (Gumucio-Dagron & Tufte, 2006, p. xix). Tufte (2017) stresses the relevance of citizens in processes of communication for social change.

Hamidi and Mielke Möglich (2021, p. 572) already stress the relevance of the SDGs and sustainability communication for the research field of communication for social change, but reduce sustainability to its ecological dimension (Hamidi & Mielke

Möglich, 2021, p. 573) and argue that communication for social change focuses on the structural conditions of social inequalities (Hamidi & Mielke Möglich, 2021, p. 575). In the following section, a broader understanding of the term sustainability is unfolded while at the same time a more differentiated understanding of sustainability communication is being used which assumes that not only the structural terms need to be analyzed in the field of development communication but also discourses and practices.

4   Four research fields in sustainability communication

The shift from the MDGs to the SDGs, that was explained above, as well as the description of the research field of development communication led to the question if another paradigm shift is necessary within the research field of development communication introducing the concept of sustainability communication.

To undertake this argument, I will define the terms sustainability and sustainability communication and then briefly outline the research field of sustainability communication, finally bringing together all sections of the article arguing that we need a theoretical shift in the research field of development communication following the political turn from the MDGs to the SDGs (some parts of the first section of this subchapter have been taken from Kannengießer, 2021).

The article follows the broad definition of sustainability that was defined by the "Brundtland report", understanding sustainable development as a "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). The Brundtland report has been criticized for different aspects, e. g., arguing for sustainable economic growth, while economic growth cannot be sustainable as growth exploits natural resources that are finite (e. g., Hopwood, Mellor, & O'Brien, 2005, p. 40). Nevertheless, the broadness of this definition allows to address ecological, economic, social, and cultural aspects of sustainability. Moreover,

following this definition, not only *inter*-generational justice needs to be demanded (claiming to allow future generations to fulfill their needs) but also *intra*-generational justice, calling for realizing a "good life" for all people who are living on earth nowadays – and not only people but all creatures. The Brundtland report and also the SDGs put the term *sustainable development* and thereby a process that strives for sustainability into the focus. Sustainability itself can be perceived as a normative concept which implies inter- and intra-generational justice.

Following a broad understanding of sustainability, the term sustainability communication is defined:

> as all communicative practices, mediated or non-mediated, which deal with any aspect of sustainability (either related to the ecological, economic and/or social dimension), that is, referring to any aspect which deals with the consistency of current phenomena and developments with future as well as present needs of all living creatures. (Kannengießer, 2021)

These definitions of sustainability and sustainability communication go along with the idea of the SDGs, stressing the relevance of action by all nations in all regions aiming at meeting the needs of all people worldwide as well as future generations. Sustainability is an issue in all dimension of media communication: in media production, media content, media reception, and media practices.

Therefore, in media and communication research sustainability is an object which is analyzed 1) in relation to the *producers* of media content in e. g., journalism studies, public relation studies, or studies in corporate communication; 2) regarding the *representations* of sustainability in media content and its *distribution*; 3) focusing the *reception* of these media representations and the *effects* of these representations on media users, and 4) dealing with *the appropriation and production of media technologies* with which different actors try to contribute to sustainability. What the first three research areas have in common is a current focus on the ecological dimension of sustainability and here mainly climate (change) communication.

In some of these areas, an overlap between sustainability communication and development communication can be identified. Especially in the fourth area which analyzes how media and communication can be used to contribute to sustainability, the relevance of economic less developed countries is analyzed either as they are the localities where resources for digital media technologies are extracted under not sustainable conditions (Bleischwitz, Dittrich, & Pierdicca, 2012), or as digital media technologies are disposed under socio-ecological severe conditions in these contexts (e.g., Gabrys, 2011; Kaitatzi-Whitlock, 2015) but also as in these countries media are used to contribute to sustainability (Harvey, 2011; Young & McComas, 2016).

To better understand the demand for a shift in the theories of social change and development communication toward sustainability communication, the four research areas that have been identified are sketched.

A first research field that focuses the producers of media content takes a closer look at these actors and analyzes not only the actors themselves but also the way journalists, public relations actors, actors within both non-governmental organizations and corporations, produce media content related to sustainability. For example, studies analyze the perceptions of journalists of climate change (Brüggemann & Engesser, 2014, 2017); examine networks between journalists and public relations actors (Lück, Wozniak, & Wessler, 2016), or put the focus on sustainability communication by corporations and non-profit organizations (Ott, Wang, & Bortree, 2016).

A second research field puts the media content into focus analyzing how issues of sustainability are represented in different media: The main focus has been on print media analyzing representations of sustainability e.g., in German newspapers (Fischer, Haucke, & Sundermann, 2017) or comparing English speaking print media in Thailand, Malaysia, Vietnam, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Hong Kong (Nash & Bacon, 2006). Only few studies deal with visual elements of media communication, e.g., in climate reporting (Hahn, Eide, & Ali, 2012). Also, the content of online media such as weblogs

(e.g., Vollberg, 2018), or social networking sides is focussed, Twitter being one of the most popular objects of research analyzing online discourses on climate change (e.g., Jang & Hart, 2015; Kirilenko & Stepchenkova, 2014; Pearce, Holmberg, Hellsten, & Nerlich, 2014). Moreover, the *distribution* of media content and its socio-ecological effects is analyzed, e.g., the emissions of video or audio streaming (Cook, 2017).

A third research area is located in media reception and effect studies analyzing how the users perceive media content which deals with sustainability and how this content effects users.[2] As stated above, the focus is on climate communication in this research area. Studies in this area show contrary effects of mass media on recipients' attitudes and behavior: On the one hand, they argue that mass media have an effect on recipients' attitudes (Leiserowitz, Maibach, Roser-Renouf, Smith, & Dawson, 2012) although, on the other hand, studies argue that media have little effect on recipients' attitudes and behavior (e.g., Peters & Heinrichs, 2005). Alternatively, it is argued that the media effects on recipients are ambivalent and that no long-term effects can be perceived (Arlt, Hoppe, & Wolling, 2010, p. 22). Besides media effects, the *expectations* of recipients regarding media content are examined (Olausson, 2011; Taddicken & Wicke, 2019).

A fourth research field analyzes how different actors appropriate and produce media technologies to contribute to a sustainable society. Repairing is analyzed as one example for the appropriation of media technologies through which people try to act in a more sustainable way with the media devices they use. Studies show that people repair the media devices they own to prolong the lifespan of existing media apparatuses to avoid the production of waste and to conserve resources (Kannengießer, 2017b). The practice of repair is also analyzed in economic less developed countries (e.g., Jackson, Pompe, & Krieshok, 2011), although not from a perspective of sustainability but through the lens of theories of communication for development and social change. Another part of this fourth research

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2 The following section describing this research area has been taken from Kannengießer (2021).

field deals with the *production* of media technologies aiming at contributing to sustainability. Here, media technologies that should be produced under fair working conditions with sustainable resources are analyzed (e. g., Kannengießer, 2020b; van der Velden, 2014, 2018).

Across the studies which analyze the production and appropriation of digital media technologies with the aim of sustainability, it becomes apparent that the *materiality* of media technologies is highly relevant for media practices with which people try to contribute to sustainability. People question the socio-ecological effects of the production and disposal of media technologies, which mainly happen in economic less developed countries (see above), and try to avoid contributing to these effects with their media practices, for example, by repairing media technologies or by producing fair media devices (Kannengießer, 2020b).

This brief summary of the research field of sustainability communication shows that although studies analyzing sustainability communication do not necessarily deal with social transformation as the field of development communication and communication for social change does. Still, questions of socio-ecological transformation and justice and the question how media (as content and technologies) can be used to contribute to sustainability are posed.

In the upcoming section, the previous sections about the different UN goals as well as the summaries of the research fields on development communication and communication for social change and sustainability communication are brought together, to unfold the main argument of the article that a paradigm shift is needed in the field of development communication embracing the concept of sustainability communication to follow the shift in international politics.

5 From the MDGs to the SDGs – Transforming development communication to sustainability communication

Bringing theories of communication for development and social change together with approaches of sustainability communication and linking both to the shift from the MDGs to the SDGs on the global political level, at least three theoretical assumptions can be expressed:

1) Theories of communication for development have a long tradition in media and communication research and are interlinked with the MDGs on a global political level. These theories as well as political goals focus on economic less and least developed countries as the localities where social change is needed. Moreover, these theories and goals can be perceived as being in the tradition of modernization theory constructing the idea of a linear process of development that strives for (economic) "developed" states – using also media and communication for this process.

2) Theories and approaches of sustainability communication are interlinked with the SDGs not only demanding action by all nations worldwide regarding a sustainable future but also stressing the relevance of inter- and intra-generational justice. The development is constructed less linear as interdependencies between different nations are revealed. Moreover, the political areas in which action needs to be taken, are more complex compared to the MDGs and thereby, also media and communication have a more complex role – which is true for all dimensions, namely media content, production, and appropriation.

3) Taking the first two assumptions together, it is argued that theories of communication for development and social change need to follow the shift from the MDGs to the SDGs widening the scope regarding relevant regions where social change needs to be taken as broadening the group of actors which is responsible for this action and lastly, acknowledging that a socio-ecological transformation needs to take place *worldwide* in all societal areas. Media and communication can play a crucial role in supporting the realization of these goals while at the same time (as the research field of media practices and sustainability that was summarized above shows), shaping media technologies and current processes of digitization more

sustainable is an additional goal which is not included in the SDGs but is of pressing relevance when looking at the above mentioned socio-ecological effects of the production, appropriation and disposal of digital media technologies.

6   Conclusion: Facing political and theoretical challenges through a shift from development communication to sustainability communication

In this article, it was argued that the transformation from the MDGs to SDGs also demands a paradigm shift in the research field of development communication and communication for social change – shifting the angle from development to sustainability, from development communication to sustainability communication and narrowing down the broad concept of communication for social change to sustainability.

To unfold this argument, the MDGs and SDGs and their relevant research areas were described. Already here, studies have been referred to which stress the relevance of media and communication for development and sustainability – relating to the specific goals.

Then the research areas of development communication and communication for social change as well as sustainability communication have been sketched. In the latter, also the relevance of economic less developed countries has been revealed – being localities where resources for digital media technologies are extracted under not sustainable conditions, or where digital media technologies are disposed under socio-ecological severe conditions. But it was also pointed to the fact that media are used to contribute to sustainability in economic less developed countries.

Theories of development communication and sustainability communication analyze phenomena and processes of social change – the former focusing economic less developed countries, the latter broadening the perspective and looking at all countries worlwide but also at the interrelation between North and South, East and West. Often these theories take a normative perspective,

theorizing how media and communication can be used for social change to face the challenges in economic less developed countries within the theories of development communication, or to shape all societies worldwide in a more sustainable way.

Taking this normative perspective theories in development communication and sustainability communication go along with the MDGs and the SDGs – the former aiming at development in economic less developed countries and the latter aiming at sustainability in all countries worldwide. Although it was argued that these goals also have to be perceived from a critical perspective, as the SDGs for example imply contradictions among themselves, nevertheless they aim for a more just world and according to the Brundtland definition of sustainability aim at meeting the needs of current and future generations. What distinguishes the goals is for example a shift regarding responsibility: While the MDGs focused on actions that needed to be taken in economic less developed countries, the SDGs call for action worldwide and stress the responsibilities for the industrialized consumer societies.

Accordingly, a shift in the paradigm within the field of development communication and communication for social change, replacing development communication through sustainability communication stresses the relevance of media and communication for social change in *all* countries and thereby also allows to reflect the responsibilities of actors worldwide from a normative perspective. Moreover, relating the theory of sustainability communication to the SDGs allows for broadening the research focus taking into account all relevant research fields that are represented by the 17 goals. Finally, transforming the concept of development communication into sustainability communication allows to ask how future generations will be able to fulfill their needs and not only take current generations and their needs into account.

Having said that we can identify a responsibility of media and communication research (Kannengießer, 2020a), which also applies to the research field of development communication: Scholars within this research field not only need to analyze chal-

lenges and problems regarding development and sustainability but also phenomena and processes which aim at sustainability and socio-ecological transformation – to contribute to the option for current and future generations to live a good life.

Conflict of Interest

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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