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History and Development of Journalism Studies as a Global Field

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INTRODUCTION

This chapter traces the development of journalism studies by analyzing from a global viewpoint the dynamic construction, differentiation, and transformation of institutions relevant to the field, as well as the theoretical approaches employed and the paradigms, topics, and methods involved in research. It focuses on three main characteristics: (1) major methodological and conceptual schools; (2) seminal books or journals in the field; and (3) pioneering universities, colleges, or other academic institutions in offering journalism or communication studies.

Our discussion of the development of journalism studies as a field of research includes, to a limited extent, remarks on journalism education (see Chapter 4 for more details) and journalism practice as both of these relate to our topic. As we cannot describe every single achievement across the globe, we will focus on major trends accompanied by specific insights into various countries. Our descriptions and analyses are based on (1) literature in various languages on the development of journalism studies; (2) personal communications with researchers from countries where the literature is scarce; and (3) sources dealing with the development of the broader field of communication studies in various countries (e.g., Averbeck-Lietz, 2017; Simonson & Park, 2016). It is worth noting that this chapter is based on an extensive literature review; however, it may not always reflect the situation in each country in detail, which is partly due to language restrictions. We have used publications in English, French, German, Spanish, and Russian as a basis and have also consulted with colleagues from countries whose language we could not read in the original, such as China, Turkey, or the Philippines.

As starting points for tracing the development of journalism studies, we acknowledge the four-phase model of Wahl-Jorgensen and Hanitzsch (2009), which identifies its normative, empirical, sociological, and global-comparative phases, and the five-phase scheme suggested by Weischenberg and Malik (2008), which consists of beginnings, take-off, complexification, expansion, and current situation. However, as these developments vary greatly between countries, we decided to trace the development of journalism studies not chronologically but geographically, mindful that there are traditions and trends that go beyond any geo-regional classification. Some developments follow the confines of language, especially in the

English-speaking world. Other developments are linked to former colonial ties, particularly in some African, Asian, and Latin American countries. Moreover, there are striking differences in the development of journalism studies in the various world regions. Consider Western Europe, for instance, where in France, Germany, and the United Kingdom, this is rooted in distinct traditions. The Europeanization of both journalism and journalism studies is a relatively new trend, and the nation-state, particularly the respective systems of higher education, is still crucial in determining the way journalism studies is organized. Space, however, prohibits us from devoting particular sections of this chapter to each country. Instead, we use a geo-regional classification while attempting at the same time to identify major trends that may run contrary to this scheme.

We examine the regions with the longest tradition of journalism studies starting with the United States and Western Europe. Subsequently, we describe the development of journalism studies in other regions, namely Russia and Central and Eastern Europe, the Arab world and Turkey, Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, China, and India and other Asian countries. In the concluding section, we analyze whether there are global patterns in the development of journalism studies or whether there are regional differences that still dominate the field despite apparent economic globalization.

UNITED STATES

Journalism studies traces its roots to the United States. When the US industrialized in the wake of the Civil War (1861–1865), journalism, like other careers, experienced a wave of professionalization. Responding to the desire of journalists to become experts in their fields and to be distinguished from others, universities and colleges in the US introduced academic training for them (Folkerts, 2014).

In the 1860s, some universities began to experiment with journalism courses, with Cornell University and Washington College (now Washington and Lee University) being the earliest among these pioneers. Journalism practitioners greeted the first academic trainees with great suspicion. However, the conflict over journalism education occurred within a society that was turning increasingly toward professionalization through university education. In fact, a key motivation for many journalism students was the promise of upward mobility. By the turn of the 20th century, many citizens perceived journalism as an emerging profession whose editors and writers now belonged to the middle class (Folkerts, 2014).

Between 1870 and 1900, the number of journalism courses at universities increased threefold. By 1900, public universities in Pennsylvania, Illinois, Kansas, and Missouri also offered courses. In 1908, the University of Missouri was the first institution to establish a separate unit that awarded its graduates a specific degree in journalism. Universities in Wisconsin, New York, Washington, Georgia, Nebraska, and Ohio followed this example and established similar programs exclusively dedicated to journalism. By 1920, several private universities followed this trend as well. Following World War I, college enrollments increased dramatically in journalism schools, as they did in other programs. According to a report issued by the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) in 1928, 430 individuals were teaching 5,526 students spread over 55 institutions in the country (Folkerts, 2014). The first academic journal, the *Journalism Bulletin*, was founded in 1924, and renamed *Journalism Quarterly* in 1928. Nevertheless, despite all this academic activity, the dominant belief among media scholars and practitioners was that a proper newsroom experience was of "undoubtedly greater value" for the formation of journalists than an academic institution (Higginbotham,

1924, p. 10). Indeed, academic papers were still discussing whether journalism ought to be considered a "profession" at all (Miller, 1924). As early journalism education programs concentrated on teaching journalistic skills like writing and editing, instead of providing a theoretical grounding, the challenge was to combine professional skills with the acquisition of social science techniques (Folkerts, 2014). Willard G. Bleyer introduced journalism as a social science during the 1920s, leading to a divide between "the 'professionals' and the 'researchers,' or what was in later years commonly referred to as the green-eye shades of the copy editor desk versus the chi-squares of the quantitative research world" (Folkerts, 2014, p. 234). Bleyer was also the leader of the group of 18 journalism educators who created the American Association of Teachers of Journalism on November 30, 1912, and was elected its first president. Today, the organization, now known as the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, has 3,700 members from 50 countries, 18 divisions, 10 interest groups, and 2 commissions.

Building on developments in the 1930s, journalism education and systematic empirical research on journalism began to take off in the following decade starting in the US and spreading to other countries. The establishment of a new world order after World War II, as well as the increasing US influence on international bodies like the UNESCO, further contributed to this development. However, whereas some countries, for instance, those in Scandinavia, very rapidly adopted the Anglo-Saxon role model (Hyvönen, Snickars, & Vesterlund, 2018), others, like Germany, took longer to leave their traditions behind. In 1956, Fred Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm published the seminal work *Four Theories of the Press* (Kleinsteuber, 2004; Lambeth, 1995). Although scholars criticized this conceptualization for being too normative and lacking "explanatory power" (Ostini & Ostini, 2002, p. 45), it was widely discussed and had an enormous impact on the way the Western world regarded itself and others (see also Chapter 32 in this book). With the increasing importance of empirical research methods in sociology and other social sciences, journalism research changed its focus from normative approaches to empirical and sociological theories and to the question of professionalization (Schudson & Anderson, 2009).

Johnstone, Slawski, and Bowman (1976) conducted the first representative survey of US journalists in 1971, focusing on occupations and contextual factors. David H. Weaver and G. Cleveland Wilhoit replicated and expanded their work in the 1980s with several follow-ups (Weaver & Wilhoit, 1986, 1996; Weaver, Beam, Brownlee, Voakes, & Wilhoit, 2007; Willnat, Weaver, & Wilhoit, 2017). As another analytical step, Weaver (1998) and, more than a decade later, Weaver and Willnat (2012) edited volumes compiling various empirical studies on journalists worldwide, finding more differences than similarities. In addition, the academic journals *Journalism* and *Journalism Studies* were introduced in 2000, to be followed in 2004 by the establishment of the first section specializing in journalism studies in international communication fora: the Journalism Study Interest Group in the International Communication Association (ICA) (Hanitzsch, Löffelholz, & Weaver, 2005), which became a division two years later. The idea came from German academic Thomas Hanitzsch, indicating an increasing international exchange in research activities. The Journalism Studies Section in the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA) was founded in 2005, followed by the Journalism Research and Education Section in the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) in 2008. In the same year, David H. Weaver and his German colleague Martin Löffelholz published *Global Journalism Research*. Taken together, these developments indicate that the time was ripe for the institutionalization of journalism scholarship at the international level, which was primarily driven by European and US researchers.

WESTERN EUROPE

At the onset of industrialization and the professionalization of journalism, interest in the latter as a field of study also emerged in Europe. In the United Kingdom, this professionalization started in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. With the foundation of the National Association of Journalists and the National Union of Journalists in 1907, British journalists became more visible as an occupational group that eschewed university training. The first journalism training course was founded in 1937 at the University of London but failed after two years because of industry criticism that it was too theoretical and out of touch with the reality of journalism (Wahl-Jorgensen & Franklin, 2008).

The media boom starting in the late 1960s and early 1970s resulted in an increasing number of university departments mainly due to the large numbers of interested students and a high demand for practical courses and applied media studies. In relation to this, reflections on the effects of commercialized media products on society began to develop (Wiedemann & Meyen, 2016). In 1962, the then Harris College, which later became part of the University of Central Lancashire, launched the first print journalism course. A new focus on audiences became part of journalism studies in 1964, when the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies was founded in Birmingham, followed by the Centre for Mass Communication Research in Leicester in 1966 by James Halloran, and the Centre for Television Research in Leeds by Jay Blumler in 1968. The latter showed a close connection with the emerging popular broadcasting culture that it resolved to analyze (Wiedemann & Meyen, 2016). Jeremy Tunstall's (1971) book *Journalists at Work* was "among the earliest research-based studies in journalism, exemplifying the approach of pioneering studies in the sociology of journalism" (Wahl-Jorgensen & Franklin, 2008, p. 175). Journalists and journalistic production processes as research objects also became prominent in the studies of scholars like Frank Esser (1999), who compared British and German journalists. Another theme, which spurred attention to the profession at the time, was a perceived threat to press freedom posed by increased media concentration—which, for example, led to a survey of Dutch journalists by Kempers and Wieten (1976).

In Germany, the first observed scholarly attempts to analyze journalism began as early as 1845, when Robert Eduard Prutz published *Geschichte des Journalismus* (History of Journalism). The German field of *Zeitungswissenschaft* (newspaper studies) developed in the tradition of these early studies and had a rather eclectic approach in analyzing selected journalists and exploring their outstanding personalities (Weischenberg & Malik, 2008). In so doing, they did not pay much attention to issues related to journalistic training and to journalism in general. Academic courses at German universities focused on individuals, their biographies, and journalistic talent for a long time (Dovifat, 1931). Emil Dovifat's normative remarks about the importance of journalistic talent and personality traits dominated journalism research well into the 1970s (Hanitzsch, 2005). Like Dovifat, the academic Kurt Baschwitz worked as a journalist in Germany. Due to the Nazi regime, he emigrated to the Netherlands in 1933 and founded the first European journal of communication studies, *Gazette*, in 1955 (Simonson & Park, 2016).

The first people appointed to serve as professors of *Zeitungswissenschaft*, such as Walter Hagemann, Fritz Eberhard, Leo Schlichting, Otto B. Roegele, Karl Weber, and Harry Pross, were chosen not because of scholarly achievements but because of their reputation and practical experience at various newspapers or broadcasting stations (Wiedemann & Meyen, 2016). In 1969, Manfred Rühl adopted some of the US approaches in his work on the news desk as an organized social system. Additionally, some influences of Scandinavian scholarship on news values brought an empirical perspective to Germany (Hanitzsch, 2005; Weischenberg & Malik, 2008). Empirical studies by Kepplinger (1979) and Weischenberg, Löffelholz, and Scholl (1993) followed.

In France, it was not until 1975 that the *Sciences de l'information et de la communication* (information and communication sciences) were formally recognized as an actual discipline (Averbeck-Lietz & Löblich, 2016). The French state wanted to examine the intricacies and effects of the new "information society" heavily affected by new media technologies like the typical French Minitel (Wiedemann & Meyen, 2016, p. 67). This technological device, a videotext online service accessible through telephone lines, offered completely new possibilities of communication and enlarged the capacity of French citizens to socially network and access information on demand. Because of this, it was heavily resisted by the French press, which feared a loss of readership. The first theses dealing with the profession of journalism in France were written in the 1970s by Josianne Jouët and Francis Balle (Pélissier & Demers, 2014). The latter became director of the Institut des Sciences de la Presse in Paris in 1976. Starting in 1968, this institute opened up not only to Anglo-Saxon mainstream sociology of journalism but also to other approaches such as constructivist and interactionist paradigms (Pélissier & Demers, 2014).

In Spain, geographically close to France but politically different at the time, the Franco regime tried to influence journalism training. Besides the Church, which had its own training centers, the educational centers of the Ministry of Information offered vocational and technical training for audio-visual media. In 1962, the *Escuela Oficial de Cinematografía* (Official School of Film) was opened, followed by the *Escuela Oficial de Radiodifusión y Televisión* (Official School of Radio and Television) five years later (López-Escobar & Martín Algarra, 2017). In the 1970s, universities incorporated studies of journalism and communication into their academic programs, which therefore now depended on the Ministry of Education rather than the Ministry of Information (López-Escobar & Martín Algarra, 2017). Journals such as *Comunicación y Sociedad* (Communication and Society) were established in the 1980s. The first universities to offer majors in journalism were Universidad Complutense Madrid, University of Navarra in Pamplona, and Universidad Autónoma Barcelona. The professors were no longer practitioners, instead: "Most of the first associate and full professors in the field who got tenure in the second part of the 1970s (Benito, Desantes, Lara, Martínez Albertos, Nieto, Núñez Ladevéze, Orive) had a degree in law or in humanities" (López-Escobar & Martín Algarra, 2017, p. 88). As in other countries like Italy and France, politicians and scholars realized "the need for progress in the reform of media studies: the new media landscape and the new media professions demanded reform of communication education that could not be limited to training of journalists" (López-Escobar & Martín Algarra, 2017, p. 87).

In the 1990s and 2000s, research in communication studies, including journalism and television, increased in both Spain and Portugal. Empirical studies in particular gained momentum. US-born researcher Nelson Traquina, who became a professor at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa in 1982, made crucial contributions to the field owing to his involvement in empirical research projects and the translation of relevant Western scientific literature into Portuguese. Several research journals appeared and the first associations were founded. At the same time, Spain and Portugal strengthened their research ties with the international environment. This was exemplified by their increased participation in the annual meetings of the ICA, IAMCR, and ECREA, as well as the fruitful cooperation between Brazil and Portugal that clearly indicates the two countries' language ties (Ribeiro, 2016).

Looking at the north of Europe, we note a close cooperation in journalism research that could be due to geographical proximity. The journal *Nordicom*, for example, "provides a dedicated forum for articles that contribute to the wider understanding of media, mediated communication and journalism in the Nordic region of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden" (*Nordicom Review*, 2018, p. 1).

in St. Petersburg. According to a report of a conference on journalism theories in Russia, progress in developing theoretical ideas is visible in research on the

> sociology of journalism, phenomenological issues of journalism (St. Petersburg & Moscow schools of studies), psychology of journalism, media discourse theory, media economics, typologies of media multimedia journalism (Moscow school), linguistic media studies (Moscow, Voronezh, & Ural schools), and the theory of genres (Voronezh & Moscow schools of studies).
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> (Sidorov, 2011, p. 209)

In countries of Central and Eastern Europe, significant changes happened after the collapse of the USSR. Ruling communist parties no longer controlled journalism research and education. Borders were opened, offering opportunities for scientific exchange with Western countries and access to international publishing. Curricula for journalism academic studies were reorganized in many countries, including Bulgaria and Romania. In the Czech Republic, the Faculty of Journalism at Charles University was closed in May 1990 and replaced by a Faculty of Social Sciences, which continues to train journalists but—unlike under Soviet influence—with a stronger focus on social science research (Köpplová, Jirák, & Němcová Tejkalová, 2018).

In former Czechoslovakia, journalism studies was already present in the first half of the 20th century: here, the predecessors of the Institute of Communication Studies and Journalism of Charles University in Prague "played a crucial role" in establishing the field (Köpplová et al., 2018, p. 171). The Free School of Political Sciences was founded in 1928, providing academic training for journalists and others until the Nazis seized power. The Institute of Edification and Newspapering was established at Charles University in 1960. With the invasion of Soviet troops in 1968 and the end of the Prague Spring, the Institute was transformed into a Faculty of Journalism along Soviet lines (Köpplová et al., 2018).

In Poland, researchers initiated work in the 1960s and 1970s on methodological aspects of mass media research (Peplinski, 2009). Analytical approaches to problem formulation, data analysis, and interpretation gained momentum. Institutional aspects of mass communication, content, and functions of the mass media, as well as press freedom, were at the forefront of research, while audience research was neglected for political reasons. The authoritarian regime led by the Communist Party regarded media usage data from empirical studies as a political risk, fearing that there was a considerable gap between the normative claim that state propaganda exercised a broad impact in the media and how this influence was actually realized in practice (Peplinski, 2009). In 1995, the Polish Higher Education Council named the hitherto existing journalism-related study programs "Journalism and Social Communication," but journalism as a field of study was formally non-existent until 2009 (Adamowski, 2009). After the collapse of the communist regimes, in-depth research on national journalism has been seriously neglected primarily due to a lack of funding for empirical research (Nygren, 2012).

In Estonia, empirical research also began in the mid-1960s. At that time, the sociological laboratory of Tartu University organized annual conferences that "bridged the gap between empirical media studies, which were rapidly developing in Estonia as elsewhere in the Soviet Union, and the contemporary theoretical paradigms of Western mass communication research" (Vihalemm, 2001, p. 80). However, collaboration with researchers from abroad was not welcomed by the communist regime and was limited to a few personal contacts with Finnish researchers. During the 1960s and until the 1980s, Estonian journalism researchers used various approaches and theories, such as structural functionalism and uses and gratifications theory. However, the findings of those studies, as well as the research of other Soviet scholars, did not reach the international scientific community because of the Iron Curtain. But even though the "original communication

Even if the developments are diverse, Western Europe shows a rather coherent standard of empirical journalism research. Programs of ECREA conferences and cross-EU projects demonstrate a continuous exchange of ideas and joint research activities (e.g., Albæk, Dalen, Jebril, & De Vreese, 2014). However, the ECREA membership list indicates that institutions from Western Europe, particularly the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, or German-speaking countries, still dominate the association, while the Russian Federation or other Eastern European countries are less strongly represented.

RUSSIA AND CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

According to Nordenstreng (1969), the first journalism-related research efforts in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) were audience studies initiated in the 1920s by Lenin's wife, Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya. However, broadcasting research suffered from a depression between the late 1930s and the early 1960s, perhaps due to the impact of World War II and the period of Stalinism from the mid-1920s until Stalin's death in 1953. From the early 1960s, sociological, social-psychological, and information-theoretical research related to broadcasting activities was increasingly carried out, mostly in the departments of sociology and journalism in universities and academic institutes in various parts of the Soviet Union. The largest single center of radio and television research was the Scientific and Methodological Section of the Radio and Television Committee in Moscow, with 20 permanent researchers trained in the School of Journalism at the Lomonosov Moscow State University (Nordenstreng, 1969).

After World War II, the USSR reorganized its journalism education in state universities, establishing it as a program in philological departments. The study programs were controlled by the Communist Party applying Soviet normative media theory, which justified strong ideological control (Lukina & Vartanova, 2017). This ideological base was also applied to the establishment of media studies in other socialist countries, predominantly in Eastern Europe. Addressing this ideological bias, Western scholars heavily criticized Soviet research as nonscientific. Bayley (1966) claimed that no transparent methodology existed in Soviet research as the prescribed Marxist-Leninist analysis eliminated statistical formalism and empiricism: "In the Soviet Union, in fact, empirical social research which avoids the Marxist-Leninist social bases and methodology is strictly forbidden" (p. 736). In 1966, Moscow University published the inaugural issue of *Vestnik* (Herald), "the first truly scholarly Russian-language periodical devoted exclusively to topics in journalism" (Bayley, 1966, p. 733). Research was mainly theoretical, and, if empirical, was subjected to Marxist-Leninist analyses of socioeconomic issues (Bayley, 1966). Journalism education focused on language, opinion, and talent (Gross, n.d.). In the 1980s, however, libertarian and social responsibility theories became popular (Lukina & Vartanova, 2017). Russian academics used the concept of *glasnost* (openness), standing for more transparency and autonomy in the USSR in the late 1980s, to "challenge previous theories and support media transformations based on Western ideals of free and open societies" (Lukina & Vartanova, 2017, p. 164). In the early 2000s, Russian researchers started to adapt Western concepts and research methods for empirical studies (Lukina & Vartanova, 2017). *Glasnost* and *perestroika* ("transparency" and "reformation") opened the doors for both Russian and Western scholars, encouraging mutual exchange of conceptual ideas and methodological considerations.

The new discourse on journalism theories in Russia commenced in the early 21st century, focusing on the relationship between journalism and society. Relevant here are, among others, sociological and political theories of journalism, which have developed successfully, especially

models and methodological schemes" (Vihalemm, 2001, p. 88) developed by Estonian researchers long remained cut off from both international and Soviet scientific centers and debate, they increasingly gained visibility at the international level after 1990. At that time, new research projects were "primarily influenced by the theory of public sphere and critical media analysis, social constructivism, and the methodology of social representations and critical discourse analysis" (Vihalemm, 2001, p. 88). Taken together, the radical political changes affected both Eastern and Western European countries. Nevertheless, the consequences differed. While journalism researchers from Russia and Eastern Europe increasingly adapted theories and empirical studies from the US and Western Europe, the knowledge of many Western scholars about the traditions and developments in Eastern Europe and other regions outside the transatlantic bridge remained limited.

THE ARAB WORLD AND TURKEY

As in the case of communication studies in Russia and Central and Eastern Europe, communication studies, or "information studies" (Ayish, 2016, p. 747), in Arab countries also had its share of historical Western political influences, here mostly from France and the US. This resulted in a situation where journalism studies in Arab countries owes its identity "more to Western than to indigenous traditions" (Ayish, 2016, p. 747). The Ecole Nationale Supérieure de Journalisme (National School of Journalism), following the French model, was founded in Algiers in 1962, the year of Algeria's independence from France. Similarly, the US model of journalism studies was influential in Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates. The Egyptian model of education, combining more theoretical and practical journalism training and less influenced by the humanities and social sciences, defined the structure and contents of Iraq's first journalism program at Baghdad University in 1964 and at Sudan's Um Durman University in 1966. In Egypt itself, the faculty of Journalism and Mass Communication at Cairo University was established in 1975.

The first scholarly journals on journalism and media—*al magalaa al masreyaa lebehooth alalaam* (Egyptian Journal of Mass Communication) and *al magalaa al masreyaa lelbahth elraay el aam* (Egyptian Journal of Public Opinion Research)—appeared in the last decade of the 20th century. During this period, globalization and digitalization strongly influenced journalism education and research in the Arab world. At the beginning of the 1990s, the introduction of global media, especially satellite TV, generated discussions on its impact on the cultural and traditional landscape of the region. Further, curricula were adjusted and subjects related to digital communication and related topics were introduced, leading to a decreased number of courses about journalistic skills in favor of courses about new market-driven specializations (e.g., public relations, advertising, new media, and social networks). Similarly, these topics attracted the increasing attention of researchers, especially after the Arab Spring from 2010 to 2012 (Ayish, 2016). Besides participating in international associations, academics founded regional organizations, like the Arab Association of Communication Sciences in 2014, to address specific interests.

In Turkey, during the 1960s and 1970s, journalism studies focused on, among other subjects, media education and broadcasting. When the country liberalized its markets in the 1980s, there was an increase in the analysis of media corporations and journalistic behavior. The 1990s brought changes to the Turkish journalism education system. In 1992, colleges and institutes of journalism merged into Departments of Communication, which are chaired by Professors of Communication Science. Today, there are around 80 Departments of Communication Science in Turkey, both state-owned and private-owned. Until 2005, these departments had three

specializations: Journalism; Public Relations; and Radio, TV, and Film. Since 2005, Advertising, Visual Communication and Design, and Media Systems have been added. The end of the state monopoly on the radio and TV market and the development of privately owned channels in the 1990s generated a rising interest in popular cultural studies and media ethics research. Additionally, the relationship between politics and media, including the developing public relations field, gained popularity among researchers. However, both journalism education and research have been affected by the dearth of original theory and methodology, according to one Turkish scholar's assessment.[1]

Since 2000, the regime of Turkey's authoritarian leader Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has gradually captured political control of the media landscape. Arrests of journalists, which started in 2008, and increasing pressure from the government have forced many journalists to resign or even leave the country (Akser & Baybars-Hawks, 2012). While restrictions on media freedom can hardly be analyzed under these conditions, Turkish academics—like many researchers in other countries—are currently concentrating in particular on the consequences of digitalization for journalism (Çaba, 2018; Uçak, 2018).

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

British, French, Belgian, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, German, and Dutch colonizers, each bringing with them their own theoretical and methodological approaches, influenced journalism studies in Africa. Considering this diversity, a scholar cannot analyze African media research using a unitary framework (Kivikuru, 2009). Instead, experts should assess African countries and many regions cutting across national boundaries in their own political, economic, cultural, and ethnic contexts.

The first Westerners to engage in media research and journalism education in Sub-Saharan Africa were missionaries. In Namibia, for example, Finnish missionaries started the first media projects in the 19th century (Kivikuru, 2009). In West Africa, at the beginning of the 20th century, there "were some rudimentary research activities which can be best described as scanty in volume and scope and anecdotal in quality" (Edeani, 1988, p. 152). According to Edeani (1988), one of the first relevant books, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* by Frederick D. Lugard, published in 1922, described the press in the region and the public perception of journalists, but it was based on personal observation instead of systematic empirical research. The study "Broadcasting in Africa" by Hilda Matheson, published in the *African Affairs* journal, followed in 1935. In South Africa, H. Lindsay Smith conducted the first serious scholarly analysis of the press as a whole in 1946 (Beer & Tomaselli, 2000). In his book *An African Survey* (1957), Sir Malcolm Hailey published a 23-page account of the development, ownership, character, and influence of the print and electronic mass media in colonial Africa.

Independent of the colonial administration, there were also private citizens engaging in research. Nnamdi Azikiwe, who established the newspaper *West African Pilot* in Nigeria in 1937 (Ojomo, 2015), and E. Bankole Timothy from Sierra Leone were among the pioneers who conducted studies on their own and without the involvement of Westerners. Their approaches consisted of the historical method of exposition, polemical commentary, the gathering of personal impressions, and observations that resulted in a rather descriptive presentation of findings about the press in British West Africa (Edeani, 1988). Nevertheless, UNESCO's Report No. 21, which reviewed the state of mass communication research in the world in 1956, concluded that there was no single African country in which a scientific study in mass communication had been undertaken at that point (Musa, 2009). In the subsequent period up to the 1960s, research

evolved due to the active involvement of the British colonial government and African nationalists, as they became increasingly aware of the power of the media before and during World War II (Edeani, 1988). US-based scholars promoting the paradigm of modernization, such as Daniel Lerner, Wilbur Schramm, and Everett Rogers, shaped the emerging scholarship on media and communication studies in African universities, primarily disseminated through UNESCO journalism training programs at the beginning of the 1960s (Willems, 2014).

Studies became less sporadic and more systematic as the British Colonial Office began sponsoring research on the development and the functions of mass media. In that context, the BBC started researching on behalf of the Colonial Office (Edeani, 1988). More and more foreign scholars became involved in African communication research, and the number of studies increased rapidly—a phenomenon that ran in parallel with the independence movements of the same period. While early journalism research was strongly skills-oriented, it later diversified considerably, discussing a variety of topics (Kivikuru, 2009). Even though academic research had been developing during the previous decades, it was not until 1980 that a scholarly journal, *Ecquid Novi*, entered the market of scholarly publications. The beginning of the 1990s found African scholars "increasingly challenging and resisting Western epistemologies, while proposing new concepts such as 'oramedia' and 'indigenous communication' and designing alternative research methodologies and formulating normative ethical frameworks based on the principle of ubuntu" (Willems, 2014, p. 426). While the term *oramedia* refers to folk media based on indigenous culture, the term *ubuntu* is associated with the Zulu phrase *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* ("I am a person through other persons"), thus emphasizing the interconnectedness of human beings and forming part of a "broader humanist philosophy" (Willems, 2014, p. 428). Ubuntu is part of the ethics of African journalism by attributing moral decisions to human beings. Journalists must therefore take account of the community in their decisions and should promote harmonious coexistence through their reporting (Metz, 2015). However, many countries south of the Sahara are experiencing financial difficulties and are therefore still partly dependent on donors, especially from Western countries, for the further development of higher education and research. This dependence led to "a resurgence of epistemic domination . . . through an often uncritical application of normative, liberal-democratic theory to media and communication" (Willems, 2014, p. 426). For this reason, the neglect of indigenous traditions and ideas with which most African countries were confronted during colonial times still seems to exert a certain influence on today's research, even though many donors may explicitly not intend to do so (Kivikuru, 2009).

LATIN AMERICA

Since South and Central American countries mostly gained independence from their Spanish and Portuguese colonizers in the 19th century (e.g., Mexico in 1821 and Brazil in 1822), the colonial past of the continent did not have a direct impact on the establishment of journalism education and research. Close language ties remain and allow for easy cooperation and staff exchanges between the countries of the region and with Spain and Portugal as former colonizers. However, with the advent of empirical journalism research in the 1960s and beyond, US and other international influences have gained in importance.

In Mexico, the first journalism school, called "Carlos Septién García," was founded in 1949 (Hernández Ramírez & Schwarz, 2008). Besides journalistic practices and tools, the curricula included theory and methodology from a range of social science disciplines. Since the early 1960s, broadly conceptualized degrees in communication studies have replaced journalism programs in Mexico and other Latin American countries. The goal of education shifted from the

2000. The center offers continuing education programs and especially "M.A. in Journalism"—an opportunity that many journalists from all over Asia have already seized. For the years 2010 to 2015, for which the latest data are available, Asian countries were the biggest beneficiaries of worldwide media and journalism assistance, followed by sub-Saharan Africa (Myers & Juma, 2018).

Not only in terms of development cooperation but also in general, we observe an increasing collaboration among institutions and countries. Comparative cross-national journalism research, rare before the 1990s, has become easier and therefore more popular. A good example to illustrate the development of this kind of research is the aforementioned Worlds of Journalism Study, which started in 2007 as a collaboration of 21 countries and currently includes 67 nations (Hanitzsch, Hanusch, Ramaprasad, & de Beer, 2019). The growing importance of cross-national journalism research is due to not only the internationalization of academic networks through increased mobility and more funding programs. The internationalization of journalism itself, for example, through increased cross-border cooperation such as the Franco-German cultural channel arte (Rothenberger, 2012) or cross-border investigative journalism projects such as the Panama Papers (Alfter, 2017), also increases the relevance of cross-border research. Örnebring (2012, p. 769) concludes that "digitalization and networked electronic communication has made access and storage of data easier, and has also facilitated research coordination." The intensified transnational research, however, does little to change the fact that the de-Westernization or decentralization of publication cultures, empirical research, and theoretical approaches is still underdeveloped (Waisbord & Mellado, 2014).

In retrospect, journalism studies led a niche existence in many countries until researchers applied empirical methods and the field increasingly asserted itself as a social science (Löffelholz & Rothenberger, 2011). With regard to identifying temporal patterns in the development of journalism studies, we can therefore discern the fragmented beginnings of journalism studies until World War II and the take-off phase of empirical research from the 1940s to the 1960s. The phase of increasing theoretical and methodological complexity has commenced in the 1970s, while digitalization and increased research efforts at the global level are characterizing the current phase.

Since the launch of academic journals particularly dealing with journalism, and since the establishment of sections specializing in journalism studies in international communication associations, journalism research has partly become an area of self-government separate from communication science, at least in terms of institutionalization (e.g., university departments), although this process varies from country to country. However, across the globe, journalism is not only taught by specialized departments, but also in various disciplines, above all in communication and media studies, sometimes also in linguistics and other humanities. Furthermore, most of the theoretical concepts of journalism come from communication studies and other disciplines, especially sociology (Löffelholz & Rothenberger, 2011; Löffelholz, 2008), many of which are currently being questioned and revised to adapt to new developments like social media, user-generated content, and globalization (Bruns, 2007; Reese, 2016; Witschge, Anderson, Domingo, & Hermida, 2016).

In sum, we defer to Stefanie Averbeck-Lietz and Maria Löblich (2017), who distinguished four models of communication science according to the different roots of the discipline in different countries, when asked whether journalism has developed as an independent discipline or is largely a subdomain of communication studies (Löffelholz & Rothenberger, 2011). Accordingly, journalism studies is historically characterized by the German model (*Zeitungswissenschaft/Publizistik*), the French model (semiotics/linguistics), the British model (cultural approaches), and the Euro-American model (social science research). In line with our findings, we can add the

"Eastern European" model (e.g., Russia), in which journalism studies emerged from philology and literary studies and which differs from the French model in that it is not limited to semantic aspects but takes a more holistic perspective (Lukina & Vartanova, 2017; Korkonosenko, 2014). In addition, journalism studies in the countries of the Global South has differentiated in many respects. While the colonial times or the Cold War are shaping journalism studies less and less, we discern a worldwide striving for independence and at the same time an increasing interest in transnational collaboration.

NOTES

1. F. Alver, personal communication, August 15, 2017.
2. I. Haryanto, personal communication, August 10, 2017.
3. D. Arao, personal communication, August 4, 2017.

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