HELSINGIN YLIOPISTO
HELSINGFORS UNIVERSITET
UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

Department of Communication
University of Helsinki

Mapping Communication and Media Research: Germany

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Juha Koivisto
Peter Thomas

HELSINGIN YLIOPISTO
HELSINGFORS UNIVERSITET
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Researchers:

Juha Koivisto

Peter Thomas

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Abstract:
The report provides a survey of the German Media landscape, research institutions and organisations, the main approaches in Communication and Media Studies and future challenges. Part 1 provides an overview of the historical development of the German Media system and its distinctive features. These include processes of concentration and the profile of journalists. Part 2 analyses the institutes and organisations dedicated to Media research, as well as journals, scholarly associations and mechanisms of research funding. German Communication and Media Studies is set in the context of German academia and its particularities are noted. Part 3 surveys some of the main approaches in Communication and Media Studies and future challenges. Particular emphasis is placed in this section on the consequences of university reform in contemporary Germany, a lack of international perspective in the "mainstream" of Communication and Media Studies, and the continuing influence of the history of the discipline. The report concludes with a comparative perspective on the impact of Cultural Studies in German Communication and Media research, arguing that if the discipline is to confront successfully the challenges of a changing Media environment it will need to look for sources of theoretical and institutional renewal.

Keywords: Germany, Communication Studies, Media Studies, Universities, Women, Journals, Mainstream, Cultural Studies, Internationalisation

Contents

Introduction

Mapping Communication and Media Research is a project of the Communication Research Centre (CRC, University of Helsinki) that examines the contents and trends of the current communication and media research in seven countries. These countries include Finland, the U.S.A., Germany, France, Japan, Estonia and Australia. The research project is funded by Helsingin Sanomat Foundation, which has also funded a similar project on communication and media research conducted in South Korea.

The focus of the project is on mass communication research. The objective of the project is to provide a general overview of current communication and media research in the previously mentioned seven countries. The project maps the main institutions and organisations, approaches and national characteristics of the communication and media research in each country. The focus of the project is on recent years. The main research questions of the project are: What kind of communication and media research is carried out in a specific country? How do different approaches relate to each other? How is communication and media research focused in each country and to where is research directed in the future?

Each country constitutes a unique context for communication and media research. Thus, research has been organised in varying ways in the different examined countries. In addition, the definitions and conceptualisations of communication and media research vary according to contexts and countries. Therefore, meaningful comparisons of research in different countries proves to be a difficult task. For example, the national media statistics of the studied countries are often based on incomparable data and methods. This paper will therefore not provide statistically comparable data on the communication and media research of the target countries.

In order to enhance meaningful comparability between the sub-reports, the research questions, research principles and the structure of the text are common for every report. Each report starts with an introductory chapter. This chapter will inform about the target country and its media landscape – i.e. communication and media systems and markets. The German subproject focuses on

the communication and media research conducted in the German universities. It is important to acknowledge that our research has some unavoidable limitations; despite the ambitious goal of this paper, it seems to us to be impossible to portray all communication and media research in a large country like Germany. Above all, our goal has been to provide a useful overview of the contemporary communication and media research in Germany.

In the actual analysis of the German communication and media studies scene the emphasis is on the analysis of existing written sources. Interviews and discussions have been used to gain background information. We thank all those involved in Germany and those who shared with us their view from abroad. However, the usual disclaimers should be taken into account: only the authors should be blamed for the errors or misjudgements in their text.

1 The German Media Landscape[1]

Historical Development of the German Media System

The German media landscape is shaped by the decisions made by the Allies during the Second World War. In the conferences of Teheran, Jalta and Potsdam it was agreed that in order to 're-educate' Germans it was necessary to proceed in three steps concerning media in Germany. The first phase after the allied victory over Fascism consisted of closing down all German newsmedia. The second step was to replace them by newsmedia offered by the allies and to begin the process of inspecting the German media institutions. In the third phase, licensed German newsmedia could gradually start operating and taking responsibility from area to area and from medium to medium.

This third phase meant that only Germans with a license from allies were allowed to publish. Many journals and papers that are still prominent today began in this way (*Der Spiegel, Die Zeit, Der Stern, Frankfurter Rundschau, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Die Welt*). Alongside the press, broadcasting was also rearranged. During the years 1948-1949 a network of regional senders (*Nordwestdeutschen Rundfunk, Bayerischen Rundfunk, Hessischen Rudfunk, Südwestfunk, Radio Bremen ja Süddeutschen Rundfunk*) was built in the new Federal Republic of Germany. These regional senders were modelled after the BBC. Thus a specifically German type of federal public broadcasting was developed.

The compulsory license for the press was renounced in 1949 and this caused a boom of new newspapers. It was above all publishers that had been operating already before 1945 that now made a comeback in the newspaper market. The end of the compulsory license and the development of the German media industry did not mean, however, an end to the Allied influence: until the end of the occupation status, the Allies were shaping the German media landscape; for example, by hindering the centralisation of the recently created federal structure in broadcasting. In Berlin, the

[1] Perhaps the best recent overview is Dreier (2005) on which we rely heavily in this chapter, adding some new data from *Media Perspektiven. Basisdaten* (2006) and the report by Screen Digest et al. (2006) for the EU Commission. On describing the situation of journalists we rely on Weschenberg et al. (2006).

influence of the Allies lasted longer; the RIAS (*Rundfunk im amerikanischen Sektor*), for example, financed partly by the USA, operated until 1990.

In order to develop their co-operation, the regionally distributed federal broadcasters founded the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten Deutschlands* (ARD) in 1950. It was this organisation that founded the first TV channel covering the Federal Republic in 1959. The second channel, *Zweite Deutsche Fernsehen* (ZDF), was founded in 1961 as a result of another federal agreement. The regional "third programme" channels were established in the second half of the 1960s.

The attempts of the press publishers to increase their influence by privatising the newly founded ZDF did not succeed. Instead, the central issue in media politics became the concentration of the press. Both the so called Michel- and Günther-commissions tried to deal with this problem and as a result, in 1976, the legislation concerning economic cartels was widened to regulate the fusions of press publishers.

A new 'dual' model of broadcasting was brought into political discussions at the end of the 1970s. It proved to be successful and led to a process of renewing the media laws in the 1980s. Besides this partial privatisation of broadcasting, the other crucial process reshaping the media landscape was the reunification of Germany in 1990.

This reunification process led to the replacement of the GDR media system by the system established in the Federal republic. In the GDR, *Neues Deutschland* and 15 other more regional newspapers published by the SED (*Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands*) accounted for around two-thirds of the total newspaper circulation. There also existed some 30 weekly or monthly magazines and 1700 other regional, professional, etc. periodicals. Television, begun in 1952, used the SECAM-technique (whereas PAL was used in the West). As a consequence, the western programmes were usually visible only in black-and-white.

Processes of Concentration

The unification process opened up new markets and opportunities for the West German media companies and led to an further increase of press concentration. If we look at the regional level, nowadays in the Federal Republic over 40 % of the communities are served by only one regional newspaper. A specificity of the German media landscape is the relatively undersized role of the supra-regional and party press. The leading supra-regional paper is Axel Springer Verlag's *Bild-Zeitung* with a circulation of three and half million copies in 2006. *Süddeutsche Zeitung* has a circulation of 455 000 and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, with its 370 000 copies, reaches about one tenth of the circulation of the *BZ*. Over 60 % of the revenues earned by daily papers comes from advertising. Besides the daily papers, there also exist some 2 000 papers fully financed by advertising.

In the 1990s the media branch gained a considerable rise in its status. It was viewed as one of the most important branches of future economies; the virtual world of media was a core part of the virtual "New Economy". The crises of 2002 ended this boom. In the media branch, this crisis was triggered off by sinking revenues from advertising, the source of income upon which the media economy is largely dependent.

According to Dieckmann (2003), a paradox of this crisis was that in the end it showed the relative structural stability of this branch. Whereas Online, Internet and Multimedia were considered in the 1990s as a serious competitive threat especially to print media, the crash of the "New Economy" and the great expectations of booming profits linked to it stabilised the branch structure, despite problems in various sub-branches.

The media corporations [*Medienkonzerne*] have their roots, with few exceptions, in publishing. After the introduction of the private TV and radio channels in the 1980s there was a mutation of publishing houses into "integrated media corporations". Since then, the whole branch (printing, newspapers, magazines, commercial TV and Radio, book publishing and Internet) has been dominated by a few companies.

The end of the 1980s witnessed a process of expansion of the companies, with the result that it was often unclear what was the 'core' business of each company or what the strategy of integration

actually was. The demise of the greatly expanded *Gruner+Jahr-Verlag* and its takeover by Bertelsman was a spectacular business tragedy that resulted from the crisis of 2002.

After 2001-2002 and the first shocks and panic reactions, increased attention has been paid to the 'core business'. To it belong all those market segments where - with the upturn of advertising revenues - a market leadership could be established as effectively and rapidly as possible. In order to increase these prospects there then followed a big sell and buy of different offshoots between leading companies.

Data shows that after the downturn of 2002 there has been a recovery of the press market in Germany. The longer trends seem to be the following: whereas there were 414 daily papers in 1995 with a circulation of 30.2 million, in 2006 there were 377 papers with a circulation of 35.5 million. The same trend holds also for weekly news magazines: whereas there were 30 magazines in 1995 with a circulation of 2.2 million, in 2002 there were 25 magazines with a circulation of 1,8 million. However, after that there has been some increase: in 2006 there were 28 magazines with a circulation of 2.2 million. The number of popular magazines had grown from 778 to 888 between 1997 and 2006; but their total circulation has fallen from 127.2 million to 122.4 million.

The market shares of the five biggest newspaper publishers in 2006 were as follows:

Axel Springer AG	22.5 %
Verlagsgruppe WAZ	5.6 %
Verlagsgruppe Stuttgarter Zeitung / Die Rheipfalz / Südwest Presse	5.2 %
Ippen Gruppe	4.1 %
Verlagsgruppe DuMont Schauberg	3.9 %

Together these five biggest players make up 41.3 % of the market (for more data and a deeper overview of the current press market see Röper 2006). When it comes to popular magazines, the four biggest publishers share 62.9 % of the market:

Bauer	20.7 %
Springer	16.1 %
Burda	15.5 %
Gruner + Jahr	10.6 %

German radio is dominated by the circa 60 public ARD-associated radio stations reaching daily 33 million listeners in 2006.. The radio branch has a strongly regional character and complex ownership structures. In 2006 there were about 340 analogue radio stations. Only less than ten radio networks can be received nationwide.

Public broadcasting is financed first of all by broadcasting fees, though there now also exists a possibility to gain revenue from advertising; public service radio stations, for example, enjoyed nearly one third of advertising revenues. Since 2005 the fee has been 17.03 Euros per month which amounted to some 7 Billion Euros in 2005.

There are two countrywide public television channels, ARD and ZDF, as well as nine regional public channels. Among the numerous private channels the market leaders are RTL and SAT.1. In 2005, programmes of these two biggest commercial TV broadcasting groups reached a combined average audience market share of 47.3 %, compared to 43.8 % for the public channels. Worth mentioning is also the TRT channel, produced in Turkey especially for the German market. Part of the picture is that only a small minority (1.37 million) of the 36.18 million TV households receive their programmes via antennas whereas 19.35 million use cable and 15.47 million have satellite connections. Digital TV is mostly received via satellite. The digitalisation of TV should be completed in 2010. Today there are not yet digital interactive TV services in Germany.

Broadband penetration in Germany remains around the European average. However, Germany lacks cable penetration following the sale of *Deutsche Telekom*'s cable network to private regional cable companies. Indeed, cable internet broadband lines accounted for about 2 % of total broadband connections at the end of 2005. The uses people make out their online connection (cf. Glech 2006) is presented in the next chart.

Chart 1: Development of online uses (persons over 14 years, at least once a week in %)

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Sending/receiving e-mails	77	82	80	81	73	76	78	78
Discussion forums, newsgroups, chats	22	24	18	23	18	16	16	20
Downloading of data	40	44	34	35	29	19	23	21
Surfing the Internet	49	55	51	54	51	45	50	45
Computer games	19	23	11	15	11	11	11	12
Consumer comparison	-	-	59	55	52	51	53	50
Homebanking	34	40	31	32	32	37	37	35
Book/CD orders	4	8	5	7	6	5	6	8
Online shopping	8	12	5	6	8	10	12	12
Online auctions	-	10	6	13	16	18	19	18
Watching videos	-	-	-	-	10	7	6	7
Listening to music	-	-	-	-	17	11	11	12
Listening to Internet radio	-	-	-	-	7	61	6	11
Watching Internet TV	-	-	-	-	2		2	2

(based on Media Perspektiven 2006, 86)

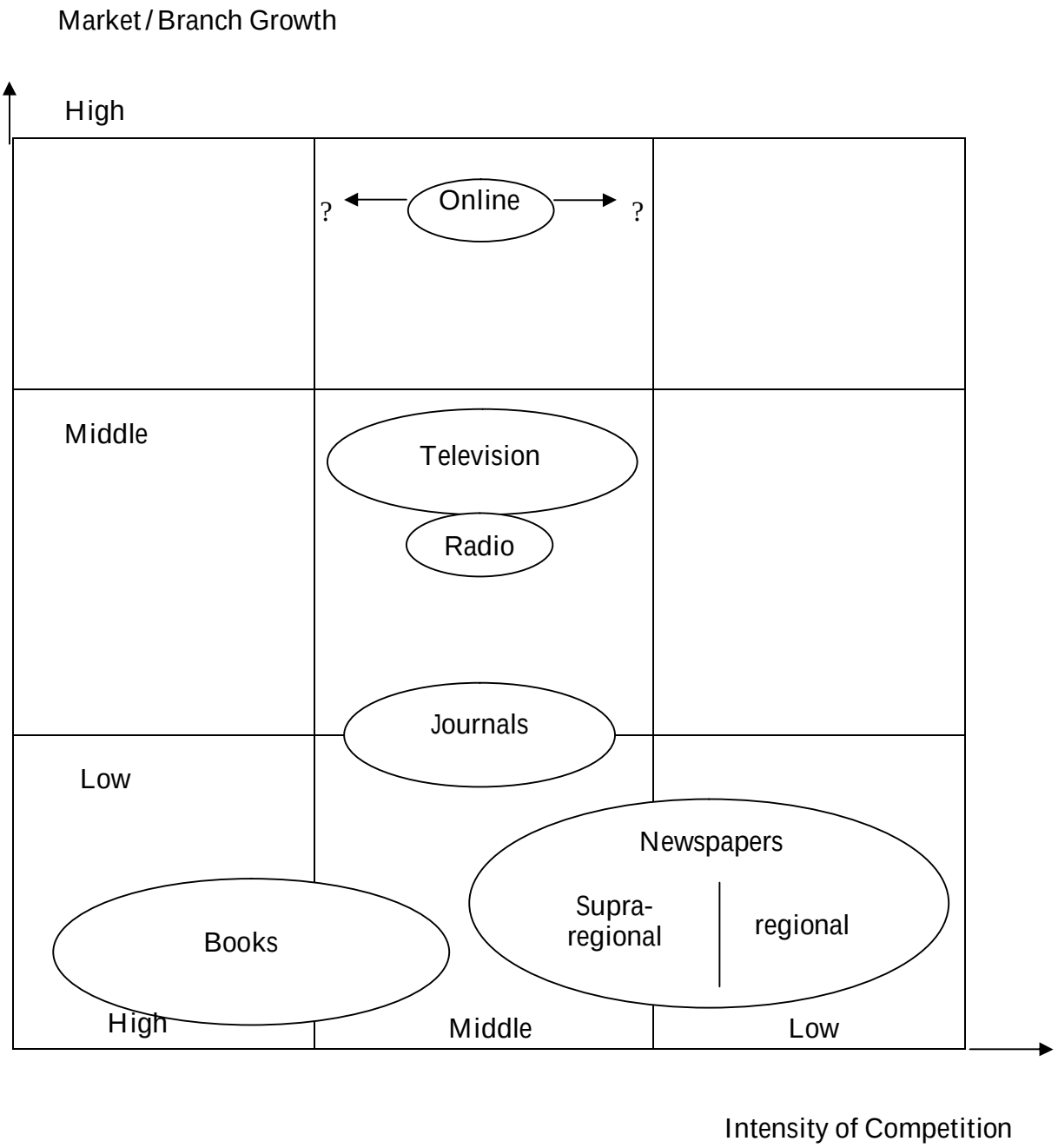
The total net incomes of media companies for advertising in Germany constituted €19.7bn in 2005. The press is the most important media for advertisement in Germany, with a share of 53.3 %. It is followed by TV, which receives 19.9 % of the total advertising expenditure. However, the TV advertising market is stagnating since 2002. Radio comes third with a market share of 3.3 %. The share of online advertisement is still low, though increasing rapidly. Figures range from one to four % of total advertising investments, depending on different definitions that sometimes do not include ads from search engines. (For more discussion on the advertising market see Heffler – Möbus 2006).

The largest German media company by far is Bertelsmann. Axel Springer is far behind in second place with several other companies fighting over the third place (Ottler – Radke 2004, 10):

Company	Annual Turnover in 2002 (in millions of Euros)
Bertelsmann-Konzern	18 312
Axel Springer Konzern	2 777
ProsiebenSAT1 Media AG	1 895
Hubert Burda Media	1 857
ZDF	1 797
Bauer Verlagsgruppe	1 710
RTL Television GmbH	1 498

There are considerable differences in the intensity of competition between different media branches. The competition is most intense in book publishing and least intense among regional newspapers, where a monopoly is not unusual. Various forms of oligopoly characterise most of the branches (Ottler – Radke 2004, 13-15):

Figure 1: Classification of Media Market Shares in the Attractiveness Portfolio



(Turnover volume is depicted by the size of the circles. Source: Ottler – Radke 2004, 15)

Journalists

The number of journalists has been reduced from 54 000 to 48 000 between 1993 and 2005 despite 500 new editorial units or offices. Of the journalists, 36 000 (i.e. around three quarters) have steady jobs which means that the figure of free lancers who can support them themselves with journalistic work has been significantly reduced. The average wage of a journalist is 2300 Euros (net) per month. Only 12% of journalists earn more than 3500 Euros per month, whereas 20% must live on less than 1500 Euros per month. 37% of journalists are women, but when it comes to higher positions their percentage drops drastically. Journalists have mostly a middle class background.

The weakness of a research tradition among German journalists is a notable element. Compared with English speaking journalists, for example, they spend considerably less time actively searching for more information. Compared to 1993 this time has been further reduced in 2005.

Critique and engagement as essential elements of journalism are much less appreciated today than was previously the case. Whereas 37% of journalists in 1993 wanted to give critical attention to politics and the economy, the figure in 2005 was 24%. In 1993, 43% wanted to function as a representative of the underdogs, whereas in 2005 only 29% saw this as a worthy career aspiration. The preferred profile nowadays is a neutral and accurate information provider (89%) who can explain complicated matters (79%) and who is fast in his or her work (74%). Politically, German journalists mostly support the Green Party (36%) and Social Democrats (26%), whereas CDU and FDP supporters form together a minority of 15%.

2 Research institutions and organisations

The lament of "unübersichtlichkeit", perhaps best translated into English as a "lack of clarity", has became a familiar topos at the beginning of articles trying to depict the situation of media and communication studies in Germany. Werner Wirth gave his article (2000) dealing with the current situation and institutional structures of German media and communication studies the title "Wachstum bei zunehmender Unübersichtlichkeit", that is "Growth with increasing lack of clarity". For Edmund Lauf (2002, 6) Communication Studies have become so "unclear [unübersichtlich]" that "it is difficult today even for professors" to assess the number of relevant existing study courses in Germany. "The growing number of readers, conference proceedings and monographs has led to an almost unreviewable mass of literature" (ibid., 7). The same topos is repeated in Wolfram Peiser, Matthias Hastall, and Wolfgang Donsbach's article discussing the "very unclear" (2003, 311) situation of communication studies in Germany on the basis of an enquiry among those researchers who have organised themselves in the *Deutsche geseIlschaft für Publizistik und Kommunikationswissenschat* (DGPuK). For Preiser, Hastall and Donsbach, there are several factors (great differences between various approaches, differences in relation to media practices, more than a few research objects) that "make this discipline wider and more diffuse that most others". Despite these differences, "something like a mainstream has emerged". However, "this characteristic, functional in a professionalisation process, also represents at the same time the central problem" for those who feel they belong to a minority (ibid., 332).[2]

We will try to depict both the variety and homogeneity of media and communication studies in Germany in the following sections. We start by discussing some specifities of the German university system. As we learn along the way, some of these peculiarities are perhaps not totally unfavourable to the consolidation of a mainstream. After that, we provide a picture of the geographical and disciplinary variety of media and communication studies in Germany, presenting the rival professional organisations and the main journals. The chapter ends with a short discussion of research funding.

[2] See for example the heated discussion provoked by Faulstich (2005), and responses by Bohrmann (2005), Kübler (2005) and Bentele (2005).

Universities

In Germany the formal selection process in the education system starts early at the level of choosing the lower secondary school (more vocationally or generally oriented) at the age of around 10 and, later, the upper secondary school (a vocational school - *Berufschule* or a general school - *Gymnasium*). The prerequisite for starting a course of study at the university or at an equivalent institution is the university entrance qualification (*Allgemeine Hochschulreife* or the *Fachgebundene Hochschulreife* - depending on the kind of secondary school courses attended). Its holders have basically the right to enter any university and any course of their choice without any special admission procedures. There has been little room left for a university to choose its own students. For the majority of courses of study, there has not existed any nation-wide restrictions on the number of applicants admitted. However, in some highly demanded courses (for example medicine, veterinary medicine, dentistry, architecture, business management and psychology, media and communication studies - this may vary from semester to semester), there are nation-wide quotas (*Numerus clausus*) due to the large numbers of applicants and the insufficient number of equivalent places available (Majcher 2002, 9-10).

A key feature of the German university is its hierarchical structure in which the position of professor gives much power over persons who in other academic cultures would be have already gained a more independent or equal standing. The roots of this phenomena lie in history and in the two stages, dissertation and *Habilitation*, of the postgraduate qualification process. The idea of university as "a guild-style community of masters and journeymen – with the *Habilitation* as the individual's 'masterwork'" (Bultmann 1996, 339) has been prevalent in Germany.

The historical *Ordinarienuniversität* was organised around chairs, whose few occupiers were *ordentliche Professoren*. They represented the unity of research and teaching, decided over the curriculum, took charge of the supervision and recruiting of their successors and monopolised the self-governing bodies in the universities.

Assistants were introduced as a body of personnel who helped professors in running the institutes. As part of an *Ordinarienuniversität* in Germany an assistant has traditionally been very closely linked and subordinated to his (or more rarely her) supervising professor. Another important group was

formed by *Privatdozenten* who were unsalaried lecturers, hoping to become professors. The institution of PD started at the beginning of the 19th century and became established around 1860. The heyday of the PD lasted approximately from 1900 until 1968, when hardly a university professor in a normal field was appointed who had not been a *Privatdozent*. A limited number of "Junior Professorships" were introduced in 2002 as fast-track, time-limited positions to qualify for regular professorships. This is often seen as the "beginning of the end" of *Privatdozenten*, though "critiques of the new procedure convincingly argue that junior professorships are also used for covering budget-cuts" (Göztepe-Çelebi et al. 2002, 15, cf. Reitz 2002, 366) However, it is still possible - and necessary for an academic career in many subjects - to undertake an *Habilitation*. Even "junior professors, despite their quasi-professorial status, are nevertheless expected to write a 'second book' as a functional equivalent of the former *Habilitation*" (Göztepe-Çelebi et al. 2002, 15).

A new twist in this history came in 2004 as the *Bundesverfassunsgericht* decided that "through the introduction of the junior professor position, the Bund has overstepped its competence as a legislating body. […] Politically, the judgement, reached with a 5:3 majority, yields three consequences: first, it has stopped the reform of the personnel structure of the *Hochschulen*, initiated after decades of debate, before it really came into effect; second, it has extremely de-legitimised the claims of the *Bund* to shape *Hochschule* politics; and third, it has given grist to the mill of those who have been insisting for years on the introduction of student fees" (Keller 2004, 1038).

Habilitation was and is earned after taking a doctorate and it requires the candidate to write a second dissertation, reviewed by and defended before an academic committee in a process similar to that for the doctoral dissertation. Whereas for example in the United States, the United Kingdom and many other countries, the doctorate is sufficient qualification for a faculty position at a university, in Germany and some other countries only the *Habilitation* qualifies the holder to supervise doctoral candidates. Besides that, "only the scholar with *Habilitation* is considered as an independent researcher and teacher" (Majcher 2002, 11). In other words, this means that during this long process of *Habilitation*, finalised on average at the age of around 40, the younger researcher is still dependent on his or her professor. Thus, in the humanities and social sciences German researchers are in the most cases "living in relationships of personal dependence until well into their forties". By the time they finally complete the *Habilitation*, over one third of them are unemployed (Reitz 2002, 365).

Brenner writes (1993, 331) that *Habilitation* does not encourage scientific originality, which is always linked to being an outsider. Instead, he argues that it promotes selection and integration into the existing structures. It thus also endorses a "strategy of risk avoidance" where "the occupation of niches through hyperspecialisation is conspicuous and promising of success (ibid., 340). It has also been noted that the institution of *Habilitation* leads to a situation where "the institution providing the candidate judges the suitability of a scholar for the vocation of University lecturer – unlike the internationally norm, where the institution accepting the new scholar reaches such an assessment" (Keller 2004, 1039).

After service as a *Privatdozent*, one may be admitted to the faculty as a professor, a position equivalent to a "full professor" in the USA. The professors are usually life-long civil servants appointed by a ministry responsible for science and universities in the respective *Bundesland*. The minister is then given a list with three candidates selected by the university boards or commissions, from which one is selected. The ministry can even reject the entire list, but has to give its reason for this decision. In this case, the call for a new search has to be announced. As can be seen, political administration has a *de facto* veto right concerning appointments to professorship – which in turn may reinforce certain conformist tendencies in the universities.

A *Habilitation* thesis can be either cumulative (based on previous research, be it articles or monographs) or monographical, i.e. a specific, unpublished thesis, which has the tendency to be very long indeed. While cumulative *Habilitations* are predominant in some fields (e.g. medicine, natural sciences), they are almost unheard of in others. Usually only those candidates are encouraged to proceed to the *Habilitation* who receive the highest or second-highest grade for their Ph.D. thesis. Since 2006 ,there are new legal restrictions in some federal states of Germany that allow only people with excellent Ph.D. evaluations to undertake the *Habilitation* process.

In the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) the traditional *Ordinarienuniversität* of the late 19th century, including the prestigious status of full professors, was nostalgically idealised. Part of the explanation for this was the need to take distance both from the willing self-subordination of the universities during the Nazi regime as well as from the very different university policies in the GDR. Thus the structure of the post-war university was still controlled by the professoriate through a system of academic autocracy. Indeed, the decision-making procedures and administrative set-up were characterised by a "remarkable lack of democracy" (Göztepe-Çelebi et al. 2002, 3-4).

In the 1960s a growing need for a university reform became apparent. At least four motivating factors for these aspirations should be noted. There were first of all fears that the economic growth and competitiveness of the Federal Republic would be endangered without reforming higher education. Second, there were growing pressures for increased educational opportunities for the formerly educationally underprivileged groups in the society. Thirdly, while the student protests in 1967/68 started with a critique of the subject matter taught at the universities, it was not long before it began to criticise also the hierarchical structures of the academic institutions. Fourthly, there had been a considerable increase in the university staff, e.g. between 1960 and 1975 there was a more than threefold increase. This led to an undermining of the old *Ordinarienuniversität* and a development towards the *Gruppenuniversität*, where also students and younger researchers are represented as groups in the university administration. An important sign of this development was the founding of the union of assistants, *Bundesassistentenkonferenz* (BAK) in 1968. It proposed the phasing out of *Habilitation* and an increased administrative influence of the younger staff.

The new *Hochschulrahmengesetz* (HRG) of 1976, the federal legislation coordinating the higher education in different lands, had a "character of a compromise" (Enders 1996, 94). However, it did not end either the dominant position of the professors or the *Habilitation*. For a while, it seemed that the rapid growth of the universities opened up some sort of career opportunities for all those who had completed the *Habilitation*; however, the phase of expansion was already over in 1979. With many relatively young professors after a phase of expansion, career prospects for the younger researchers became rather limited. Thus, between 1980 and 1985 only 16% of the 4600 habilitated persons attained a professorship (Andresen 2001, 71). The position of the professors was strengthened due to the modifications of the *Hochschulrahmengesetz* in 1985 and the assistants were again subjected to individual professors (ibid., 112).

Indeed, "from a retrospective point of view the outcome of the German university reform movement, including the high-rising demands of the 1967 students protest and its political aftermath, was relatively meagre. […] German universities turned out to be very conservative institutions, with significant potential for obstructing major changes, if they are coming from within." (Göztepe-Çelebi et al. 2002, 9) Yet there is some irony in that "West Germany's higher education system, which had been widely regarded as in deep crisis in the late 1980s, suddenly became the role model for the reform of the tertiary sector in East Germany. More ironic still, the term used for the wholesale transfer of West German institutions to the East was 'renewal'"

(ibid.,10). The chance to use this historical event as an opportunity for a comprehensive and encompassing reform of the German system of higher education was largely missed and "one may even argue that the reunification offered the West German university system a legitimate excuse to postpone its own reform for a few years" (ibid., 11).

This situation did not last long. 2006 and 2007 in particular have seen frenetic activity in higher education policy. The German higher education system is currently undergoing profound changes. These changes and their possible consequences for Communication and Media Studies Germany will be discussed in the final chapter on future challenges. Next we will highlight an aspect of German academic life that has had an profound impact on the prevailing Communication and Media Studies in Germany.

Position of Women in Academia

The German university was for a long time a male domain. Women were granted the right to study in the universities first in 1900 and the right to undertake the *Habilitation* in 1918. The first female professor was nominated in 1923.

Germany has had one of the lowest levels of female participation in higher education and on the academic labour market in Europe. Nowadays, women constitute 48% of the German graduate students, 38% of the new doctor's degree awardees and 22% of the new *Habilitation* awardees. Merely 9% of the C4 professors and 13% of C3 professors – the top rank positions in German academia - are women. (Prommer et al. 2006, 68) Women also rarely reach the top management positions, e.g. in 1998 only 11 out of 222 rectors were female (5.0%); similarly, only 4 out of 75 presidents (5.3%) and 30 out of 277 chancellors (10.8%) were female (Majcher 2002, 6-7). According to Majcher "women's position in academia could best be described in terms of subordination, marginalisation and segregation" (ibid. , 15).

In Germany, combining work and family life is a problem, which hinders women's entry into academia. West Germany, unlike many other West European countries, developed a welfare regime based on a model of the male-breadwinner, strongly supported by traditional value systems and

gender relations. As a result, German welfare regulations used to offer few incentives for an egalitarian family model. Promotion of women on the labour market and childcare facilities were hardly a social policy priority.

Summarising several comparative studies, Majcher (2002, 20-21) writes that concerning German professors in the late 1980s, 60.9% of the women did not have any children (while this was valid only for 18.6% of the men) or had them later in life (after doctorate or even *Habilitation*). Also, many more women professors than their male colleagues are single or divorced. Such a wide discrepancy is not found e.g. in the case of American academics, but it is valid also for German women in high positions in private business, when compared to their Swedish counterparts.

Interestingly the topic of *Habilitation* also turns up frequently in the discussion of women's position in academia: the "drawn-out procedure and the extreme dependency upon the '*Habilitations-Vater*' and the faculty in which the *Habilitation* is conducted leads to an infantilisation of grown ups and contains furthermore the danger that precisely the researches keen upon innovation will be excluded" (ZE-Frauen 1995, 11). *Habilitation* is "considered a structural barrier for women who often complete their *Habilitation* at an even later point in their careers than men, if ever" (Majcher 2002 , 11). Furthermore, "the candidate is totally dependent on her/his mentor and normally starts an academic career as his/her assistant, if invited to do so. There is no systematic documentation of a student's performance, the mentor may or may not, will be able or unable to introduce his/her protégé into informal networks, which seem to be a precondition for a successful career. Women may encounter more problems in getting into the system, and as "newcomers" in science, negative experiences may discourage them more easily" (ibid., 19).

Relying on her interview material, Andresen (2001, 100) sums up the situation of the women undergoing *Habilitation* as follows: "Consistently, the support of somebody with kudos, power and influence in the discipline in general and the specific subject area in particular is seen as a decisive precondition for attaining one's qualification and professional goals. […] Even though the problematic of personal dependence and the fixing of the discipline's content is also noted, there is an enormous expenditure of energy to establish such an hierarchical 'paternal' relationship, because similarly effective realistic alternatives don't exist for the interviewees".

University Departments and Professorships

The first professorship devoted to mass communication research was established in 1916 in Lepzig under the heading *Zeitungskunde*. Yet for over half a century there were only a few universities where new professorships were established or where there was more than one professorship dedicated to communication subjects. There was a clear institutional upswing for the field during the NS-years, but this in its turn led to a certain discrediting of the field after the war and all but three institutes – München and Münster restarted in 1946, Berlin in 1948 – were closed down. It was difficult to find suitable "uncontaminated' professors and this led to recruiting also from other disciplines, among non-habilitated people or outside the universities. Between 1945 and 1965 there was not a single succesful *Habilitation*. The discipline was "found not to be dignified enough" to produce its own professors (Meyen 2004, 200). It was first in the 1970s and 80s that there took place a clear expansion of the institutions and resources. This upward trend has continued. While between 1966 and 1985 there were 22 successful *Habilitations*, between 1986 and 2002 (as reported in the journal *Publizistik*) there were already 29 such processes, 14 of them in the four years between 1999 and 2002 (ibid., 195).[3]

Precisely how many professorships and professors there are in communication and media studies is somewhat difficult to answer in any simple way. The emergence of such fields of study as media psychology, media pedagogy, media sociology, media politics, media aesthetics, media history, film studies, media economy, media law, media management, media design, media technology etc., has complicated the picture considerably. There are two basic strategies for resolving this problem. One is to count all the professorships that show a clear connection to communication or media studies in their title. The other is to try to identify a certain institutional "core" area amidst all the confusing new titles. As will become clearer further on, this also has something to do with inner relations of the field, reflected also in partly rivalling researcher associations.

The first strategy has been followed by Ruhrmann et al. (2000). They found relevant professorships in 52 universities, technical universities and *Künstlerische Hochschule* (but not *Fachhochschule*) and compared the situation in 1987 and 1997. In 1987, there were 97 professorships in communication and media studies whereas in 1997 the number had increased to 204, including planned

[3] On the history of the discipline, cf. Hachmeister (1987), Kutsch/Pöttker (1997), Averbeck (2001), Löblich (2007).

professorships. The increase is impressive. Whereas in 1987 there were only 26 higher education institutions where communication and media studies were represented, in 1997 there were 52 of them. In both cases, Nordheim-Westfalen was the leading *Land* in professorships. In 1997, Berlin had lost its second place to Thüringen. The results are presented graphically on the following maps.

Professorhips in 1987 (From Ruhrmann et al. 2000, 286)

Professorships in 1997 (from Ruhrmann et al. 2000, 287)

A closer look at the profiles of the professorships reveals that over half of the professorships had a rather general profile of communication or media studies or journalism. The rest is divided between smaller groups: visual communication (including film studies) had a share of 11%, Media design 9%, Multimedia 7%, and the history and aesthetics of media 6%; Media law, Media economy, Media management, Media technology, Media pedagogy , Media psychology, and Specialised journalism [*Fachjournalismus*] all gained less than 5%.

These results are summed up in the following chart:

Chart 2: Development of Communication and Media Studies in Germany

	1987		1997		
Land	Number of universities	occupied professorships	Number of universities	occupied professorships	planned and occupied professorships
Sclheswig-Holstein	-	-	1	1	1
Bremen	1	2	1	2	3
Hamburg	-	-	1	2	3
Niedersachsen	3	5	6	10	16
Nordheim-Westfalen	6	28	9	46	52
Hessen	1	11	3	15	17
Rheinland-Pfalz	2	8	3	11	11
Baden Württenberg	2	5	5	12	14
Bayern	5	10	7	15	17
Saarland	1	1	1	2	2
Berlin	3	16	5	17	19
Brandenburg	1	1	2	3	5
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	-	-	-	-	-
Sachsen-Anhalt	-	-	2	2	3
Thüringen	-	-	4	12	30
Sachsen	1	10	2	10	11
altogether	26	97	52	160	204

(based on Ruhrmann et al 2000, 289)

Ruhrmann et al. (ibid., 290) do not hesitate to speak about a "boom" of Communication and Media studies. They see several reasons for this. First, there is the change in information and communication technologies, linked to the growing technical convergence, economic growth potential and increasing daily presence and new political potentials of media in its different forms. All these developments lead to an increased need for qualified personnel.

However, they do not hesitate to say that is also question of a "cost-neutral profile formation of universities, but also of ministries, with a discipline whose image is positively occupied". They add that "in the process, also structural problems of existing disciplinary branches, faculties and institutes are covered over", not unlike the "redesign of existing social scientific offerings under the euphonic label of 'cultural studies'" (ibid., 293).

Meyen follows another strategy in his study on the recruiting of professors in Communication studies and Journalism (where the absence of Media studies should be noted). He asks "whether the opportunity for professionalisation linked to the expansion of positions and increasing kudos has been used", or are we still dealing with a discipline where "above all those without an *Habilitation* and journalists have an opportunity?" Meyen wants to find out "if a tendency in the direction of unitary, systematic education in the patterns of entrance to the profession can be recognised, from which one could deduce a common professional identity and common ideas of values?" (2004, 195).

Meyen rejects the approach of Ruhrmann et al. (2000) because their "broad understanding of Communication Studies does not appear to be meaningful for the interests pursued here, because it programmes a heterogeneous personnel structure of the disciplinary representatives". Thus he wants to focus his study on the "'core' of the discipline", which he admits is problematic in the sense that the "ideas about what belongs to this 'core' naturally contradict each other". To tackle this problem, he proposed to utilise initially the lowest common denominator, which meant in this context focusing on those institutions that are listed as supporting the publishing of the journal *Publizistik*. After some further addition and subtraction of institutions (with "course offerings oriented towards artistic, aesthetic, pedagogic, philosophical or political scientific dimensions") he ends up with 25 institutions and their 85 professors (2004, 197).

In Meyen's sample the growth after 1990 is "be attributed above all to the new foundations in the "new" *Bundesländer*" i.e. states of the former GDR" (ibid., 198). In western Germany there were only 8 new professorships between 1990 and 2002.

Whereas in 1970 86% of the professors had journalistic experience, nowadays only one third of them have it. Yet Meyen writes that the academicisation of Communication studies has not kept pace with growth of the discipline. There are still many non-habilitated scholars who have gained professorships and the time between *Habilitation* and the first proferrorship is short. There is less competition than in other disciplines. A highly interesting result is also that less than one-third of the professors had studied communication studies as their main subject. Most of those professors who had studied communication as their main subject were male and came from Mainz or Berlin or perhaps from München or Münster. He would have defended his dissertation around the age of 30 and the *Habilitation* nearly ten years later. (ibid., 200-2). The situation of the professors of Communication studies in Germany is summed up in the following chart:

Chart 3: Professors of CommunicationStudies and Journalism in Germany

	1950	1970	1990	2002
Professors	3	7	54	85
-women	0	1	7	14
-*Habilitation*	33% (3)	57% (7)	51.9% (52)	57.8% (83)
-practical media experience	66% (3)	86% (7)	36.7% (49)	33.7% (83)
Dissertation at the age of	23.6 (3)	27.7 (7)	30.0 (50)	30.7 (77)
Habilitation at the age of	38 (1)	34,5 (4)	37,0 (27)	38,9 (48)
Waiting time between *Habilitation* and professorship	5 (1)	10,75 (4)	2,9 (27)	2,8 (48)
Age at first professorship	46 (3)	45 (7)	40,4 (52)	41,5 (79)
Main subject	(3)	(7)	(54)	(85)
-Communication Studies		4	20	27
-Economics			9	9
-Philology	1		10	16
-Law		1	5	3
-History	2	1	4	2
-Sociology		1	2	8
-Psychology			2	6
-Political Science			1	7
-other			1	7

(based on Meyen 2004, 199. Numbers in brackets: number of cases on which the figures are based)

According to Meyen, the discipline is dominated by institutes in Mainz, Berlin, München and Münster. Of the teachers that that have studied communications at least as a minor subject, 80% come from these four institutes. The relatively new institute in Mainz – founded first in the mid 1960s – has surpassed the three institutes that survived the war. This becomes even more evident if we look at the professors that have been born after 1945. Here we have seven from Mainz against

four from Berlin. These two institutes are also the leaders when it comes to universities where people have studied communication and defended their *Habilitations*:

Chart 4: Institutes in which professors studied

	Place of Communication Studies	Place of habilitation
Mainz	10	5
Berlin	9	6
München	5	2
Münster	4	2
Other	7 (7 places)	11 (9 places)
	35	26

(besed on Meyen 2004, 202)

Because of the "growing lack of clarity" of communication and media studies in Germany, manifested in all the new titles of the study programmes and professorships, Wirth proposes a statistical approach that tries to find common patterns among all these confusing titles and differences. He notes that there is no "generally shared understanding of Communication and Media Studies" (2000, 37). On the one hand, we are experiencing a period of growing "mediatisation" of society and promising occupational prospects; on the other hand, the "ministerial red pen threatens" all disciplines showing signs of weakness. Thus "study course with 'Media' or 'Communication' in the title spring up that often have a very different focus from the traditional 'old' institutes in Munich, Mainz or Berlin, which perhaps can be drawn upon as reference points" (ibid.).

Based on surveys and Internet research, Wirth comes to the conclusion that there are 131 study programmes for communication or media studies in the institutions of German higher education.

These programmes are divided between those offering it as a main subject and those where it is present only as a minor subject:

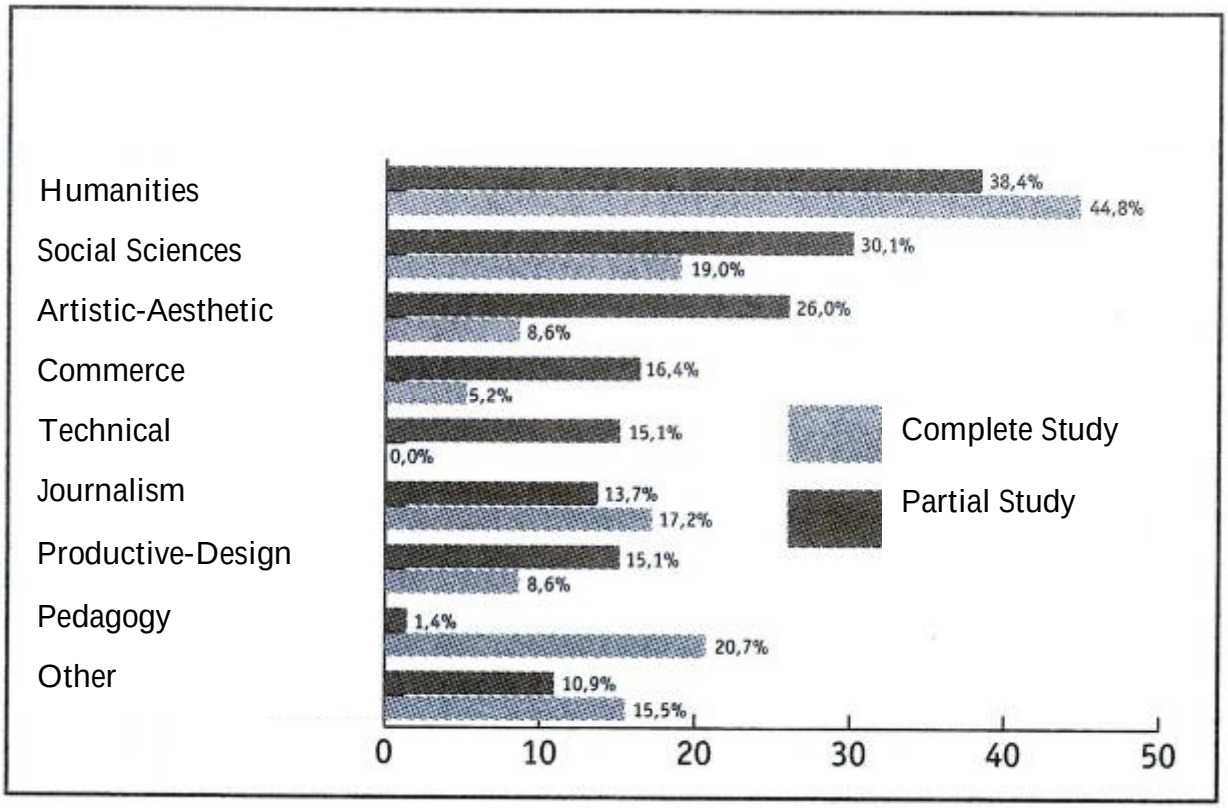
Chart 5: Places of study in Germany

Study programme	number	%
main subject at a university	28	43.8%
- of these at a CMS department or faculty	18	
main subject at a *Hochschule*	6	9.4%
- of these at a CMS department or faculty		
Main subject at a *Fachhochschule*	6	9.4%
- of these at a CMS department or faculty	3	
Only as minor subject (all are in universities)	10	15.6%
Only as an added study element	14	21.9%
Total	64	100%

(based on Wirth 2000, 41)

The majority of the programmes (87) are located in universities or technical universities, 30 in *Hochschulen* and the rest (14) in other more vocationally oriented institutions of higher learning. According to Wirth (ibid., 38) these programmes are "extremely heterogenious". Some kind of humanistic (*geisteswissenschaftliche)* emphasis is usual (38%), with a focus on media, literary, linguistic or historical studies. Next comes a social scientific orientation (30%). Strongly presented are also programmes with links to aesthetic and artistic orientations, as well as programmes with an economic, technical, journalistic, or design orientation:

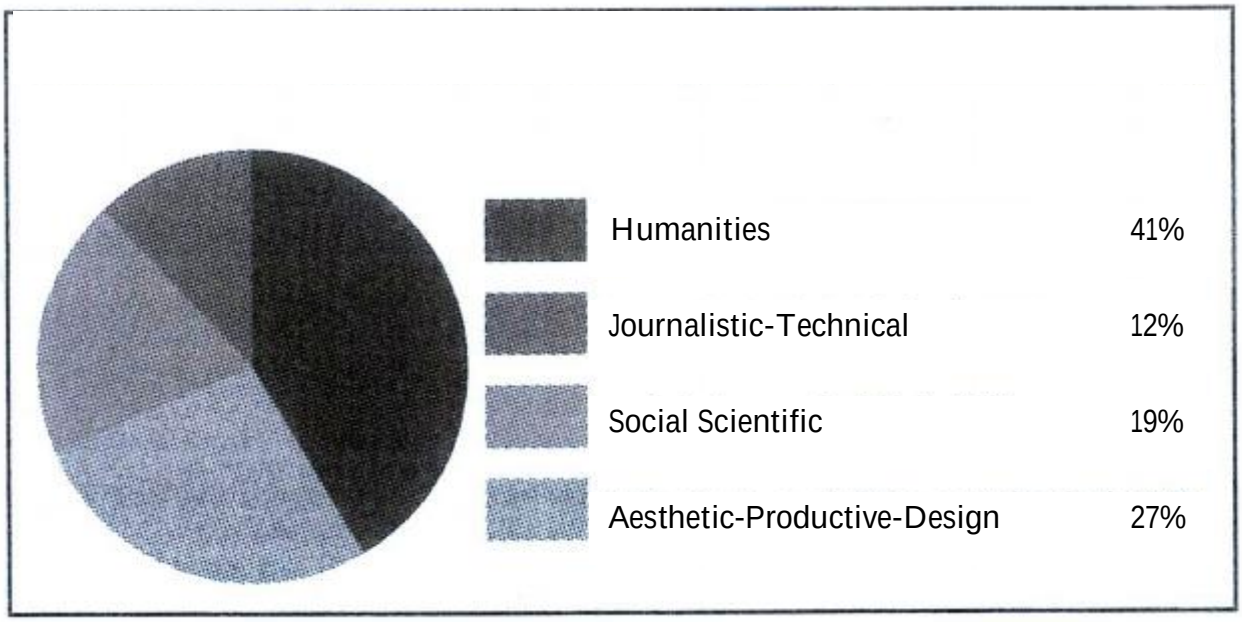
Chart 6: Scholarly Orientation of Complete (n=73) and Partial (n=58) Study Programmes in Percentages



(from Wirth 2000, 39)

Wirth tries to refine his results with a cluster analysis that results in four groups. The first cluster (41%) is formed by humanistically oriented study programmes. The second cluster (28%) is formed by artistic and design oriented studies. The third cluster (19%) is best described as interdisciplinary with an emphasis on the social sciences. The smallest cluster (12%) is formed by journalistically oriented programmes with an increasingly technical emphasis in recent years:

Chart 7: Typology of Study Programmes



(from Wirth 2000, 41)

Wirth estimates that there are 269 professors and 390 other scientific staff in communication and media studies. An average institute has 3.6 professors and 5.5 other scientific staff. However, 35% of all institutes have only one professorship and a further 22% only two professorships. Only five institutes have more than 10 professorships. The biggest one is the *Hochschule für Film und Fernsehen* in Postsdam, followed by *Kunsthochschule für Medien* in Köln, *Hochschule für Film und Fernsehen* in München, *Frei Universität Berlin* and *Universität Leipzig*. Whereas in univeristies there are on average 2,9 Professorships, the *Hochschulen* have on average 6 of them (ibid., 41-42).

According to Wirth (ibid., 44) the best student/professorship ratio of 45 to 1 can be found in courses with a heavy emphasis on one's own artistic production or design. However, only 2650 students fall into this category. For the 4000 students working for a *Diplom*, the ratio is 208 to 1; for the 16 000 students doing their *Magister* exam, the situation is the worst with a ratio of 232 to 1.

Rössler (2004) comes up with some later related data. According to him, there are circa 20 000 students of media and communication studies in Germany (if we do not distinguish between those who study it as their main subject and those for whom it is a minor subject). More than half of the students are concentrated in six universities: Leipzig, Düsseldorf, München, Münster, Bochum and Göttingen. In these six universities there are altogether 39 professorships in this branch of studies, i.e. 270 students per professorship. Countrywide, the ratio is 174 students per professorship in media and communication studies. To characterise this situation as an "overload" (Rössler, 20) is perhaps not an overstatement. Even in more journalistically oriented programmes, the ratio is 50 to 1. However, all these figures also seem to highlight the major role of the non-professorial staff in the daily work of the institutes.

The yearly figure of those starting their studies was 3900 whereas the number of those graduating was 1700. Despite worsened professional prospects, the demand for these studies is high: there were 23 000 applications in 2003. This would give the intake quota of 15.5%. However, there are far fewer actual persons behind these applications. Due to the lack of any centralised or synchronised application system, it is difficult to give any exact figures, but it has been estimated that each applicant sends his or her papers to perhaps some five or seven universities. This actually means that everybody wanting to study this field would be able to start his or her studies at some university. At most of the universities, the criteria for intake is a combination of student exam and the time the applicant has been waiting for a place (ibid.).

Position of women in Communication studies

"Women in Communication Studies: Under-represented – but advancing quickly" was the optimistic title of the article published by Romy Fröhlich and Christina Holtz-Bacha in 1993. According to Prommer et al. (2006, 69), their "optimistic expectations" were based on the hope that the increasing number of female students would eventually lead to a major increase in the number of female assistants and professors. The claim of Prommer et al. is very problematic since Fröhlich and Holtz-Bacha explicitly warn that, as the example of the USA shows, "even a very strong growth in the number of women in the student body alone still lead to a corresponding representation of women in research and teaching" (1993, 527). Fröhlich and Holtz-Bacha also write in opposition to any linear schemes; as their data shows, the increase of women's share of post-*Habilitation* posts does not show any path of "continuous development" (ibid., 540). It seems their analysis was a cautious one, based on factual analysis.

In contemporary Germany, between 60% and 75% of the new university students in communication and media studies are female, depending on the university. In this field (*Publizistik, Kommunikationswissenschaft, Medienwissenschaft* and *Journalistik*), the female share of the students that completed their studies was 64%. Thus – as Prommer et al. describe this situation (2006, 68) – the male teachers face lecture halls full of women.

Women presented 41% of the new dissertations in Communication studies. However, the *Bundesamt für Statistik* does not provide further data regarding how many *Habilitations* there were by women or how many professorships were occupied by them in this discipline. Instead, on this level data is provided on groups of disciplines; in this case, Communications studies have been coupled with Library science. In 2004, there were altogether 14 *Habilitations* in these disciplines and four of them were by female researchers, which constitutes 29% of the total. In these disciplines, 42% of the researcher and teacher staff below professorial level were female. In Fröhlich and Holtz-Bacha's data from 1991, their share was 32% (1993, 528), so there was some increase. 13% of current professors are female. However, there was no exact data on how their professorships are distributed into various subcategories (C2, C3 and C4) with their different prestige and wage. Yet some idea can be gained by looking at the class "Languages and Sciences of Culture" (which includes besides Communications and Media Studies and Library science also Philosophy, Theology, Languages,

History, Psychology and Pedagogy): the result is that even here there are still fewer women at the top. (Prommer et al. 2006, 70). These results and a comparison with other university branches is provided in the following chart:

Chart 8: Share of women at the universities

	204	2004	2004	2003
	Languages and Sciences of Culture	Law, Economics and Social Sciences	Library Science, Communication and Media Studies	All disciplines
Graduation: women	75%	50%	67%	48%
Dissertation: women	51%	32%	39%	38%
Habilitation: women	37%	22%	29%	22%
Academic staff: women*	46%	34%	42%	34%
Professorships: women	22%	16%	13%	13%
of these C2	26%	24%	no data	18%
of these C3	28%	15%	no data	13%
of these C4	16%	8%	no data	9%

* professors not included *("Mittelbau")* (based on Prommer et al. 2006, 68)

Prommer et al.'s numbers can be compared with some other studies. In an earlier study, Wirth found that in Communication and Media studies there were 269 professors, 45 of which were women, i.e. 16.7%. Among the researcher and teacher staff below professorial level, their share was 42.8% (2000, 42). In her study of the DGPuK membership structure, Klaus (2003, 5) found that 40% of the members who had not yet presented their dissertations were women. Of the members who had passed *Habilitation*, only 27% were women.

Donsbach et al. studied the authors of the journals *Publizistik* and *Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft*, the principal journals of German Communication studies. Their results show a growing share of female authors :

Chart 9: Gender of the authors in Publizistik and *Medien & Kommunikatinswissenschaft*

Gender	1983-87 (n=246) %	1988-92 (n=263) %	1993-97 (n=207) %	1998-03 (n=240) %
Women	15	16	24	28

(based on Donsbach et al. 2005, 62)

Eberwein and Pöttker studied the reviews in *Publizistik* with the following results concerning women. From today's perspective, so often tainted by a certain lack of historical perspective, the most surprising result is perhaps the knowledge there were so many female authors and editors already at the end of 1950s:

Chart 10: Gender of authors and editors whose books have been reviewed in ''Publizistik'

Volume	Male	Female	Collective authors or institutions
1958	80.5	9.8	9.7
1963	86.2	10.3	3.5
1968	87.8	4.1	8.1
1973	87.8	5.2	7.0
1978	81.0	15.7	3.3
1983	79.1	13.9	7.0
1988	76.8	17.9	5.3
1993	78.9	17.8	3.3
1998	81.0	16.7	2.3
2003	68.8	28.9	2.3
Average	79.5	15.6	4.9

(based on Eberwein - Pöttker 2006, 56)

Prommer et al.'s study (2006, 75) shows that the working conditions of the young female researchers were in certain respects worse than those of their male counterparts. Men had more often (39%) full time posts compared to women (29%). Their posts were also of longer duration: 58% of the men had a contract for two or more years, whereas among the women the same was true for 45%. Indeed, one third of the women felt that they have been strongly (14%) or partly (18%) discriminated against (ibid., 85).

In most cases, the children of the young male researcher are cared for during the day by their partners (71%). Female researchers, on the other hand, have mostly (69%) had to find other solutions: day-care, grandparents or a babysitter (ibid., 74). No wonder there is a considerable difference in how male and female doctoral students view the obstacles to having a university career leading to a professorship:

Chart 11: Reasons blocking the path to a professorship

	women	men
too few chances to obtain finally a professorship	66%	46%
too rigid hierarchy at the universities	64%	46%
too protracted career	54%	39%
does not agree with a wish for a family or children	45%	24%
demands sacrificing private life	43%	24%
overload of work at the universities	36%	17%

(Based on Prommer et al. 2006, 84)

Nowadays four out of five doctoral students are supervised by a male *Doktorvater* (the equivalent of a dissertation supervisor in the Anglophone academy, though with stronger paternalistic cultural associations). The relationship between the doctoral students and their supervisors show several gendered aspects. Female doctoral students feel that they do not receive supervision by male professors of the same level as the male students. Female doctoral students who have female a professor supervising them felt instead considerably better: 55% of them are content with their supervision by female professors, whereas only 38% of them are content with the supervision they receive from their male professors. As many as 42% of female doctoral students are explicitly dissatisfied with their male supervisors. The dimensions most felt to be lacking are support in "networking" and planning of the career. There is not the same kind of difference among male students: around half of them are content with their supervisors, be they male or female professors. Yet there is not a simple line of confrontation: 38% of female students were content with their male professors and 29% of the female students were dissatisfied with their female professors (ibid., 80-82).

Journals

In a survey of the GGPuK members, conducted in July 2006, we can find interesting results concerning the journals that the members find most important for scientific discussion in the discipline as well as – crucially, also from the standpoint of furthering one's career – forums for publishing one's work. 95% of the respondents say that *Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft* as well as *Publizistik* are "quite" or "very important" for them in these two respects. For *Media Perspektiven*, the result was 81% and for *Mediensychologie* 73%. However, before these, the third and fourth highest ranked German journals were *Journal of Communication*, *European Journal of Communication*, and *Communication Research* (Wolling 2006, 12).

Wolfgang Donsbach, Torsten Laub, Alexander Haas and Hans-Bernd Brosius have recently (2005) studied the contents and profile of both *Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft* and *Publizistik*, these "central organs" (Hohlfeld – Neuberger 1988, 322) of Communication Studies in Germany. They continue the studies published earlier by one member of the group, Brosius, in 1994 and 1998. According to this study, these journals contain around 55% non-empirical and 45% empirical articles. In comparison with other European journals, the share of empirical articles is relatively high: Schorr (2003, 47) studied the journals *Communications* and *European Journal of Communication* and found that the share of empirical articles was 37% between 1986 and 2000. Additionally, the empirical articles in *Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft* and *Publizistik* were heavily dominated by a quantitative approach, though somewhat lesser in later years:

Chart 12: Kind of data used in empirical studies

	Type of Data		
Time	Quantitative	Qualitative	Both
1998-2000 (n=51)	75%	18%	8%
2001-2003 (n=52)	67%	25%	8%

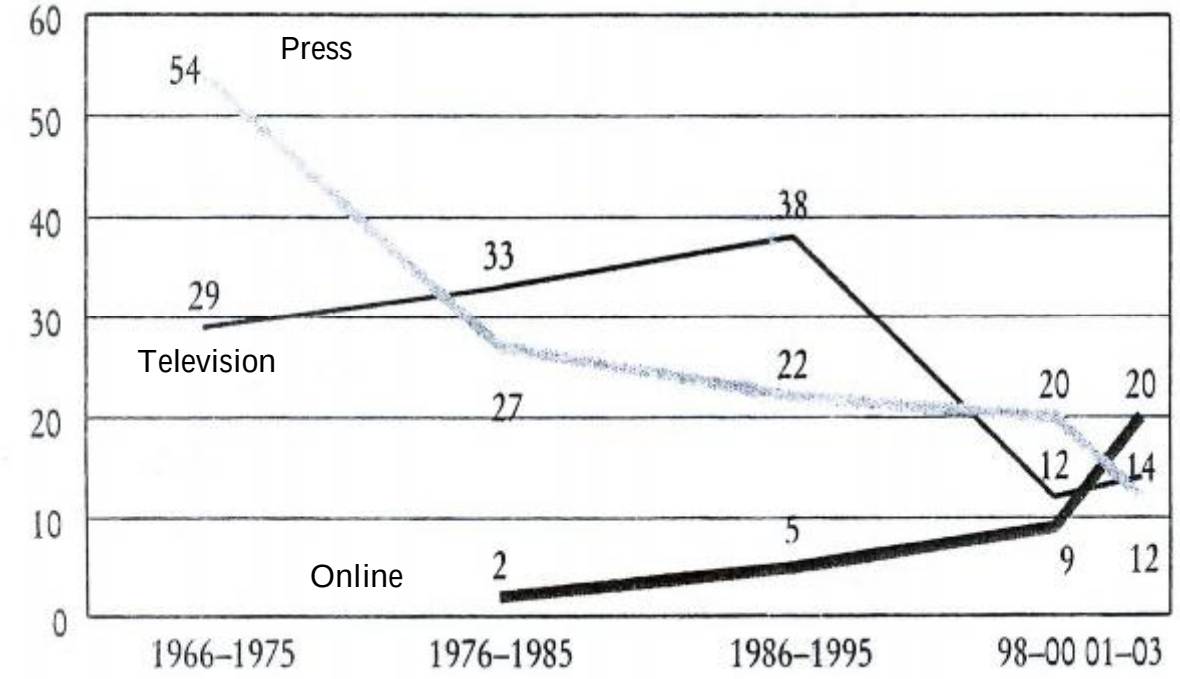
(based on Donsbach et al. 2005, 54)

There was also a difference between the journals in this respect: whereas in *Publizistik* the share of qualitative empirical studies was only 10%, in *Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft* the share was around one third. At any rate, it can be said that "the discipline has been established as one with an empirical emphasis" (Donsbach et al. 2005, 70).

Nearly nine out of ten articles (87%) in these journals discussed solely forms of public communication. Private communication was the subject of study in only 10% of the articles. However, compared to the results of Hohlfeld and Neuberger (1998, 324), there was increase in the attention paid to private or group communication, which can be explained by the growth of mobile and online communication.

This change can also be detected in the figures describing which type of media is being studied: whereas press and broadcasting have lost their share as subjects of research, growing attention has been paid to online communication. Articles discussing broadcasting (16%), press (15%), and online communication (14%) have roughly equal shares. Here the contribution of *Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft* was crucial, since every fifth article it published discussed new media, whereas *Publizistik* was much more conservative in this respect with its 6%. However, the biggest share overall is those articles that discuss media in general (34%). The number of articles without any concrete connection to media is considerable (16%). However, a closer look at the historical development gives a more dynamic and up-to-date picture:

Chart 13: Types of Media Studied over Time



(from Donsbach et al. 2005, 56)

Incidentally, the increased attention paid to online communication also explains the title of Donsbach et al.'s article, namely "Accommodation Processes in Communication Studies". Despite what this type of title might suggest, no critical or ironic reading seems to be intended or envisaged. This could, in its turn, be interpreted by some critics with an ironic wit as quite symptomatic.

Donsbach et al.'s results show that besides general discussion on mass communication and mass media the two journals show certain core areas of interest. As the following chart shows, these are communicator research (which concentrates on journalists), media effects, media use, communication policy, and media economy. It should be noted that the internal discussion of the discipline constituted 9% of all articles, but this category is not taken into account in the chart:

Chart 14: Topics of articles

Topic	1983-87 (n=246) %	1988-92 (n=263) %	1993-917 (n=207) %	1998-03 (n=240) %
Mass communication / mass media in general	40.4	37.2	30.5	33.3
Media effects	4.9	17.1	11.6	11.7
Media economy	11.8	4.9	5.8	6.7
Communication policy	7.7	7.6	10.1	7.9
Media use	7.7	6.8	10.6	8.3
Communicator research	5.3	8.0	8.2	15.0
Media history	7.7	5.3	5.3	3.8
Methods	6.1	3.8	2.9	4.6
Media law	2.4	4.6	7.7	3.8
Media psychology	2.4	3.4	3.4	1.7
Public relations	0.8	1.9	3.4	3.3
Individual communication	2.4	0.4	0.5	0.0
	99.6*	101.0*	100.0	100.0

* rounding error (based on Donsbach et al. 2005, 57)

A pertinent problem in Communication Studies has been the heterogeneous scholarly background of its practitioners. The reason why this has become such an important issue is that it impacts upon the identity of the whole undertaking and thus also of those practising it. The more unified and demarcated the disciplinary field is - and most of all the more it can itself produce its own offspring - the more independent and equal Communication Studies seems to be in

comparison with other disciplines in the social sciences, most of all sociology and politics. The question has been put by Brosius (1994) in terms of an unified discipline (*Einheitsfach*) versus an integrative discipline (*Integrationsfach*). In somewhat different words, the issue is about whether Communication Studies is an independent discipline or a field of study attracting people from various disciplinary backgrounds. Though some three quarters of the academic authors in *Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft* and *Publizistik* come from a Communication Studies department (with varying names), the depth of the problem is revealed when studying the educational background of the authors. Thus the following chart is much more "existentially" and "theoretically" loaded than what one might think at first glance.

Chart 15: Authors' educational background (main subject of their university studies)

	Academic author's university background (n=234) %	Communication Studies author's university background (n=186) %
Communication studies	47	58
Sociology	14	13
Politology	5	3
Law	4	2
Psychology	10	11
Pedagogy	1	1
Linguistics and Literature	4	2
Economics	9	7
Other	7	4
	101*	101*

* rounding error

(based on Donsbach et al. 2005, 63)

Not even half of the authors in the leading German language journals of Communication Studies have studied it as their main subject at university. Furthermore, even among the authors coming from Communication Studies departments, the figure is only 58%. Actually, the figure is surprisingly high if we remember (cf. the earlier discussion on page 29 of chart 3, based on Meyen 2004, 199) that less than one-third of the professors in Communication Studies had studied it as their main subject. Before reaching any conclusions, two vital items of information – or pieces of a puzzle -- should be taken into account.

First, whereas Meyens results (2004, 199) show a 19% share of professors in Communication Studies that have a background in "Philologies", i.e. languages and literature, their share in Donsbach et al.'s results (2005, 62) concerning the background of the authors in *Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft* and *Publizistik* is only 2%.

Second, as our earlier discussion on page 27 shows, Meyen (2004, 197) rejected in his study a "broad understanding of Communication Studies […] because it programmes a heterogeneous personnel structure of the disciplinary representatives". In a broader understanding, the share of scholars having a background in humanistic disciplines like languages and literature would presumably be much higher than 19%.

If we add together these two points, what emerges is a picture of *Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft* and *Publizistik,* the main organs of German Communication studies, where the large group of scholars with a humanistic background do not fit in or where we only see a tiny bit of them. Another way to put this would be to say that compared to the 'mainstream', a 'margin' might be much bigger than what is often thought.

As these results show, there is still a long way to a 'unified discipline' though a comparison between Donsbach et al.'s (2005, 64) and Hohlfeld and Neuberger (1998, 329) results show clear increase in the share of authors having a 'proper', i.e. main subject background, in Communication Studies.

However, another kind of tendency towards greater communality can be depicted. Though publishing alone has been traditional in Germany, the number of articles written by two or three authors has been continuously growing: whereas the average was 1.2 authors per article for the years 1983-87, in 1998-2003 it was 1.5.

Considering the profile of the authors, another long-term trend has been the growing share of younger researchers publishing articles in *Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft* and *Publizistik.*[4] Nowadays they have clearly outnumbered professors, as can be seen in chart 16 showing the academic positions of the writers. Note that it does not include media professionals (5%) and media researchers outside the academic field (7%) who also contributed to the journals.

Chart 16: Academic position of the authors

Position	1983-87 (n=161) %	1988-92 (n=187) %	1993-97 (n=175) %	1998-03 (n=199) %
Professors*	49.3	32.0	34.2	39.6
Private docents	8.9	9.7	5.2	5.3
Acientific assistants	3.9	15.6	20.2	7.1
*akademische Räte***	6.3	7.5	1.4	1.2
*Wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiter****	17.5	27.6	33.7	43.2
Students	4.8	2.6	2.2	0.2
Others	9.2	5.1	3.1	3.5
sum	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0

* also emeritus and emerata **permanent lecturers, mostly without postdoctoral qualification

*** scientific employee (based on Donsbach 2005, 61)

[4] An interesting feature of *Pulizistik* are the personal notes, which provide information on nominations for Professorships, academic biographies of prominent researchers, eulogies for deceased professors and other information on the leading figures in the field.

The fact that the authors in *Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft* and *Publizistik* between 1998 and 2003 came from 123 different institutions "points to an interdisciplinarity or heterogeneity of the discipline now just as before" (Donsbach et al. 2005, 64). However, the share of authors that come from the 15 institutions that are most active in the pages of these journals has increased from 42% (1983-1987) to 49%. This could be read as "evidence of an advancing consolidation of the discipline", especially as there is only one institution from outside Communication Studies in the Top-15 list of the latest results (ibid.).

Whereas München and Mainz have more or less retained their high positions, Münster has lost some ground and FU Berlin has fallen to the 17th place. On the other hand, Leipzig has made a very impressive and rapid advancement to the 2nd place. Ilmenau and Jena are new institutes on the list as well as Amsterdam, perhaps an encouraging sign of the much needed internationalisation.

Chart 17: Institutional background of the academic authors 1998-2003 (n=217)

	n	%	cumula-tive %	Ranking 83-87	Ranking 88-92	Ranking 93-97	Ranking 98-03
Universität München Institut für Kommunikationswissenschaft und Medienforschung	16,2	7,5	7,5	2	7	5	1
Universität Leipzig Institut für Komunikations- und medienwissenschaft	9,5	4,4	11,8	-	45	10	2
Universität Mainz Institut für Publistik	9,2	4,2	16,1	1	1	1	3
Hochschule für Musik & Theater Hannover Institut für Journalistik und Kommunikationsforschung	9,2	4,2	20,3	4	9	4	3
Universität Hamburg Hans-Bredow-Institut	8,3	3,8	24,1	15	2	2	5
Universität Amsterdam Amsterdam School of Communication Research	7,3	3,4	27,5	-	-	-	6
Technische Universität Ilmenau Institut für Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft	7,3	3,4	30,9	-	-	-	6
Universität Münster Institut für Kommunikationswissenschaft	7,0	3,2	34,1	3	3	7	8
Technische Universität Dresden Institut für Kommunikationswissenschaft	6,8	3,2	37,3	-	-	31	9
Universität Hamburg Fachbereich Rechtswissenschaft	5,0	2,3	39,6	19	-	-	10
Universität Jena Fachrichtung Kommunikationswissenschaft	5,0	2,3	41,9	-	-	-	10
Universität Dortmund Institut für Journalistik	4,3	2,0	43,9	14	9	17	12
Universität Göttingen Institut für Publizistik und Kommunikationswissenschaft	4,2	1,9	45,8	9	9	33	13
Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg Lehrstuhl für Kommunikations- und Politikwissenschaft	4,0	1,8	47,7	6	8	11	14
Universität Zürich Institut für Publizistikwissenschaft und Medienforshung	3,7	1,7	49,3	8	15	17	15

(based on Donsbach et al. 2005, 65)

A further interesting fact concerns the books reviewed in the pages of *Publizistik* during the years: their average number of pages have grown from 239.1 in 1958 to 384.8 in 2003. By international standards, this seems very high and can not be explained by the use of computer as a writing tool alone. One factor could be the growing length and number of *Habilitations*, but Eberwein and Pöttker (2006, 54) give a even more exotic explanation: behind Communication Studies book series stand publishing houses like *Universitätsverlag Konstanz* (UVK) and *Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften* (VS), who have such agreements with the editors and sponsors of the series that the publishers receive subventions according to the number of pages of a book. Thus, given that the fixed costs per book are roughly the same, their profit increases as the length of the books increase. This has led publishers to encourage writers to deliver not shorter but longer manuscripts in order to alleviate their own economic pressures.

Eberwein and Pöttker (ibid.) mention another interesting aspect: the editors of *Publizistik* "have an at least unconscious inclination to regard the number of pages of a review book to be a criterion of relevance. Here as in other fields of academic endeavour, quantity, due to its comprehensibility, easily takes the place of quality ".

Chart 18: Average number of pages in the reviewed books

Volume	Pages
1958	239.1
1963	317.8
1968	231.1
1973	218.0
1978	285.8
1983	321.1
1988	251.2
1993	258.7
1998	280.9
2003	384.8
average	278.8

(based on Eberwein – Pöttker 2006, 54)

Scholarly Associations

German media and communication researchers are divided in two organisations. The larger organisation is called *Deutsche gesellschaft für Publizistik und Kommunikationswissenschaft* (DGPuK). It currently has over 700 members (Schulz 2006, 94). Founded by 16 scholars in 1963, it currently has over 700 members (Schulz 2006, 94). As Preiser et al. put it (2003, 324), here has been a "strong expansion" of DGPuK in recent years. There are plans to rename it *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Medien und Kommunikationswissenschaft*, but the issue is still open.

The other organisation is called *Gesellschaft für Medienwissenschaft* (GfM) with perhaps around one hundred members. Until the end of 2000, it was called *Gesellschaft für Film- und Fernsehwissenschaft*. It was founded in 1985.

Besides these two organisations, there is also the Swiss *Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Medien und Kommunikationswissenschaft* (SGKM), founded in 1976, that has 140 members and the Austrian *Österreichische Gesellschaft für Kommunikatioswissenschaft* (ÖGK), founded in 1976, with its 140 members.

The largest association, *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Publizistik und Kommunikationswissenschaft* (DGPuK), has its disciplinary roots in the old *Zeitungskunde*, later transformed into *Publizistik*, and the more recent sociologically oriented mass communication research. Accordingly, there are two latent conflict lines in this association: first, to what extent should topics other than public communication and journalism be included in its profile; second, what is the legitimacy of the so-called qualitative research methods.

Accordingly, people organised in *Gesellschaft für Medienwissenschaft* (GfM), with their backround in more humanistically oriented studies such as literature have felt a need to have a association of their own. Though some people are members of both, the associations do not have much contact with each other. On the other hand, there is cooperation, for example concerning conferences, between DGPuK, the Swiss SGKM and the Austrian ÖGK.

DGPuK publishes several journals that can be accessed via the association's useful homepages <http://www.dgpuk.de/>. The most important is *Aviso*, usually published three times a year. It is not a traditional scholarly journal; rather, its function is to provide information for the members on various current issues, publish short informative articles, news, interviews, etc. It is very widely read among the members of the DGPuK. It is also published in electronic form and available for non-members, as are the two following DGPuK journals.

Besides *Aviso*, an electronic *DGPuK-Newsletter* is published quarterly. Another quarterly journal called *TRANSFER* was established in 1997 to fill a certain gap: much of the actual research done in the universities results in dissertations and MA and BA thesis that are usually nor widely available for people who might be interested in them. TRANSFER publishes short presentations of the dissertations and of the best MA and BA thesis. Since 2000, it has been published in electronic form.

GeseIIschaft für Medienwissenschaft (GfM) has its own book series, currently published by Schüren Verlag in Marburg. There have been 14 books published in the series so far. Swiss SGKM publishes *Medienwissenschaft Schweiz* once or twice yearly. Austrian ÖGK publishes *Medien Journal*, established in 1976.

The DGPuK is undoubtedly the most important of the associations. Thus a recent survey based study of the profile and views of it members (Preiser et al. 2003) is of interest. To start with some basic statistical facts: the members are on average 45 years old and nearly everyone has gained a higher education degree higher than a BA. Here it is useful to know that you have to be recommended by someone who is already a member in order to become a new member of the DGPuK. In addition, you should be able to show two scientific publications: "when it comes to new intakes, the list of publications serves as a general exam of the interests of the potential new member" (Ströber 2006, 27). Around 30% of the members work as assistants, etc., 38% are professors, and 26% work outside higher education. 6% of the members are retired. 88% of the members work in Germany and a further 9% is shared equally by Switzerland and Austria. 28% of the members are women. The expansion of the DGPuK is reflected in the fact that over half have been members for less than 10 years and one-third for less than five years.

Not without interest are the ways how the members of the DGPuK primarily identify themselves: 52% regard themselves foremost as *Kommunikationswissenschaftler/in*, 9% as *Medienwissenschaftler/in*, 4%

chooses *Kommunikations- und Medienwissenschaftler/in*, another 4% *Publizistikwissenschaftler/in* and 3% *Journalistikwissenschaftler/in*. (ibid., 325; the ending *–in* denotes female.)

The members think of DGPuK "certainly as predominantly pluralistic, but only as moderately open for positions outside the disciplines mainstream; at any rate, a third believes it to be paradigmatically too one-sidedly biased". It is most of all women and "members for whom perspectives from the humanities, media studies or aesthetic-artistic areas are important; members whose *own* research is more strongly oriented in the direction of the humanities; members who rate the scientific meaning of the sub-discipline visual communication more highly; and those linked to the sub-disciplines of communication and media ethics and visual communication" who think that DGPuK is too uniform (ibid., 324).

While 58.9% of the members agree with the statement that "DGPuK provides a good network", only 34.7% agree with the statement that "all in all the scientific standards are high in the DGPuK" and 27.6% with the statement that "DGPuK is open to positions that are not located in the mainstream". As many as 48.2% find it true that the "association is not much recognised in other disciplines" (ibid., 317).

Compared to how DGPuK is often perceived, it is very interesting to note that among the members there is a near balance of identifications with quantitative and qualitative empirical approaches (ibid., 326). Perhaps even more interesting is the fact that when asked what type of research perspective should be present in the DGPuK (in the form of persons, conference contributions or research) after "empirical social science", found to be important by 89.2% of the members, the second highest ranking (76.7%) was the perspective of "social critique"(ibid., 320).

Research Funding

The most important and prestigious source of external funding for research is the *Deutsche Forschunsgemeinschaft* (DFG) with some 1,3 billion Euros per year. It has been said that the number of proposals from communication researchers is "quite modest" and the approval rates are "low, though the chances are not so bad" (Jarren 2002, 3). In 2004, DFG changed its operation by leaving behind the committees based on single disciplines and moved to bigger committees that cover several disciplines. The review and approval processes of the applications were also separated in the sense that the multidisciplinary committee approves or disapproves the proposals on the basis of statements written by external reviewers.

DFG has in recent years received yearly some 20 research proposals from communication researchers. Between one third (33%) and half of them (53%) have been accepted each year for financing (Pfetsch – Krotz 2006, 5). The relatively small number of applications – especially considering the size of Germany – reveals that it is question of large projects. However, communication researches seem to write fewer proposals than researchers in other social sciences. Besides other things, this indicates that they have other important sources of external financing. Besides various foundations, such a source is in particular the *Landesmedienanstalt*s.

The *Landesmedienanstalt*s are public organisations, financed by around 2% share of the broadcasting fees. They survey the private media business in their respective *Länder*. As we discovered in the chapter on the German media landscape, public broadcasting is also organised in this kind of decentred way.

Since 1987, *Landesmedienanstalt*s have financed over 400 research projects. However, not all financing has been for academic projects: for example, studies on viewer figures are also conducted by private research companies. Yet "a large part of this unjustified money goes to institutes and professorships in our discipline. Quick proposals, short research time, quick processing – and at least, seemingly, without any further costs, the publication. […] It is good that there is this money. But who is actually served by these projects? What research structures could be built up with them? In all cases many are occupied with these projects and all are thus strongly linked to deadlines" (Jarren 2002, 3). Yet they are not very long-term deadlines: the research projects have usually been relatively short-term. Only one in ten has lasted more than two years. A serious problem has also been that the

research questions have been defined by very practical, instrumental and short term needs. (Weiss 2006, 7-9; cf. Jarren 2005, 4-5)

The landscape of German foundations has been described as a jungle (Waldherr 2006, 9). At the very least, it is certainly lacking in "transparency and a clear overview [*Übersichtlichkeit*]" as Seifert – Emmer, who provide a useful list of possible financial sources, put it (2006, 3). These desriptions are perhaps not without some justification: in 2005, the *Bundesverband deutscher Stiftungen* had a membership of 11 000 foundations. Only 13,6% of them financed scientific research, but that still leaves us with one and half thousand foundations. Characteristic for the foundations that have background in media is that they do not concentrate on communication and media research: The *Zeit-Stiftung* finances 16 million Euro and the much bigger *Bertelsmann Stiftung,* the "most influential foundation in the country" (*Handelsblatt*) or "the largest and most influential *Politikberater* in the country" (Wernicke 2007a, cf. Wernicke – Bultmann 2007 and Wernicke 2007b), provides annually 42 million Euro of research funds.

A very important financier of social scientific research in Germany is the *Volkswagenstiftung*, which is among the ten largest foundations in Europe. Different political parties also have their own foundations that support research. Since these foundations are important political-cultural actors in German society, it is useful to know them and their affiliations:

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (SDP)

Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung (FDP)

Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung (CSU)

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (CDU)

Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung (Die Grünen)

Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung (Die Linkspartei.PDS)

An important financial source for building up international contacts is the *Deutscher akademischer Austauschdienst* (DAAD). It finances various visits and projects abroad by German researchers as well as visits and projects by foreign researchers in Germany.

3 Main Approaches in Communication and Media Studies and Future Challenges

Challenge of the New University Reforms

Since the 1990s "economic efficiency" has became the key word of higher education politics also in Germany. The economic rationalisation of the higher education agenda was enforced by the trends summarised under the concept of "New Public Management" (NPM), originating in the United Kingdom, New Zealand and Australia. The core of the neoliberal New Public Management approach is the introduction of management instruments from the private sector into public organisations. "Posed a bit cynically, the new question was thus: How can the public be reassured that the quality of German higher education is assured if public funding declines and the participation rates increase?"(Göztepe-Çelebi et al. 2002, 13).

Yet to consider all this just from the perspective of cost saving (and the opportunities it creates for conservative roll-backs) would be short sighted. As Torsten Bultmann has noted (1996, 346), a new articulation between individual behaviour in education, universities and their resources, as well as the neoliberally regulated markets, is currently being constructed. As a result, "students must, for example, calculate the future 'returns' of their student fees more exactly; they thus must necessarily think more seriously about the job market and established social career patterns. This mechanism is even further strengthened if, as can be assumed, the majority of them will be able to raise their student fees only by means of credit mechanisms of pre-financing, almost as an anticipation of future earnings" (ibid., 347).

These changes in the *dispositif* of universities can also paradoxically strengthen some established features: "To the extent that elements of political direction of *Hochschule* tasks, be it via parliaments or 'interest-pluralistic' groups, are relativised in their function of determining goals in favour of moments of economic self-regulation, this means above all a strengthening of groups that traditionally, at any rate, have authoritatively decided about scientific courses: consequently, what is released is merely mechanisms of strengthened self-identification of the 'scientific community' in

their trusted paradigms" (ibid., 349) Stated in other words, what we have here again is the "old boys network" (ibid., 35).

Hectic competition between the universities over the status of "elite university" and the money that comes with it began in Autumn 2006. More than 70 universities all over Germany with over 300 projects participated in this first preliminary round. In this first round of the so-called excellence initiative two technical universities (TU München and TU Karlsruhe) and one 'full' university (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich) achieved the coveted elite status. However, after the announcement of the results of this first round in January 2007, 35 universities with 96 projects could still continue into the second round. Hectically prepared and polished new applications (incidentally, written once again in English) had to be handed in by April; the results will be announced in October 2007. Besides that, 26 universities have produced 44 applications in the competition concerning the best graduate schools. 28 universities or high schools with 40 projects are competing to attain the status of the best excellence cluster that binds together universities, outside institutions and companies. (Finetti 2007b). In the first round applications "those from the humanities and social sciences hardly had a chance" in this competition (Nida-Rumelin 2006).

In any case, the state financing of the universities will be much more selective than before. The strong ones will be stronger and the weaker will be weakened. Here it is not just a question of the 1,6 billion Euro of the Excellence competition but also of linking the public financing more closely to "performance criteria", not least in the search for external funding . Part of the picture is that the successful universities will be able to choose their own students while the "losers" have to deal with the rest. It has been said that "practically, according to experiences from the elite higher education institutions in other countries, that means above all one thing: in the first place, the children of the bourgeoisie and other 'educationally oriented' social strata will study at the elite and research universities, due to their better achievements (thanks to essentially more favourable learning conditions) and due to selection criteria related to personality" (Hartmann 2006).

*Studiengebühre (*student fees*)* were also introduced in Autumn 2006. The way for its political implementation was opened by decision of the *Bundesverfassungsgericht* two years ago (see Bultmann 2005). This Spring (2007), already more than half, i.e. more than one million of the 1,9 million German higher education students, will have to pay for their studies. In Autumn 2006 the effect was

a reduced number of students. It is probable that this trend will continue. (Finetti 2006a). However, it has been claimed that the most important effect of the student fees is not so much that it will make entrance to higher education more difficult. "That will also be the case – the higher the student fees, the more difficult will it be [for people from lower socio-economic backgrounds] – but more important is another point, usually neglected: the differentiation of the fee amounts" (Harmann 2006). This process, in which the higher education institutes themselves can decide upon the amount of the fee, can be seen in the latest draft proposals in Hessen, as well as its implementation in Nordrhein-Westfalen and Bavaria. The universities that emerge as winners from the current competition will be able to select the social background of their students not only through the academic selection procedure, but directly, according to the amount of the student fees.

As can be seen, "the introduction of student fees constitutes only a building stone of an entire strategy that ultimately boils down to breaking the universities up into a small group of roughly 25 research universities (with the elite universities nominated in the context of the excellence competition in first place), at which study predominantly the children of the bourgeoisie, and a large group of approximately 80 universities whose task will then be the quickest possible training of the student masses from the broader population" (Hartmann 2006). Yet despite this differentiation both of these groups should regard their University studies as an "investment in oneself" and the student should consider her- or himself as an "Ich-AG" (cf. Bultmann 2005; Achelpöler 2005) that could be translated into English as *me inc.*[5]

The third important recent development since 2006 is the so called *Föderalismusreform*, the reform of federalism in higher education. In practice, this aims to dispense with the federal *Hochschulrahmengesetz* regulating higher education (see Finetti 2007c). It would mean "leaving behind the principle of co-operative federalism operative until now" and is predicted to produce "dramatic consequences" (Viotto 2007). The goal of creating common formal and qualitative standards in higher education in Germany, or to put it in another way, the goal of creating equal living standards in higher education, recedes into the background. This occurs despite the fact that in international comparisons the quality of German higher education units, standardised at least to a certain extent, has been assessed more as an asset. However, these developments were anticipated by Bultmann

[5] Another translation of this term, following the use of "ego" in English for Freud's "das Ich", would be "ego inc". On this highly symptomatic concept of "Ich-AG" and its history in recent German political debates and social legislation, see Kleyboldt 2004.

when he wrote that "the production of an unequal environment among institutions of higher education is precisely the declared goal of direction by market imperatives" (1996, 349).

There also seems to be an interesting tension between these inner-German developments of neoliberal deregulation and the Bologna process of creating harmonised European higher education standards that promote mobility among university students and staff (cf. Enders 2002). Thus it has been argued that for the students the so-called reform will mean a "jungle of different regulations" and that it does not address the socio-economic conditions of the students – such as the fact, for example, that three-quarters of the students have to work while they are studying (Binz 2007).

To be expected, according to Vietta (2007), is "a wave of privatisation or partial privatisation" as well as "direction foreign to scholarly life by higher education counsellors recruited from business. This is justified by, among other elements, the desire to network higher education institutions with regional business in order to generate direct benefits for the region via a transfer of knowledge. Indeed, the aim of this currently dominant position of "competitive federalism" [*Wettbewerssföderalismus*] is that "every *Bundesland* optimises its economic and technological-scientific regional advantages according to its own discretion" (Bultmann 2005). A recent report from the conference of the university rectors in the "in the Giessen *Stadttheater*, hermetically sealed off by the police" in beginning of May 2007 is titled "Co-operation with Capital. Higher education institutions want to open up more to business" (Finetti 2007d).

Indeed, nowadays also in Communication and Media studies there is a "struggle over securing resources which at the moment is occurring in almost all institutions" (Rössler 2004, 19). Compared to such disciplines as Philosophy, Latin, Philology, etc., Communication and Media Studies are perhaps not so much in danger because of its reproductive function for the labour force. "Communication and Media Studies, since the beginning of their expansion in the 1970s, has been appreciate primarily for its achievements in educating new recruits", writes Jarren (2002, 2). But while, on the one hand, "the discipline is still legitimated above all by its competence in providing education and training for media professions", on the other hand fewer and fewer professors nowadays have experience of working in the media, which may produce some "potential for conflict" (Meyen 2004, 204).

Yet according to Jarren, "there is a lack of fundamental research". "I think that the research achievement on public communication as a total achievement of the discipline is not very high, at

least in regards to what you can call the fundamental or theory-relevant research. […] the discipline still has a way to go in the research field if it wants to have a noticeable voice in the concert of the (social) scientific disciplines and to claim university status". However, starting from the idea of the "unity of research and teaching", Jarren also comes to the conclusion that "there is also a lack of political or business-oriented research and advisory institutions of any weight" (2002, 2). He obviously means that such "advisory institutions of any weight" cannot be attained without investment in basic research. It remains to be seen what kind balance or imbalance the new developments in higher education will produce in this respect; yet the prospects for a broad and intensive development of basic research do not look very favourable.

In Germany this struggle over resources and even over survival is connected to a change of generation in Communication and Media Studies. According to Meyen (2004, 203) the recruiting of new academic teachers will be central task since it seems that by 2010 more than one third of the professors who were working in 2002 will have retired.

Chart 19: Age structure of the professors in Communication and Media Studies

Born in	Number of professors
1940 and before	9
1941-1945	20
1946-1950	21
1951-1955	13
1956-1960	11
1961-	6
	80

(based on Meyen 2004, 203)

Meyen envisions two possible future scenarios. In the first optimistic scenario, young qualified researchers with a junior professorship or *Habilitation* will have outstanding career prospects. In the second pessimistic scenario, these retirements will be used by the university administration to reduce the size of entire institutes. This danger is relevant also because in some big institutes the professors

have a very similar age pattern. In Berlin, Dortmund and Mainz most of the professors will retire in the next few years. There is a homogeneous age pattern also in Leipzig, although there the professors are on average five years younger. In any case, this change of generation will have some consequences for the German Communication and Media Studies.

Internationalisation: Challenges and Opportunities

An obvious dimension which poses a serious future challenge for the Communication and Media Studies in Germany is internationalisation. Several studies (cf. Lauf 2001, Rische 2005a, and 2005b) all show that much is to be desired in this respect. According to Winfried Schulz (2006, 95) "what is deplorable" in his native Communication and Media Studies is that "German-speaking community is to a certain degree secluded and self-sufficient".

For example, Eberwein's and Pöttker's study on the books reviewed in *Publizistik* also contains interesting information about the origins of these books. According to their data, compressed in the following chart, the level of internationalisation in German Communication Studies in rather low also in light of books reviewed.

Chart 20: Country of publication ofe the books reviewed in 'Publizistik' (in %)

Volume	D/GDR	USA	CH	A	F	NL	other	Multinational Publisher
1958	78.9	5.3	5.3	0.0	0.0	5.3	2.6	2.6
1963	69.0	3.4	0.0	0.0	10.3	3.4	3.4	10.3
1968	89.4	2.1	0.0	4.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.3
1973	81.9	1.4	2.8	0.0	0.0	5.6	1.4	6.9
1978	70.5	1.0	3.8	4.8	1.9	0.0	6.7	11.4
1983	60.6	4.5	2.3	1.5	3.0	0.0	6.1	22.0
1988	71.1	0.0	1.3	2.6	0.0	1.3	5.3	18.4
1993	82.4	1.5	1.5	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.2
1998	76.3	6.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7	15.3
2003	73.3	3.5	3.5	3.5	0.0	0.0	2.3	14.0
average	73.5	2.8	2.2	2.1	1.3	1.1	3.5	13.5

(based on Eberwein-Pöttker 2006, 57)

It is perhaps surprising that the share of books stemming from the USA is so low, although it is probably true that German Communication research is more oriented towards the USA than towards any other country: "Our perpective is still very much focused on the American scene" writes Schulz (2006, 95) who laments that "many interesting and innovative developments in other countries not published in English never reach the attention of German-speaking scholars. […] Most of Europe – not only Scandinavia – is unknown territory to someone like me".

Besides the very low share of French books, the total absence of the UK in Eberwein and Pöttker's results is particularly surprising. Could it be that precisely British books are included in the section called "multinational publisher" since many British publishers operate nowadays in the USA as well?

However, Eberwein and Pöttker write (2006, 57) that "only a fraction" of the books in this section are really published internatioinally since "many publishing enterprises based in Germany give small foreign firm branches as the place of appearance on the title page, due to reasons of prestige".

Whereas between 62% and 65% of all the articles in the *Publizistik* between the years 1956 and 1995 constanly dealt with the Federal Rebublic, between 1996 and 2003 this share rose suddenly up to 72.7%. Eberwein and Pöttker draw from this the conclusion "that the inability or the unwillingness of German Communication Studies to look beyond their own national horizons has even increased since the middle of the 1990s" (ibid., 57-58).

According to their chart, even research literature from Austria and Switzerland receives relatively little attention, though language should not be such barrier here. Thus Eberwein and Pöttker write that "German language Communication Studies is not only not taken seriously internationally; considering its own appreciation of foreign research literature, it evidently leads an island existence, which has been little changed by the growing together of Europe and the globalisation process" (Eberwein-Pöttker 2006, 57).

Lack of Clarity? Or Lack of Self-Reflection?

This lack of internationalisation is symptomatic of a more general problem in German Communication and Media Studies: a lack of critical and systematic self-reflection. As Ruhrmann et al. argue, when reflection upon the history and contemporary state of the discipline does occur, it is often in a "fragmentary" form, an "ad-hoc operation that has hardly disturbed a mostly empirical practice of research" (Ruhrmann et al. 2000, 295). "The number of large and on-going scholarly debates over theories or paradigms is small"; within the DGPuK, there is no disciplinary group that programmatically engages with theoretical questions (Jarren 2005, 6). The discipline appears to enjoy – or to suffer from - a certain degree of "self-satisfaction", based upon its previous successes in institutional expansion (Ruhrmann et al. 2000, 302). A consequence of this is that German Communication and Media Studies has not, on the whole, developed a systematic analysis of the capacity of the discipline to respond to present and future challenges - the offering of the "self-understanding paper" (*Selbstverständigungspapier*) of the DGPuK (2001) notwithstanding. To

understand the reasons for this lacuna, we need to turn to a consideration of the discipline's own historical consciousness. Here we find more than one "skeleton in the cupboard".

To date, there have only been single and isolated studies of the development and history of the discipline, particularly in institutional terms (Jarren 2005, 6). There was an attempt to begin a systematic reckoning of accounts with the discipline's past under the Nazi regime with the (in)famous debate on Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann's role in German Fascism and the possible connections between it and her writings on the "spiral of silence". Significantly, the debate was initiated by an American author, Christopher Simpson (1996). A heated debate in the pages of the *Journal of Communication* followed, including an intervention by Noelle-Neumann's discipline Hans Mathias Kepplinger (1997) that attempted to defend her reputation, eliciting a subsequent response from Simpson (1997). The debate aroused interest also outside the circle of communication scholars (cf. Shea 1997 and Spiegel 1997) and continues even today (cf. Becker 2006). Interesting, the Germans Köhler (1989) and Klinger (1994) has already raised many questions regarding the unresolved past of German Media Studies and the Noelle-Neumann case in particular, but these works, published by marginal publishing houses, failed to produce the wider echo accorded to Simpson's intervention.

In a further moment, the debate extended to consider the implications of these perspectives for the discipline as a whole, leading to a series of publications that attempted to reckon accounts with the experience of the Nazi regime and how these traces of the past continue to influence the contemporary discipline. The debate began with Horst Pöttker's article in *Aviso* (2001), "Mitgemacht, weitergemacht, zugemacht: zur NS-Erbe der Kommunikationswissenschaft in Deutschland" (2001), criticising among other things the role of Emil Dovofat and Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann – both honorary members of the DGPuK – for their activities during and after the Nazi regime. This article almost resulted in the sacking of the editor of Aviso by the directorate of the DGPuK. A heated debate ensued. Besides some smaller publications, the most substantial contributions to the Debate have been Duchkowitsch et al, *Die Spirale des Schweigens* (2004) and Kutsch's "Verdrängte Vergagenheit" (2006). The level of controversy that Pöttker's publication produced can be taken as an index of the extent to which German Communication and Media

Studies still has some way to go before it has fully reckoned accounts with its problematic past – and their continuing legacy in the present.[6]

Yet this problem of a lack of systematic self-reflection should not be regarded as concerning the past alone. Arguably, the contemporary state of the discipline is also characterised by a "lack of clarity" regarding the different approaches that are operative in the field and compete to define its future directions. The seriousness of this situation should not be underestimated: as Ruhrmann et al. correctly note, "whoever avoids self-reflection puts the capacity of the discipline to confront future challenges at risk" (Ruhrmann et al. 2000, 297). Thus the "mainstream" of German Communication and Media Studies has remained relatively unchanged by the emergence of alternative research paradigms that propose not just more qualitative rather than quantitative research methods, but also more theoretically informed methods of research project elaboration. Perhaps the most striking example of this has been the limited impact of feminism upon the research topics and methodologies of the mainstream that has after all remained a "Malestream" (Klaus 2005, 28). The feminist approach, which inspired some of the most dynamic younger researchers in previous years, was not compatible with the mainstream approach's understanding of the discipline. Thus, some researchers in feminist and gender-focused research sought an ally in the Systems Theoretical approaches associated with Luhmann and associates, which "in the course of the 1990s, [had] advanced to become the dominant paradigm of Journalism" and also very influential upon Communication and Media Studies (Klaus et al. 2002, 14). However, it soon became clear that while Systems Theory, its constructivist elaboration by Siegfried J. Schmidt as well as Friedrich Kittlers anti-humanist theory of technologically constructed medial aprioris, made advances to some extent[7] towards overcoming the theoretical insularity of the mainstream, they reproduced the some of its most prominent problems, particularly in a period of increasing globalisation: namely, a lack of integration into an international discourse. This prompted other younger researchers to begin to turn towards the competing research paradigm of Cultural Studies that has now advanced to become the "dominant theoretical Position in gender research within Communication Studies" (Klaus 2005, 23). "Gender research in Communications studies understands itself as a critical media research […] that investigates the conditions and consequences of social activity and thus goes beyond individual-centred and purely structurally founded ideas of media activity" (Klaus et al. 2002, 15).

[6] cf. the persistent argumentation of Hanno Hardt – an outsider – in (1976), (1980) and (2004).
[7] On Luhmann and Kittler see Winthrop-Young (2000); more critical on Luhmann are Gansmann (1986), Barben (1996) and (1998), Hauck (1999), and Demirovic (2001).

In the following section, we will examine the reception of the Cultural Studies research tradition in Germany and its consequences for Communication and Media Studies. Until now, it has had only limited influence upon German Communication and Media Studies. However, it is perhaps one of the research paradigms better placed in order to help to redefine productive institutional and theoretical coordinates for future developments.

German Communication and Media Studies and Cultural Studies: A Paradigmatic Case Study

When one considers the impact that the tradition of research originating in the Anglophone world known as "Cultural Studies" has had upon Communication and Media Studies in a significant number of other countries (in many instances, the latter now effectively functions, in institutional and intellectual terms, as a "sub-discipline" of the former, with both positive and less enabling consequences for both), one might expect it to also figure prominently in contemporary German academic life in general and Communication and Media Studies in particular. The German tradition of *Kulturwissenschaft* and adjacent discourses would seem to provide a bridge for the "translation" of perspectives drawn from British, American, Australian etc Cultural Studies into a German context; the transformation of Communication and Media Studies in the Anglophone world through institutional integration into the "Cultural Studies paradigm" would seem to provide a model for a similar impact in other linguistic zones. Yet Cultural Studies has had a difficult and ambivalent reception in Germany, in both the wider intellectual culture Communication and Media Studies. The reasons for this seem to consist in a combination of a discrepancy between national-linguistic intellectual traditions and different academic institutional histories and contemporary reformations. In our opinion, the difficult reception of Cultural Studies is symptomatic of the specificity and revealing of some of the defining tensions of contemporary German Communication and Media Studies. Viewed from another perspective, however, it also represents one of the most fruitful opportunities for the growth of the discipline in a period of increasing internationalisation.

Three theses can be proposed to explain the relatively "marginal" status of Cultural Studies in German intellectual life. First, Cultural Studies initially emerged in Great Britain from a reflection on the concept of "Culture", central to a whole tradition of moral-political discourse in nineteenth century Britain that is quite distinct from its German cognate *Kultur*. The founders of British

Cultural Studies, such as Raymond Williams, Richard Hoggart and Stuart Hall, inherited and transformed and movement of socio-political critique in a period of profound transformations in British higher education. In its original formulation, Cultural Studies aspired not to become another academic discipline, but a practice of interdisciplinarity, or even a "non-discipline". It has subsequently become one of the most dynamic and arguably hegemonic teaching and research paradigms in the Anglophone humanities and social sciences (and increasingly, in other cultures strongly influenced by English's status as the contemporary *lingua franca*), integrating a wide variety of previous practices and enabling them to enter into productive methodological and institutional dialogue. The German concept of *Kultur*, on the other hand, played a very different role in nineteenth century German history, and for a long period in the twentieth century (particularly during the years of the Nazi regime), was subordinated to vitalistic rhetorics gathered around the concept of *Leben*. Unlike its English counterpart, it remained much more closely linked to aesthetic discourses taken in isolation rather than as indices of wider social practices and transformations. Thus, despite appearances, there is, as Hepp argues (2004, 100), an "'inequality' between Cultural Studies and German *Kulturwissenschaft*", in terms of their histories, organising conceptual field and contemporary significance, which has prevented an organic translation of the perspectives of the former into the latter.

Second, cultural discourse in post-war Germany has been heavily marked by the dominance of the approaches of the Frankfurt School. Combining, on the one hand, a restriction of the term "Culture" to the elements British Cultural Studies identified as "High Culture" and, on the other, a strong critique of the "Culture Industry" as source of distraction, the work of Adorno and Horkheimer in particular strongly marked the "cultural consciousness" of the Federal Republic of Germany. The result was a marked continuation of the presuppositions of a traditional intellectual milieu deriving from the nineteenth century (often referred to in Germany as that of the *Bildungsbürgertum*), and the restriction of "Culture" in the fullest sense to an aesthetic paradigm, opposed to practices of everyday life. This stands in direct contrast to the attempted "deconstruction" of such oppositions within Cultural Studies, which set out, in the work of Williams and Hall in particular, to analyses cultural production as a continuum of social practices with varying institutional forms, articulated within a "whole way of life". The attempt to import Cultural Studies into Germany, therefore, at least in its initial stages, confronted a situation in which the foreign soil lacked some of the basic nutrients that the exotic species required in order to "take hold". "There is general agreement concerning the impact that the Frankfurt School dominance had in preventing

cultural studies' reception in Germany" (Horak 1999, 111-2). An Arnoldian notion of culture as "the best that has been thought and said" remains widely diffused in German intellectual life, whereas it was precisely this perspective that Williams and Hall took as their foundational object of critique. With only a slight exaggeration, Mikos could thus legitimately argue that "the principle of Cultural Studies as … an 'intellectual project' has until now been barely understood" (Mikos 1997, 162). This situation is now slowly changing, but, as we will see, within specific institutional constraints.

Third, Cultural Studies emerged to prominence in the Anglophone world in a period of profound transformations of the higher education system. In many respects, Cultural Studies both benefited from and shaped demands to "open" traditional academic hierarchies to new initiatives appropriate to an age of mass (tertiary) education. In fact, it is significant that Cultural Studies as a project was initially much more strongly shaped by experiences of adult and extension education rather than University disciplines (the cases of Williams and E. P. Thompson, both trained at Oxbridge but teaching for a formative period of their career in adult education, are exemplary in this regard). Both of these influences tended to favour an interdisciplinary approach that synthesised perspectives and material from established research areas into new approaches more responsive to demands both for student involvement in the curriculum and social relevance. More recently, in a period in which many of the traditional humanities and social sciences have witnessed declining student enrolments and budget constraints, Cultural Studies has paradoxically managed to grow and diversify to meet new needs and demands. The precise reasons for and consequences of such mutability have been fiercely contested within Cultural Studies from different perspectives, including the "Cultural Policy Studies" and "Creative Industries" initiatives. What does seem clear is that Cultural Studies in the broadest sense has benefited from the relatively dynamic institutional structures of an Anglophone University system that today resembles its nineteenth and early twentieth century forebear only in name. In Germany, on the other hand, University reform/modernisation came late, and in complex forms: a priority of "stabilising reconstruction" following the Nazi years had a tendency, ironically, to reinforce many of the more authoritarian dimensions of the traditional Germany university that had converged in the "fascistisation" of the German University system. While these features were strongly criticised by the movement of 1968 and its aftermath, entrenched power relations, both intellectually (exceptional dependence upon individual professors rather than collegial committees) and financially (mostly delegated by the Federal structure to the individual *Länder* rather than coordinated nationally), continued to favour conservative forces inside the universities, gathered around power bases in individual disciplines. As a new discipline, Cultural Studies thus encountered

difficulties in inserting itself into the internal German university political constellation. Even more importantly, the institutional openness necessary for an interdisciplinary project such as Cultural Studies was lacking.[8]

The consequences of these general coordinates within the specific case of Communication and Media Studies have been noticeable and, in our opinion, impoverishing for the growth of the discipline when compared to international developments. First, when Cultural Studies has been received in German Communication and Media Studies, it has often been in a "diluted" form. The notion of a "Cultural Studies *Ansatz* [approach]", as one alongside a range of other theoretical options that can be adopted, either systematically or pragmatically in individual case studies, by individual Communication and Media researchers, is perhaps one of the most revealing features of this transformation in translation. Cultural Studies, in the Anglophone world and other cultures where its implantation has been more successful, is distinguished by its pluralism and contested nature. It is regarded less as a single approach than as a paradigm or discursive field in which a range of different theoretical schools and methodologies compete for intellectual hegemony: semiotics, structuralism, post-structuralism, culturalism, post-colonialism, Marxism, feminism etc.

The notion of a particular approach distinctive to and definitive of cultural studies, however, has strongly marked the German reception, at least until now. Thus, in an earlier stage, one of the concepts from Cultural Studies that enjoyed some success in German Communication and Media Studies was Stuart Hall's notion of "decoding" (Jäckel/Peter 1997, 46) applied in reception studies; in another stage, one element of an early phase of Cultural Studies' institutional elaboration – namely, research on youth sub-cultures – was taken as definitive of the "approach", which was thus limited to Communication and Media studies specifically focused upon this target group in the German context. Implementation of this perspectives in Germany, that is, tended to focus on their usefulness as research instruments in specific cases rather than perspectives embedded in, and having consequences for, a wider theoretical framework. While Cultural Studies in other cultures has tended to subsume pre-existing academic disciplines dealing with Communication and Media Studies, integrating them as an element of its project and often transforming the types of concrete research conducted, the same has not been the case in Germany. More often than not, the cultural Studies *Ansatz* exists on the margin of the discipline as a 'culturalist" commentary on (often

[8] Cf. the lack of echo of German work in the past founded upon similar perspectives, focusing strongly on power relations: Haug et al. (1986).

empirical) researches that continue traditional emphases. There has thus been a certain level of incomprehension of the capacity of Cultural Studies to redefine the self-understanding of Communication and Media Studies in its relation to other humanities and social sciences. "The scholarly understanding of cultural studies is in many respects incompatible with the core of Communication Studies' understanding of its scholarly role" (Schwer 2005, 6).

Second, the legacy of the Frankfurt school has strongly influenced the capacity of German Communication and Media studies to engage with the implications of Cultural Studies for its own self- and re-definition. One of the most significant consequences of this has arguably been the continuing dominance of less theoretically sophisticated paradigms of research in German Communication and Media Studies than those that have emerged in the discipline in other countries. On the one hand, the "mainstream" of Communication Studies in Germany has assumed a quantitative approach that has been largely superseded and integrated into more expansive frameworks in other cultures. In opposition to this, as Schwer notes, "the ideas of the Frankfurt School has been the dominant paradigm of critical Communication Studies research in Germany for decades, and dedicated positions in German Communication Studies have been formed through engagement with these ideas" (Schwer, 2005, 9). In the past, this produced an emphasis upon the Media in terms of manipulation, (passive) consent formation and dissimulation/deception: a "Culture Industry" analysis in which Communication and Media research figures as its own "guilty conscience". Studies such as those of Williams and Hall that offered a more nuanced view of the Media as cultural forms and practices, simultaneously productive of and produced by differing communities and different cultures in their interrelations, have thus rarely been emulated in the German context. The attempt of Cultural Studies to develop a more sophisticated approach to the study of modern communicative practices, including but not limited to the institutional forms of the media, that charts a path between, on the one hand, largely negative critique and, on the other hand, positive endorsement or acceptance, has been limited to individual research projects; it has not redefined the self-understanding of the discipline itself.

Third, the absence of a dynamic internal and external University reform and the consequent maintenance of traditional academic power bases has enabled the "mainstream" of Communication and Media research in Germany to avoid an explicit reckoning of accounts with the international transformation of the discipline. Whereas Media research in other cultures has witnessed an expansion of research methods and perspectives over the last several decades, often due to its

institutional integration with Cultural Studies programmes studying wider processes, the discipline in Germany remains much more tied to empirical and quantitative models. The distinct form of university modernisation/reform in Germany – a compromise between competing imperatives and interests, often favouring the status quo – has meant that Communication and Media Studies has been able to maintain and even to expand its own distinct institutional identity in the German academic landscape. Paradoxically, however, this institutional autonomy has not led to the increasing prestige of the discipline on the national terrain, when compared to similar developments in cultures where the Cultural Studies and Communication and Media Studies has been successfully implemented. In those latter cultures, Communication and Media Studies, has lost some of its prior institutional autonomy; but thanks to its participation in the hegemonic research paradigm of the humanities and social sciences, it has expanded and gained both a wider range of students and diversified research portfolio. In Germany, on the other hand, Communication and Media Studies, under the direction of a powerful professoriate, has managed to maintain its institutional autonomy; but it has not experienced the same degree of innovation. Growing institutional strength has ultimately functioned, arguably, as a weakness.

More recently, however, as Hepp argues, "interest in Cultural Studies in Media and Communication Studies has significantly increased since the 1990s" (Hepp 2004, 106). In our view this constitutes one of the most fruitful opportunities for the growth of the discipline and its reformation in order to be adequate to the challenges of the changes of its increasingly complex object of study. Given the international constellation of Cultural Studies within Communication and Media Studies, and more importantly, a reformulated Communication and Media Studies within Cultural Studies, this can only be regarded as an opportunity for German researchers to engage more frequently in international debates. In its turn, this may have positive impacts upon the domestic situation, as the German discipline reckons accounts with its history and begins to adopt some of the more expansive features, both within the university and the general academic culture and in terms of its engagement with social institutions of Media production, that currently characterise the international standard in the field.

German Communication and Media Studies at the Crossroads

German Communication and Media studies are presently confronting a turning point. There are important changes underway that will change the face of the discipline over the coming years. On the one hand, there is an increasing internationalisation of the Media to which the discipline as a whole must learn to respond. This is expressed both in terms of an internationalisation of media businesses and commerce, but also, perhaps even more importantly, an increasing internationalisation of media consumers and their sensibilities. The process of European integration, central to the German media landscape, is perhaps the most striking example of these developments. Readerships and Userships now bring an international comparative perspective to the Media that must necessarily be registered in an increasing internationalisation of scholarly study. On the other hand, the university reforms underway in Germany (and also in many other countries) will invariably change the institutional terrain that both shapes and is shaped by the individual disciplines. For Communication and Media Studies in particular, the approaching season of retirement of many of the currently leading figures of the discipline represents a challenge of transition, and also perhaps an opportunity for renewal. In order to respond adequately to these challenges and opportunities, German Communication and Media Studies will need to expand its horizons and think creatively about its relations with the University, the Media, and the general public. In our view, the discipline needs to reflect upon its theoretical presuppositions and the ways in which it understands its self-identity. Most importantly, emerging practitioners and researchers need to confront the challenge of overcoming the inner cleavage of the discipline between Communication and Media perspectives and develop new research paradigms capable of comprehending the integration of these practices, both within Germany and on the international terrain.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Communication or Media Studies as main subject (except FU Berlin) (from Rössler 2004, 21)

Key:

Universität / Studiengang = University / Study Programme

Abschluss = Degree

Anzahl Studenten = Number of Students

Studenten pro Prof. = Students per Professor

Anzahl Absolventen = Number of Completions

NC- Note = Numerus Clausus i.e Selection based on High School Results

Anzahl Bewerber = Number of Applications

Zulassungsquote = Quota of Admissions

*auslaufend = Soon to be phased out

**besonders Auswahlverfahren = Special Selection Procedure

Universität/ Studiengang	Abschluss	Anzahl Studenten	Studenten pro Prof.	Anzahl Absolventen	NC-Note	Anzahl Bewerber	Zulassungsquote
Universität Augsburg		**811**	**811**				
Medien und Kommunikation	BA HF	186		3	1,7	893	9,3
Kommunikationswissenschaft	MA	3				3	100,0
Kommunikationswissenschaft	Magister*	431		95			
Otto Friedrich-Universität Bamberg		**452**	**226**				
Kommunikationswissenschaft	Diplom HF	272				26	100,0
Ruhr-Universität Bochum		**1391**	**174**				
Medienwissenschaft	BA HF	287			1,4		
Publizistik/Theater-,	Magister*						
Film- und Fernsehwissenschaft	HF/NF	1104					
TU Dresden		**471**	**236**				
Kommunikationswissenschaft	Magister HF	345		20	1,5	613	6,5
Universität Düsseldorf		**1604**	**401**				
Sozialwissenschaften	BA	423			k.A.	320	41,6
Medien- & Kulturwissenschaft	BA	307			k.A.	1750	12,8
Universität Duisburg-Essen		**215**					
Angew. Komm.- & Medienwiss.	BA HF	204		12	1,5	1400	5,7
Angew. Komm.- & Medienwiss.	MA	11				11	100,0
Universität Erfurt		**296**	**59**				
Kommunikationswissenschaft	BA HF	132		39	**	186	25,8
Kommunikationswissenschaft	MA	18			**	22	63,6
Zeppelin University Friedrichshafen		**22**	**4**				
Angew. Komm.- & Kulturwiss.	BA HF	22		6			
Georg-August-Universität Göttingen		**1371**	**343**				
verschiedene Studiengänge	Magister HF/NF	495		47	1,5	1678	1,4
Diplom-Sozialwissenschaften	Diplom HF/NF	876		56	2,9	477	45,7
Universität Hamburg		**578**					
Kommunikationswissenschaft	Magister HF	177		4	1,4	356	9,6
Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hannover		**299**	**75**				
Medienmanagement	BA HF	88		1	**	190	15,3
Medienmanagement, Multimediale Kommunikation	MA	46		5	**	63	54,0
Medienmanagement	Diplom*, Aufbau*	63		29	**		
Universität Hohenheim		**268**	**89**				
Kommunikationswissenschaft	Diplom	197		21	1,1	788	4,6
Technische Universität Ilmenau		**734**	**105**				
Angewandte Medienwiss.	Diplom	734		51	1,9	410	31,0
Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena		**648**	**216**				
Medienwissenschaft	Magister HF	480		30	1,7	705	15,6
Universität Leipzig		**3227**	**359**				
Komm.- & Medienwissenschaft	Magister HF	1124		57	1,4	1174	8,6
PR/Kommunikationsmanagement	BA	27				50	34,0
Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz		**1173**					
Publizistik	Magister HF	716		37	1,4	494	17,2
Medienmanagement	Diplom	57			1,4	400	5,0
Universität Marburg		**1003**	**251**				
Medienwissenschaft	Magister HF	132		2	1,5		
Neuere deutsche Literatur & Medien	Magister HF*	418		58			
Ludwig-Maximilians-UniversitätMünchen		**1582**	**226**				
Kommunikationswissenschaft	BA	127			1,7	986	12,9
Kommunikationswissenschaft	Magister HF*	656		115	1,4	1200	15,3
Westfälische-Wilhelms-Universität Münster		**1418**	**203**				
Kommunikationswissenschaft	Magister HF	862		74	1,7	1393	8,6
Universität Trier		**350**	**175**				
Medienwissenschaft	Magister HF	177		3	1,6	531	6,2
gesamt (nur qualif. Angaben)		**20182**	**174**	**1663**	**1,67**	**23276**	**15,5**

Alle Angaben beziehen sich auf das letzte uns gemeldete Studienjahr bzw. den letzten Zulassungsdurchgang
* auslaufend ** besonderes Auswahlverfahren

Appendix 2

German communication and media research institutes

* Adolf-Grimme-Institut, Marl

< http://www.grimme-institut.de >

Focus on communication policies, media education and media quality.

* Arbeitsgruppe Kommunikationsforschung München (AKM)

< http://www.akm-afk.de >

Empirical research projects on communication.

* Comdat, Münster

< http://www.comdat.de/home.htm >

Image and brand research, market and opinion research, issue monitoring, event-controlling.

* Deutsche Rundfunkarchiv (DRA), Wiesnbaden/Frankfurt am Main; Potsdam-Babelsberg

< http://www.dra.de/ >

Archive of broadcasting history.

* Deutsches Digital Institut, Berlin

< http://www.deutsches-digital-institut.de >

New institute studying the economic and cultural impacts of digitalisation.

* European Institute for the Media (EIM), Dortmund

<http://www.eim.org/ >

The EIM is a think-tank for research and development in all areas of European media and communications. It aims to inform and advise policy-makers and facilitates discussion on European Media.

* Formatt-Institut, Dortmund

formatt-institut@t-online.de

Specialises in the processes of media concentration.

* GfK Fernsehforschung

< http://www.gfk.com >

GfK Fernsehforschung was founded in 1984 as a subsidiary of GfK (*GeseIlschaft für Konsumforschung*) AG, the fourth biggest market research company in the world. It concentrates on daily panel research of televison viewers. Germany's main provider of telemetric data.

* GöfaK Medienforschung, Potsdam

< http://www.goefak.de/ >

Empirical media research.

* Hans-Bredow-Institut, Hamburg

< http://www.hans-bredow-institut.de >

The Hans Bredow Institute was founded as an independent organisation by the *Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk* broadcasting corporation NWDR in cooperation with the University of Hamburg in 1950. As an Institute at the University of Hamburg it is legally independent, however, there is a multitude of content-oriented and organisational co-operations with the University. The research conducted by the Institute focuses on mediated public communication.

* Institut für empirische Medienforschung (IFEM), Köln

< http://www.ifem.de/ >

IFEM specialises in the content analysis of German television programmes.

* Institut für Europäisches Medienrecht (EMR), Saarbrücken

< http://www.emr-sb.de/ >

The EMR concentrates on media law.

* Institut für Rundfunkrecht. Köln

< http://www.uni-koeln.de/jur-fak/instrur/ >

Institute concentrating on broadcast law.

* Institut für Rundfunkökonomie, Köln

< http://rundfunkoek.uni-koeln.de/institut/index.php >

Institute for Broadcasting Economics associated to the Faculty of Economic and Social Sciences of the University of Cologne.

* Institut für Urheber- und Medienrecht, München

< http://www.urheberrecht.org/ >

Institute concentrating on copyright issues and media law.

* Institut für Zeitungsforschung, Dortmund

< http://www.zeitungsforschung.de/>

Institute with an archive and library concentrating on the study of the press and press history.

* JFF, München

< http://www.jff.de/ >

Institute for media pedagogy.

* Medien Institut Ludwigshafen

< http://www.medien-institut.de/home_aktuelles.html >

Institute for applied communication and market research headed by Hans-Bern Brosius.

Appendix 3

Selected bibliography of journals

Ästhetik und Kommunikation. 1970-

Aviso. Informationsdienst der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Publizistik- und Kommunikationswissenschaft. 1990-

Deutsche Presse. 1910-1944.

Evangelischer Filmbeobachter. 1949-1971.

Fernsehen und Bildung. 1967-1982.

Fernsehinformation. 1950-

Funk-Korrespondenz. 1953-

HHF. Hörfunk, Fernsehen, Film. 1951-1988.

Internationale Zeitschrift für Kommunikationsforschung. 1974-1975. Later under the names *Communications* 1976-1995 and *European Journal of Communication Research* 1996-

Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte. 1999-

Journal für Publizistik & Kommunikation. 1982-1984.

Der Journalist. 1951-

Kirche und Fernsehen. 1955-1973.

kultuRRevolution. Zeitschrift für angewandte Diskurstheorie. 1982-

Media Perspektiven. 1973-

medien praktisch.1977-2003.

Medien und Zeit. 1985-

Medienpsychologie. 1989-. Now under the name *Zeitschrift für Medienpsychologie*. 2001-

Medium.1964-

Message. 1999-

Neue Deutsche Presse. 1946-1989.

PR Magazin. 1970-

Public Relations Forum. 1996-2003.

Publizistik. 1956-

Redaktion. 1902-1916.

Relation. 1994-2003.

Rufer und Hörer. 1931-1934 and 1949-1954.

Rundfunk und Fernsehen. 1948-1950, 1953-. Now under the name *Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft*. 2000-

Rundfunk und Geschichte. Mitteilungen. 1974-

Theorie und Praxis der sozialistischen Journalismus. 1973-1989.

Viertelsjahrhefte für Mediaplanung. 1969-. Now under the name *Viertelsjahrhefte für Media und Werbewirkung* 2000-

Weltrundfunk. 1937-1944.

Zeitschrift für Journalistik. 1960-1962.

Zeitschrift für Litteraturwissenschaft und Linguistik (LiLi). 1971-

Zeitschriften-Verleger. 1898-1942.

Zeitungswissenschaft. 1926-1944.