

BETWEEN TWO DIFFERENT TRADITIONS: THE FIRST SCHOOLS OF JOURNALISM IN SPAIN (1926-1971)

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Abstract

The origins of journalism education in Spain derive in particular from private initiatives like the School of El Debate between 1926 and 1936, and the University of Navarra's Journalism Institute founded in 1958, the first to offer university-based journalism studies. Their founders, Ángel Herrera and Antonio Fontán, attentively examined existing foreign models, especially those from the United States, where the first journalism schools were created at the beginning of the twentieth century, and Germany, where various university-based institutes examined the press as a social phenomenon worthy of scientific study. Practical subjects included in the curricula of both schools were mostly based on American-style journalism training and handbooks. In 1941, after the end of the Spanish civil war, an Official School of Journalism began operating but was regarded as not having an academic orientation due to its concern for controlling the access to the profession. The curriculum officially approved in the early nineties seventies by the Department of Education for the three newborn journalism schools at the universities of Madrid, Barcelona and Navarra was inspired primarily by the best existing American schools, but with important insight gained from the German approach as well.

Keywords: Journalism schools, History, Spain, United States, Germany

1. Introduction

As journalists are those who "make" the newspapers everyday, the history of journalism schools is an important chapter in the media history of any country. Behind the instruction given to future journalism practitioners, often there is a vision of what they should aspire to in order to become successful in the professional and public spheres.

The modernization that the press underwent during the last few decades of the nineteenth century led some editors and press associations in the United States to become more aware of the need for specific training to elevate the professional standards of journalism, and consequently publish better newspapers. Thus the first journalism schools, like Missouri (1908) and Columbia (1912), were founded integrated into the university. In other cases, this type of instruction was offered by departments of journalism originated from English departments (Sloan, 1990; Dickson, 2000).

In Europe, where the development of the press was also remarkable, journalism training followed other paths. On-the-job learning systems based on the practical knowledge of experimented journalists prevailed in England and France. Journalism in academia was present in Switzerland and especially in Germany but

strictly as a object of scientific study: their courses were not devoted to practical training of prospective journalists. Some German institutes cultivated the "science of the newspaper" (*Zeitungskunde*) or the "science of the press" (*Zeitungswissenschaft*) (Hardt, 1976). Those aspiring to become journalists had to learn the practical skills and techniques in the newspapers (Desmond, 1949).

These contextual trends influenced, to a certain degree, the creation of the first Spanish journalism schools. With the passing of time, Spain would be one of the first European countries to incorporate journalism into the university system. The process had four crucial moments: 1926, 1941, 1958 and 1971.

The School of Journalism of *El Debate*, created in 1926, was greatly inspired on the American model. The man who undertook this initiative –the editor of the daily *El Debate*– sent three of his collaborators to the United States to visit various Schools and gather experience on how to organize and launch the first Spanish School of Journalism. The outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 stopped this pioneering attempt. In 1941, just two years after the end of the war, an Official School of Journalism, dependent on the Ministry of Propaganda, was created. Some of the journalists trained in the classrooms of *El Debate* – together with others having close bonds with the new dictatorial regime of General Franco– launched this new School, which was renowned for being highly politicized.

In 1958, for the first time in Spain, the University of Navarra (located in Pamplona, the capital of Navarra) began to offer journalism studies at university level. Its model was hybrid in nature blending European and American traditions regarding the type of instruction and research on journalism. It followed the American model with respect to the integration of these studies within the university, and in fact the students lived in a full academic atmosphere along with students of other traditional degrees. Nevertheless, its curriculum was also influenced by the European tradition, especially that of Germany, which emphasized the importance of journalism as a science to itself. Unlike the professional-oriented courses offered by the Official School, the main mark of identity of Navarra's new Journalism Institute was the principal role of liberal arts at the core of its curriculum.

The thirteen years of real university-based studies in Navarra contributed, to a great extent, to the official creation of the three first university schools of journalism in 1971 in Madrid, Barcelona and Navarra. This operation was carried out due to the issuing of a new Law on General Education, along with subsequent by-laws that permitted their launching (Barrera, 2009). The new curricula of these schools also shed light on which tradition among the American and German was eventually most influential.

The new European political context after the end of World War II turned into an ideal opportunity to rethink the systems of recruiting and training journalists. This environment also encouraged international organizations like UNESCO to play a leading and helping role, especially for the most needy countries (Maheu, 1948; Casey, 1948). Indeed, the only existing academic education in this field was then

established in the United States. The main European countries had disdained, in general terms, this approach for journalism training (Holmgren, 1968). However, the emergence of the new audiovisual media and the growing awareness of the role of journalists in the new international order allowed a slow, gradual change with regard to academic training for journalists in many countries (Benito, 1969).

Given the fact that the last legislative reforms in the early seventies elevated Spanish journalism education to an academic status, we have to ask ourselves: To what extent was journalism education in Spain influenced, in its four main steps, by the stronger academic traditions from the United States and Germany? Did the model that was eventually adopted substantially contribute to the progress of journalism education in Europe? To answer these questions, this paper provides a more detailed description of how the Spanish schools were shaped, highlighting the moments in which American and German models were most influential. Special attention is given to the main promoters of the schools, who explicitly alluded to these models, along with the contextual factors that influenced their plans and decisions.

2. The American inspired School of Journalism of *El Debate*

The owners of *El Debate*, a Spanish newspaper founded in 1910, were people who belonged to the National Catholic Association of Young Propagandists (NCAYP) created two years prior by the Jesuit Ángel Ayala. Taking advantage of a long-lasting and peaceful period in Spain, a process of increasing industrialization and modernization, and the flourishing of initiatives undertaken by the press, Ayala encouraged some of the NCAYP members to launch a newspaper which could become an instrument for expanding the teachings of the Catholic Church and reinforcing the influence of its doctrine on the main issues under discussion in public life. Indeed, the newspaper was launched in response to increasing anticlericalism in many Western European countries, Spain included (Guasch, 1986).

Ángel Herrera (1886-1968) was a young lawyer and president of the NCAYP when he was required from Father Ayala to be appointed as editor of *El Debate*. Unlike any other Catholic newspapers of its kind, *El Debate* grew very soon in circulation and prestige and became one of the most influential in the Spanish public opinion at that time due to a pertinent combination of accurate news and vigorous editorials (Legorburu & Serrano 2009). Currently, there is a common consensus among Spanish historians regarding *El Debate* as being one of three main newspapers that most represented innovative ways of doing journalism, along with the monarchist conservative *ABC* (1903) and the reformist liberal *El Sol* (1917). Though quite different in their ideological orientation, these papers shared a concern for the value newspapermen's work to do high-quality journalism (Sánchez Aranda & Barrera, 1992; Seoane & Sáiz, 1996).

In the specific case of *El Debate*, the novelty of considering journalism an authentic profession was reflected in the following achievements: the creation of a strong, well-structured editorial company ("La Editorial Católica"); the organization of an editorial staff holding daily meetings to discuss newspaper contents and leading articles; and the launching, for the first time in Spain, of a journalism school. Herrera and his team were aware of the importance of organizing a good news service as the basis for doing effective and attractive journalism that could reach a large audience. This premise led them to emphasize the need for providing specific training to future journalists. Consequently, the School of Journalism created in 1926 was a logical by-product of Herrera's concern for turning *El Debate* into a well-orchestrated and influential newspaper, in accordance with the main patterns of European and American journalism.

The project of the new school, pioneered in Spain, had been taking shape over many years. In 1920, Ángel Herrera sent three members of his staff (Francisco de Luis, Marcelino Oreja and the priest Manuel Graña) to study at Columbia University School of Journalism. Their objectives were to learn about the workings of one of the first and most prestigious American schools of journalism in order to obtain theoretical knowledge, gain practical experience in management and organization, and imitate its successful teaching methodology. The three men divided themselves into their respective areas of specialization: Francisco de Luis would focus on the specific subject of news writing, Marcelino Oreja on newspaper administration, and Manuel Graña on journalism school management (Vigil, 1987).

A first test took place between March and June 1926. Twenty students, selected from one hundred applicants, enrolled in a so-called "Course on News Writing". A few months after this preliminary experience, the first nine-month "Course on Journalism" began in October. The students attended classes on News Writing, Reporting, Typography and Journalistic Criteria. Two weekly lectures on Current Affairs completed a program that would increase the number of subjects to eleven during the following five years.

On July 31st, only one month after beginning the "Course on News Writing", Manuel Graña was invited to speak about journalism schools during a series of lectures organized by the Society of Basque Studies in the city of Bilbao. He was aware of the skepticism that contemporary newsrooms and editors felt towards this kind of innovation, as it diverted from traditional Spanish values and training systems. However he claimed that: "the fruit of some years of journalistic experience and in particular, a study on the teaching of this profession based on my two-year stay in the universities and schools in the United States, where journalism is a university degree as worthy of honor and as lucrative as the best" (Graña, 1930, p. 31).

Before describing the curriculum of the school in detail, Graña spent some time defending the notion that journalism could be taught and learned. The necessary premise was to consider journalism a profession, an opinion not shared by the majority of Spanish journalists, who were more inclined to regard it as a form of art, trade or a craft to be learned on the job. To those contending that journalists were born, not made,

Graña responded accordingly that journalism was “a profession which requires, as with other professions, vocation and specific aptitudes that have to be tested and can be improved through a rather slow and methodical process” (p. 33).

He also explained how the newspaper had become “the book of the crowds” (p. 34), playing a crucial role in shaping modern democracies, as was the case with the United States. Accordingly, Graña defined the newspaper as “a public service of great significance and social responsibility”; hence his defense of the necessity for future journalists “to acquire knowledge and gain practicality at a level no lesser than in any other intellectual profession” (p. 34). This trend, in his opinion, was also strengthening in Europe, although the discussion still focused on where this learning should take place: either in newsrooms or in classrooms.

The speaker explicitly referred to the American model as an example to imitate: “In the United States, departments of Journalism in universities and schools have been mostly founded by newspaper owners and press associations, and much funding for these centers comes very often from great journalists” (pp. 36-37). Here he cited the examples of Joseph Pulitzer, Joseph Medill, and the Press Association of Missouri, among others. The development of American journalism runs parallel, in his opinion, to advances in journalism education and the attention given to this topic by newspaper companies.

During his stay in the United States, Graña not only attended the classes at Columbia University but also held meetings with heads and faculty staff of many other schools. Throughout his speech, he alluded to his frequent conversations with these people and made multiple observations about American journalism schools in an attempt to provide insight for audience not accustomed to hearing about this topic. At the end of his speech, Graña felt encouraged to imitate the American model and quoted Pulitzer. In the words of the great American journalist he said: “It will be the object of the college to make better journalists, who will make better newspapers, which will better serve the public” (Pulitzer, 1904, p. 45).

In April 1927, when the School was still taking its first steps, the editor of *El Debate*, Ángel Herrera, also gave a speech in Madrid entitled “Schools of Journalism”. He first summarized and compared the different systems that existed in the world, though he focused especially on those in the United States, Germany and Russia. His initial statement was very clear: “The United States are the world’s leading country in journalism education” (Herrera, 1963, p. 236). After sketching a short history of journalism studies in that country, Herrera emphasized that “all the newsrooms of the American newspapers of the day host reporters graduated from schools of journalism” (p. 237). He also alluded to the large number of students enrolled in advertising courses, which he interpreted as a sign of maturity of journalism as an industry.

Herrera’s detailed references to the situation in Germany were a product of the profound knowledge acquired during his travels to Germany in the years before and after the creation of the School of *El Debate*. In summary of the German viewpoint on journalism education, he said: “When judging the spirit of

American journalism, the Germans point out that an important defect is the fact that American schools are rather factories where journalists are made" (p. 238). He recognized and appraised the old tradition of German universities in dealing with journalism as an object of study since the last decades of the eighteenth century, though the first departments or institutes of Journalism were not founded until the end of the Great War. The main complaint that Herrera expressed regarding the German institutes was on its practicality: "Students graduating from a German journalism school consider themselves to be perfectly prepared to work for a newspaper; they do so erroneously as a solid philosophical and humanistic basis is often not enough" (pp. 240-241).

The second half of his speech was focused, in light of these different models, on the education that a young man aspiring to become a journalist should receive. In a nutshell, he believed in a balanced blend of liberal arts and practical skills. Herrera thought that although students should receive the basic knowledge in political science, economics, literature and art at university, future journalists should also be trained, following the American model, in other essential skills such as: news writing and gathering, reader psychology, newsroom organization, and other topics concerning the journalistic profession.

Ángel Herrera aspired to introduce journalism studies into the university. He stated it quite clearly: "If this does not occur it will be a regretful mistake because it would stand for the university as a building with no windows, separated from the surrounding world" (p. 247). However, the Spanish university was far from even considering such a possibility, which is what impeded journalism from reaching academic status.

The first intensive one-year courses of the *El Debate* School that began in October 1926 were addressed to applicants over twenty possessing some type of a degree from a Spanish university. In 1932 the Board of Governors decided to undertake a new initiative which consisted of a five-year program for young people without university degrees. The successful results (in 1935 there were 282 applicants for only 35 positions) seemed to bode a brilliant future but the outbreak of the Spanish civil war in July 1936 forced the school to close down. According to the information that *El Debate* provided, during the last year in business (1935-1936) the School had 35 professors and 98 students. Throughout its ten years of existence, over 70 journalists –among them 7 newspaper editors– have come from this school (Legorburu & Serrano, 2009). These figures confirmed Herrera's vision about the necessity to professionalize Spanish journalism via specific journalism training systems in the face of wide-spread skepticism expressed within the field (Sánchez Aranda & Barrera, 2003).

3. The Official School of Journalism as an intended and failed heir of the first school

Following the Civil War, journalism education in Spain under the dictatorship of General Franco (1939-1975) was characterized by strong state control over the profession. It was particularly strict during the first two decades but gradually attenuated after certain economic and political liberalization measures were taken in the sixties and early seventies. The Official School of Journalism was created in 1941, following in the steps of the "Intensive Course on Journalism" which had been organized some months before as a pilot program. The School of *El Debate* was not allowed to reopen and offer courses. Franco's government had also prohibited the Editorial Católica to publish *El Debate* since it had backed the regime of the Second Republic (1931-1936). The new dictatorship gave permission exclusively for the publication of *El Debate's* smaller and less politicized subsidiary: the evening newspaper *Ya*, founded in 1935 (García-Escudero, 1984).

Despite this apparent step backwards, there were some positive aspects that came from this new period of journalism education in Spain: its integration into the state structures, which implied relevant political recognition; the adoption of regular courses as the main system for training journalists (although they were not truly organized until 1951); and the need of official recognition to work as a journalist. Although controlled by the political authorities of the regime, these steps toward the professionalization of journalism contributed to the spreading of the idea that journalism deserved special attention from the governmental offices and also from society. During the civil war, an Official Register of Journalists had been created in accordance with the Law on the Press enacted in April 1938 for the territories dominated by Franco's troops. Article 16 alluded to a future "academic organization of journalism", which could be interpreted as an objective to integrate journalism studies into the university. However, the creation of the Official School of Journalism in 1941 dispelled any doubts about the government's intentions. That school did not depend on the Department of Education but on the propaganda services of the dictatorship (Aguinaga, 1980; Chuliá, 2001).

Strictly speaking, there was no direct bond between the new School and *El Debate*. Nevertheless, the latter had actually turned into an unavoidable reference point, and some of the first professors of the new Official School had also worked or studied at that pioneer school. They were certainly not among the most prominent, but they were in such large numbers that they confirmed the School of *El Debate* had delivered a legacy, to a certain extent, regarding the necessity of journalism education for potential future practitioners. However, the spirit behind the idea, the curriculum and especially the ideals that encouraged Ángel Herrera two decades before, were different in nature. Moreover, Herrera had abandoned the group's day-to-day work in 1935, the year in which he renounced civil life in order to undertake religious studies. He was ordained priest in 1940. He would later be appointed as Bishop of Málaga in 1947 and Cardinal in 1965 (Vigil, 1987).

Only three of the fifteen subjects included in the initial curriculum of the Official School focused on practical skills (News and Reporting; Headlines and Design; and Typography). The criteria for selecting applicants also varied. One of them was to be member of the single party of the regime, although obtaining that card became rather easy because of the gradual bureaucratization of the state. Many students also enjoyed a special regime that allowed them to skip classes, especially if they were already practitioners (Aguinaga, 1980; Vigil, 1987). Lack of academic rigor and organization, low curricular requisites, along with some unavoidable political interference were clearly distancing the Official School from the pioneer model of *El Debate*.

During many years, the monopoly of the Official School tried to become a filter with the aim of limiting access to the profession. This, however, could not impede a number of journalists not specially related to Franco's dictatorship from obtaining their license to work in the media. The control systems decreased and some of the new heads of the School were more receptive to modernization, deideologization and professionalism of the teachings offered (Nixon, 1958). As a result, a new, three-year curriculum approved in 1957 presented a more balanced combination of humanistic and practical subjects. But the promoter of these changes, Juan Beneyto, was unexpectedly replaced as General Director of the Press and Director of the Official School of Journalism after less than one year.

His successor Adolfo Muñoz Alonso was asked about the role of the Official School in a press interview. He stated: "Increasing journalists' sense of responsibility through disciplined formation is an imperative that had already been felt by Catholic journalists and that the State has come to accept through its efficient collaboration" (Vigil, 1987, p. 117). That reference to "Catholic journalists" was a tacit allusion to the former experience of *El Debate*, but the similarities between the two schools that he expressed was rather distant from being true.

Meanwhile, prominent men linked to *El Debate* tried to perpetuate the driving force of the School and took advantage of some opportunities that the dictatorial regime permitted, particularly by arranging summer courses or seminars for journalists at the so-called International University of Santander and in cooperation with the Department of Education. The brain behind the operation was the outstanding Catholic propagandist Fernando Martín-Sánchez, whose thoughts about journalism would partially inspire the new Law on Press and Printing of 1966 (Chuliá, 2001). As he had been planning these courses since the late forties, he tried to balance the inevitable presence of propaganda with civil servants who held high positions in the Department of Information by inviting editors, presidents of publishing companies and other people in the field to discuss the challenges of journalism of the time. It was a forum from which this group could speak out about professional issues in order to gain influence concerning future political

decisions on journalism legislation. The Press Law in force dated from 1938 and badly needed to be replaced, as ultimately occurred.

It is worth noting that, during his term as General Director of the Press in 1957, Juan Beneyto published an article on the Official School of Journalism in the prestigious German journal *Publizistik* (Beneyto, 1957). His intellectual relationship with Germany had been intense since his first stay in Berlin (1931) and Munich (1932), which occurred after he got his Ph.D. in Law (Equiza, 1986). Nevertheless, he stayed in touch with trends in communication research and journalism education all over the world and participated in the International Conversations at Strasbourg promoted by UNESCO where he had been sent as a Spanish delegate since the late fifties. His book *Mass Communications*, also published in 1957, has been widely considered as "a forerunner of communication research in Spain" (Martinez Albertos, 2008, p. 57). Between 1962 and 1964, Beneyto would again be named Director of the Official School, and later president of the National Press Council, an advisory board for journalism matters designated by the Ministry of Information.

4. Birth and consolidation of a hybrid model: the Institute of Journalism at the University of Navarra

The Church-run University of Navarra, founded in 1952, started to offer journalism studies in 1958 through the so-called Institute of Journalism. It was the first time in Spain that these studies, until then confined to newspaper companies or official centers with political ties, developed at university level and therefore inside academia. The idea came from the founder and first Great Chancellor of this university, Saint Josemaría Escrivá, who personally encouraged this innovative initiative (Barrera, 2009; Fontán, 2002). A full professor of Latin and journalist, Antonio Fontán was named director of the Institute, a position that he held until 1962. Apart from the intellectual aptitudes he demonstrated throughout his young and brilliant university career, his prior activities with the press were what ultimately helped him overcome this challenge. He had founded and edited two magazines in the nineteen fifties: the weekly graphic *La Actualidad Española* created in 1952 and the monthly review *Nuestro Tiempo* created in 1956. A number of his closest collaborators working for these periodicals also became professors and members of the faculty of the Institute of Journalism. Most of them recall that the newsrooms of those magazines were actually the embryos of the new Institute. As it were, Fontán would often turn the meetings into authentic classes on journalism. One of them wrote:

"Fontán gave us lectures on press theories, professional ethics, media analysis, etc. We also practiced and improved our English. This way a journalism school on the job was truly starting to surround him, imitating the Anglo-Saxon model" (Benito, 2003, p. 86).

In addition to the institutional support for the University and the trust that the Great Chancellor had showed toward him, Antonio Fontán had also traveled to many European universities to observe how the then few existing departments of journalism operated. Although he did not go to the United States, one of his main tasks consisted in gathering materials, particularly curricula and syllabi, from journalism schools in Western countries. Ángel Benito, vice director of the Institute and later director between 1962 and 1968, contends that, as a consequence of Fontán's readings of the German bibliography on the science of the press (*Zeitungswissenschaft*), then almost absolutely unknown in Spain, this approach was present as one of the main theoretical foundations in the beginnings of the Institute of Navarra. The main focus of German institutes and journalism departments stressed both the theoretical explanation of the press as phenomena and the social aspects of newspapers (Benito, 2003).

Another proof, trivial on the surface but profoundly illustrative of the German academic tradition's appeal on the recently created Institute is the fact that Germany was chosen by the high class – along with France, Switzerland and the Netherlands as one of the top study destinations. Antonio Fontán accompanied them. The German embassy actively collaborated in the organization of professional visits and even subsidized some of the expenses. It also assisted by providing the Library Institute with free journals and newspaper subscriptions (Barrera, 2009).

As Benito described, the four pillars of Fontán's conception of the Institute of Journalism were as follows: theories on the press, professional ethics, contemporary history and current affairs, and practical journalism skills (Benito, 2003). Many years later, Fontán wrote:

"The creation of a university school of journalism meant that the journalistic profession was recognized not only as a practice-based trade or a collection of technical and typographical skills for writing that can be learned in news offices and radio studios and put into practice by skillful writers with a literary vocation" (Fontán, 2002, p. 204).

In his initial speech to the attendants at the first "Summer Course on Journalism and Current Affairs", which was the immediate precedent of the regular courses at the Institute, he had already asserted that its purpose was not only "to discover the secrets and techniques of this trade" but also "to address the meaning and establish the role that the press must play in our society" through the scientific study of these subjects at university level (Barrera, 2009, p. 21). One of the first professors was even more explicit recalling that "Fontán knew by personal experience that journalism education at the Official School did not meet sufficient standards of professionalism, and therefore included a sound liberal arts background in accordance to the European university centers (...) without forgetting the practical aspects" (Uranga, 2003, p. 103).

Logically, the Institute of Journalism, taking advantage of the university's nature, prioritized humanities as a way differentiating its curriculum from the more practical version offered by the Official School. Nevertheless, this was not meant to underestimate the practical aspects of the journalistic profession. In fact, Fontán defined them as "the central axis around which the subjects taught in other schools would be selectively gathered and put in order" (Fontán 2002, p. 208). He also stated that "professors in charge of the journalistic subjects of the Institute –news writing, reporting, interviewing, etc.– mostly used American bibliography by adapting those books and turning them into handbooks for their students" (pp. 216-217).

An interesting observation on the influences received by the Institute appeared in an interview that some students published in the university newspaper. The then director Ángel Benito, who had attended an international conference in Strasbourg about journalism education in December 1961, shortly described the three main current trends regarding the topic: the first one, practiced in countries like France and England, mostly practical and developed in the newsrooms; the second, more academically, trained the students within the universities as were the cases with the United States and Russia. Finally there was the model carried out by technical schools outside the university, as was the case of Germany. After being asked about the model that the University of Navarra proposed, he answered: "It is a synthesis of the three abovementioned trends: a technical school within the university, with a faculty staff formed by university professors and practical training for students in newspapers" (Barrera, 2009, p. 64).

He wrote something similar in 1969, within a solely European context, defining the Spanish model as "a hybrid product" between the dominant training models in England (mostly empirical), Germany (mostly academic), and France (mostly professional) (Benito, 1969). These declarations situated the new born School in an intermediate point between those models in an attempt to select their most valuable contributions and incorporate them in accordance with its foundational spirit: academic nature and practical training acquired within the university done with the support of local newspapers and radio stations. Both Fontán and Benito have frequently underlined the importance of the help received from local and regional media. Some of their journalists were actually part-time professors at the Institute. Moreover, the bimonthly newspaper edited by the students was printed at the printing house of the *Diario de Navarra*, the leading regional newspaper.

An episode that illustrates the extent American schools of journalism went to in order to develop journalism studies in Navarra was the case of the one-year sojourn of professor Robert Bruce Underwood as teacher of Radio and Television and supervisor of the students' practical work. He came thanks to a Fulbright scholarship that allowed the hiring American professors for one academic year. Before his arrival, the director of the Institute, Ángel Benito, told him that "radio technical skills were scarcely developed in Spain" because "professional education in radio and television has been almost entirely theoretical until now". He

also added: "All the books and other materials that you can bring will be very useful for us". Underwood did not receive access to all the technological equipment that he had desired; nevertheless the recently built radio studio allowed him to broadcast a number of programs for the local stations. After going back to Cornell University at the end of 1965, in a letter written to Benito, he regretted "not having produced more ambitious results" but he praised "your students' talent and ability to produce good work" (Barrera, 2009, p. 101). Furthermore, he later wrote an article in an American journal where he summarized his experiences in the Institute of Navarra and praised its educational system:

"From the North American point of view, the outstanding strengths of the School of Journalism might be its balance between liberal education and journalism theory and techniques and its lively international atmosphere" (Underwood, 1966, p. 60).

In 1967 a particular occurrence gained special meaning for the newly born Institute. A prestigious German professor, Otto B. Roegele, head of the Department of Journalism at the University of Munich, was awarded an honorary doctorate degree from the University of Navarra. As the Institute of Journalism was a university school de facto but not yet recognized as such according to Spanish legislation, the School of Liberal Arts was in charge of proposing his official nomination. During his speech, Roegele reviewed the history of the so-called science of the press in Germany and, in contrast to what was happening in his country, praised the development of Navarre's Institute of Journalism:

"In Germany we have not resolved the issues regarding the practice of journalism and the training of journalists. Six universities have their respective Institutes but they hardly represent a modest contribution towards the training of future media practitioners. For this reason we are admiringly looking at the model followed in Pamplona, where the pillar of the science of the press is fully consolidated alongside programs for education in journalism, with very satisfactory results" (Barrera, 2009, pp. 34-35).

Two years before, Ángel Faus, a professor of the Institute, had written an article describing the state of journalism education and research in Germany. He stated that the Institute of Munich, "due to its curriculum, is the one most similar to our vision of journalism education" (Faus, 1965, p. 152). He based this assertion on the gradual incorporation of practical subjects in the Bavarian institute. Due to its novelty, the case of Spain was seen with growing interest in international meetings such as the International Conversations at Strasbourg held under the auspices of UNESCO. A chronicle on the event, published in the Institute's monthly review, underlined "the interest that everybody showed in Spain and for the Institute of Journalism at the University of Navarra, in particular" (Collar, 1959, p. 316). Ángel Faus, in a short first-hand summary of other edition of the event, stressed that "journalism education in Spain has reached an exemplary standard" (Faus, 1966, p. 64).

Some other subsequent episodes showed an even closer relationship and inspiration in the United States. In January 1972, the school of communication at the University of Navarra launched a new six-month program for Latin American journalists with the sponsorship of the German Bishops' Aktion Adveniat Foundation. Taking advantage of his aforementioned trip to the United States, Nieto had also planned "to analyze in detail programs especially addressed to graduates". He specifically referred to those offered by the Columbia School of Journalism at New York, the University of Missouri, and others in Chicago and San Francisco (Barrera, 2009, p. 191). Nieto would return to the United States in 1973, for a longer research stay sponsored by another Fulbright scholarship. Later on, other faculty members in the school of communication of Navarra also looked for inspiration in the modern trends coming from American schools through frequent trips or research stays. Some Ph.D. students and young professors were sent to learn from their American colleagues and establish closer contacts with them. Prominent American professors like Joe Belden, Leo Bogart, Mario García and others were invited to teach or to participate as guest speakers in seminars and conferences.

5. The official creation of the new Bachelors Degrees in 1970-1971

Spain was one of the first Western European countries to adopt a model of journalism education preferentially based on the conception of media studies as a university study; in other words, a model through which future journalists should study journalism (or do broadcasting, advertising and public relations) at university level and thus obtain the professional license to work in those fields. That was the innovative model put into practice, de facto, by the Institute of Navarra beginning in 1958, although the Official School –dependent on the Department of Information– still validated the diplomas. A General Law on Education approved in 1970, and a subsequent decree enacted in 1971, allowed the creation of the first three university schools of journalism (in Madrid, Barcelona and Navarra). The new legislation meant that the Department of Education would replace the Department of Information in managing the degrees in journalism, broadcasting, advertising and public relations, with a resulting depoliticization.

This operation of elevating media studies to a university-level academic discipline was not easy since it came up against a lot of difficulties from both the academia and influential journalists of the time (Nieto, 2008). Many university professors considered that journalism did not have enough background to become an authentic object of scientific study and teaching. They thought that admitting journalism into academia meant degrading the latter.

At once, well-known journalists shared this criticism. José Bugeda, a columnist of the evening newspaper *Pueblo*, wrote that "the specific role of universities does not consist in providing professionals for the

different fields". He assured that it would only add more problems to an already troubled institution. With regard to the status of journalism schools in the United States, frequently evoked by those in favor of the integration of undergraduate media studies within the university in Spain, Bugada asserted that their prosperity was due to the fact that they were "merely professional schools". A young but prominent journalist, Luis María Anson, replied that journalism "should undoubtedly be a university-based school" (Barrera, 2009, pp. 152-154; Vigil, 1987, pp. 130-132). He was then committed, together with Emilio Romero and Alfonso Nieto –directors of the Official School and the Institute of Navarra respectively–, to convince the political authorities of the dictatorship about making such significant changes for the future of Spanish journalism.

In the meantime, between the Law of 1970 and the decree of 1971, Alfonso Nieto traveled to the United States, invited by that country's government for a five-week stay between April and May, 1971. He visited twenty-one universities and had the opportunity to gather valuable experiences and make professional contacts. In a letter written to Emilio Romero just after coming back to Spain, he resolutely affirmed in an attempt to encourage his colleague: "Gladly, I verified that the approach we have adopted for organizing journalism studies in Spain fully coincides with the best existing American schools" (Barrera, 2009, pp. 167-168). This stay also helped him to write a long internal report aimed at designing the type of instruction that the journalism school of Navarra should provide to its students. Nieto too invited some experienced American professors (Edwin Emery, Raymond Nixon and others) for short research stays at the School during the following years. Once again, the United States were considered and acknowledged as the model to follow.

However, the beginnings of the new university-based schools of journalism in Spain were difficult because of the lack of professors, buildings, technological equipment for practical subjects, academic tradition, etc. Despite the similarities in terms of structure and methodology, the Spanish schools started almost from scratch, except for Navarra which merely had to transform its existing Institute of Journalism into a school. The transitional period for the new schools created within the two public universities in Madrid (Complutense) and Barcelona (Autónoma) was more problematic, and they only stabilized beginning in the nineteen eighties. Navarra had the advantage of thirteen years working as a *de facto* university school. Alfonso Nieto, the only academic member of the committee in charge of the operation, had an important role in the subsequent tasks, such as in the design of the curriculum to be followed by the new university-based schools. An overview on the design adopted by the University of Navarra showed a balance of approximately 50% liberal arts subjects and 50% media-related subjects, these latter in both their theoretical and practical aspects (Vigil, 1987; Barrera, 2009). In this respect, the Spanish model reached a

lower percentage than the American in liberal arts subjects, for many years based on the proportion 75-25% (Dickson, 2000).

6. Conclusion

The most pioneering initiatives of creating schools of journalism in Spain came from and were inspired by private companies or church-run institutions: the School of *El Debate* between 1926 and 1936 and the Institute of Journalism at the University of Navarra since 1958. The former was the first school of journalism created in Spain while the latter became the first university-based school of journalism. In both cases, the influence of the American model in terms of curriculum, organization and orientation was significant although they also examined the more theoretical German model. Ángel Herrera and Antonio Fontán had direct contact with the German model, albeit in different periods: the nineteen twenties and the fifties respectively. Given its academic nature, the University of Navarra's Institute of Journalism adopted more elements from German academic tradition than the school of *El Debate*. German influence on the Official School of Journalism was due to ideological links between the Nazi and Franco political regimes rather than to intellectual approaches to journalism education.

Many journalism subjects taught in these schools –and here we can also include the Official School since 1941 to 1976– were taken from the longer and more efficient experience held by the American in the field. The inspiration also extended to the methods used to transmit the necessary skills to future journalists. The main sources for the teachings of Spanish professors in these first schools were the American handbooks on news writing, reporting, editing, and later on other aspects of journalism practice and theory.

Both schools of *El Debate* and Navarra aspired to the integration of journalism studies within the university, as was the case of the United States. If the first attempt came to an end because of the outbreak of the civil war after having faced up to a hostile environment within the journalistic profession, the second took advantage of a more stable sociopolitical context and made the firm decision of working as a de facto university. Furthermore, the existence of an Official School of Journalism dependent on the political authorities of Franco's dictatorship, somehow paradoxically stimulated the government to create university journalism schools. This was also due to the pressure exerted by a small but energetic group of professors and journalists over the government: especially, Alfonso Nieto, Emilio Romero and Luis Maria Anson, these two being the director and vice director of the Official School. They were aware of the necessity of taking steps toward the professionalization of journalism in accordance with the process of modernization and liberalization of Spanish society. This context inevitably led to the elevation of intellectual standards for journalists' qualification.

The hybrid model adopted in Navarra consisted of a blend between the best of the American style in terms of the techniques and skills necessary for future practitioners and the best of a German tradition firmly rooted in underlining the significance of humanistic subjects as a necessary background to understanding the current world. This was somehow already present in the School of *El Debate* but without the means and academic ambience needed to accomplish it –so significant was the difference between a newspaper and a university. Twelve years after the launching of the Institute of Journalism at the University of Navarra, a new law in 1970 permitted the creation of university-based schools of journalism. As a result, the Spanish model rapidly became one of the countries belonging to those with journalism education models based on an “academic tradition” (Fröhlich & Holtz-Bacha, 2003; Salaverría & Barrera, 2009).

Nevertheless, it must be said that the term “American model” has often been standardized as exclusively focused on practice-related issues. In general terms, American schools corresponded to this profile in their beginnings, but since the late twenties and during the following decades they expanded the role of liberal arts and showed greater emphasis on research (Hyde, 1937; Wilcox 1958). However, the old stereotype led to an exaggerated contrast between the American and German models which failed to take into account their own progresses. Spanish journalism schools were also concerned –to a greater or lesser degree– with the cultural background of their students as a basis, although only the University of Navarra had the means to provide it adequately. They all drew inspiration from the practical training methods successfully used in the United States.

The case of Spain can be considered as the first in Western Europe to fully adopt the American model of university-based schools of journalism and to deal with all its consequences. Rod Holmgren wrote in 1968 regarding the future of journalism education in Europe: “There is clearly a mood of experimentation, a desire to try out new approaches, and incidentally an interest in exploring the possibility of adapting the American system to Europe’s needs and institutions” (Holmgren 1968, p. 12). In so doing, Spain appeared to be formally closer to the American model. The influence of the German model was based on teaching and research trends rather than on skills training for journalism.

As a solution to the debate brewing in Western countries –particularly since the end of World War II– regarding the approach to recruiting and training in the profession of journalism, Spain would find a path that other European countries would follow, in varying degrees, in the years to come.

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