ACCEPTED FOR PUBLICATION BY
***GERMAN HISTORY* (OUP)**
EMBARGOED UNTIL PUBLICATION (2017) – ALL COYPRIGHTS ETC. OF
OUP/GERMAN HISTORY APPLY

Rediscovering the Region
The West German Daily Press in the 1970s¹

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¹ Acknowledgements: This paper builds on the results of two funded research projects on West German press history that were led by Haase as principal investigator. Financial contributions were made by the British Academy, the ZEIT-Foundation and the Marion Dönhoff Foundation. The article includes results of a PhD thesis by Kraiker on West German press history in the 1970s that was supervised by Haase (first) and John Young (second) and funded by the University of Nottingham. For publications, see footnotes 22,26 and 28. We are thankful for the comments by the referees and various colleagues at the University of Nottingham on this paper.

I. Introduction

On 19 May 1975, the newspaper *Die Welt* moved its headquarter from Hamburg to the West German capital Bonn. The relocation was announced with much fanfare and adverts promised new international stories from the 'European power centre' Bonn. However, the then editor-in-chief, Herbert Kremp, was not convinced that global news that had played a significant role between the second Berlin Crisis in 1958/61 and Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik would revive *Die Welt* that had slid into economic problems after the recession in 1973. Kremp, thus, urged his staff to strengthen the paper's focus on the Rhine-Ruhr region ('*sich in der regionalen Grassohle festbeißen*').²

The new regional focus of *Die Welt* in 1975 was part of a fundamental restructuring of the West German daily press after its re-establishment under Allied tutelage, the 'press miracle'³ of the 1950s and the internationalisation and concentration of the 1960s. It regionalised between 1974 and 1982. The local and regional subscription dailies with a combined circulation of more than 13 million copies per day replaced world and national news on the title pages with stories about West German regional politics and sport.⁴ West Germany's and Europe's largest tabloid *Bild* developed more than 14 new regional editions. *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and other supra-regional subscription papers established new regional editions, too. The years between 1974 and 1982 were not the low point of West German press history, as has been argued so far, but the opposite.⁵ The daily press reached an all-time high in German history. Its circulation numbers peaked in 1982 with more than 25.1 million copies per day driven by regionalisation.⁶

Scholars of the dominant economic approach to press history have analysed regionalisation in a limited manner so far, namely that it was a side effect of the economic concentra-

² G. Frese, 'Ein Umzug nach Bonn,' *Die Zeit* (13 June 1975).

³ H. Glaser, *Kleine Kulturgeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 1991), p. 80.

⁴ See, S. Dengel, 'Die Berichterstattung der Saarbrücker Zeitung im Wandel,' in C. Zimmermann, R. Hudemann and M. Kuderna (eds.), *Medienlandschaft Saar von 1945 bis in die Gegenwart*, 3 vols., vol. 3: *Mediale Inhalte Programme und Region (1955-2005)* (Munich, 2010), pp. 181-220; Id., 'Regionalisierung als Grundstrategie der Saarbrücker Zeitung,' in C. Zimmermann, R. Hudemann and M. Kuderna (eds.), *Medienlandschaft Saar von 1945 bis in die Gegenwart*, 3 vols., vol. 2: *Medienpolitik und mediale Strukturen (1955-2005)* (Munich, 2010), pp. 425-83.

⁵ See W. Schütz, 'Publizistische Konzentration der deutschen Tagespresse: Zur Entwicklung der Publizistischen Einheiten seit 1945,' *Media Perspektiven*, 5 (1976), pp. 189-99; Id., 'Entwicklung der Tagespresse,' in J. Wilke (ed.), *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 1999), pp. 109-34. The view is also echoed in the classic book on German press history, H. Pürer and J. Raabe, *Presse in Deutschland* (Konstanz, 2007).

⁶ See IVW, 4 (1982). The *Informationsgemeinschaft zur Feststellung der Verbreitung von Werbeträgern* (hereafter IVW) has published quarterly lists since 1954 that provide the circulation figures of most West German press products. They are quoted as IVW No. (Year).

tion among local and regional subscription papers before 1976.⁷ However, it was more than a side effect in the 1970s. It entailed the delineation of new regional distribution and advertising areas, the launching of new editions, the growth of regular and irregular alternative papers and a stronger emphasis on regional news that was of interest to an increasingly regionally mobile population. Regionalisation cut across all segments of the market and party affiliations and affected established papers, irregular alternative papers and even television and broadcasting in the 1970s. The new regional focus of the daily press increased the public attention to regional protests, regional identity politics and regional sleaze scandals during the chancellorship of the ‘global chancellor’ Helmut Schmidt (1974-1982) to such an extent that it is questionable to what extent the years between 1974 and 1982 can be labelled a ‘global decade’.⁸ In the eyes of the readers of the press and many journalists, the years between 1974 and 1982 were also a regional decade.

The main cause of the regionalisation of the daily press was the regional relocation of the population in the ‘years after the boom’.⁹ The ongoing modernisation of agrarian businesses since the 1950s and the 1960s and the onset of de-industrialisation accelerated migration from agrarian and declining industrial regions, such as the Saar and the Ruhr,¹⁰ towards larger cities and the metropolitan regions around Hamburg, Frankfurt, Hanover, Munich, Nuremberg, Stuttgart and other cities. However, these cities did not profit from migration as strongly as they had used to. Suburbanisation, new greenfield industries, new trends of ‘counter-urbanisation’ and new regional centres pulled the population into the surrounding region.¹¹ Urbanization gave way to regionalisation. Munich’s and Nuremberg’s number of inhabitants,

⁷ H. Pürer and J. Raabe, *Presse in Deutschland*.

⁸ On this interpretation, see A. Rödder, *Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1969-1990* (München, 2004).

⁹ Recent research on deindustrialisation and the 1970s has singled out regional economic and social changes as a key element in the wider transformations in the ‘years after the boom.’ However, this perspective has not been fully followed up yet. See A. Doering-Manteuffel and L. Raphael, *Nach dem Boom: Perspektiven auf die Zeitgeschichte seit 1970* (Goettingen, 2008); L. Raphael, ‘Transformations of Industrial Labour in Western Europe: Intergenerational Change of Life Cycles, Occupation and Mobility 1970—2000,’ *German History*, 30, 1 (2012), pp. 110-19.

¹⁰ The crisis of the coal industry since the 1950s and the crisis of the steel and shipping industries are considered as key elements of the deindustrialization process in the second half of the 20th century. See R. Leboutte, ‘A Space of European De-industrialisation in the Late Twentieth Century: Nord/Pas-de-Calais, Wallonia and the Ruhrgebiet,’ *European Review of History*, 16, 5 (2009), pp. 755-70. See further C. Nonn, *Die Ruhrbergbaukrise: Entindustrialisierung und Politik 1958-1969* (Goettingen, 2001). M. Hahn, *Das Saarland im doppelten Strukturwandel 1956-1970: Regionale Politik zwischen Eingliederung in die Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Kohlekrise* (Saarbrücken, 2003).

¹¹ For an overview of these changes, see A. Schildt, *Sozialgeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Munich, 2007), pp. 39f. For a more detailed analysis of internal migration in the 1970s, see T. Kontuly, ‘National-Scale, Regional-Scale and Urban-Scale Population Deconcentration in West Germany,’ *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 22 (1992), pp. 219-28; see also P.S. Kanaroglou, ‘The Pattern of Counter-Urbanisation in the Federal Republic of Germany, 1977-1985’, *Environment and Planning A*, 24, 4 (1992), pp. 481-96. On metropolitan regions, see A. Growe, ‘Emerging Polycentric City-Regions in Germany: Regionalisation of Economic Activities in Metropolitan Regions,’ *Erdkunde*, 66, 4 (2012), pp. 295-311.

for example, peaked in 1973 and went into a long-time decline thereafter. In the expanding metropolitan regions, young families continued to settle in suburbs, villages and small towns but did not cut their ties with the larger cities in which they had studied and in which they often continued to work. They were the key readers for the expanding regional press.

This regional transformation of West Germany tied in with a much larger rediscovery of the regions in politics, film and exhibitions between 1974 and 1982. Edgar Reitz' documentary (1980/81) and TV-series '*Heimat*' about the history of the *Hunsrück*-region was widely discussed;¹² and exhibitions on the Staufer (Stuttgart, 1977) and Wittelsbach and Bavaria (Munich, 1980) appealed to an unprecedented number of visitors.¹³ These identity debates in the 1970s were further fuelled by political considerations. Leading Marxists felt that 'late capitalism' and the end of the Fordist age gave way to more decentralized forms of economic organization.¹⁴ Equally on the right, the criticism of the nation state as an organizational unit was in full swing in the 1970s.¹⁵ Alternative regional protest movements and the nascent Greens declared that they were 'not right, nor left, but at the forefront' of regional politics.¹⁶ These debates formed the intellectual background to the increasing fascination of *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Welt* and *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, as well as of the new alternative papers with the region and the local. For some, the region was a motor for renewed capitalist profit outside of state regulation, for others, it seemed to offer some historical identity against an overpowering state and a beacon for the reconstruction of '*Gemeinschaft*'.

Regionalisation entailed a fundamental revaluation of political identification points that reshaped the relationship between readers and the press. The *Bild*, for example, is often taken as a case study to highlight the alleged continuation of polarized political debates from the 1960s into the 1970s.¹⁷ The Nobel laureate for literature Heinrich Böll published his novel *The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum* in 1974, which continued the 1968 left-wing student criticism of *Bild*. Guenther Wallraff's criticism of the *Bild* in 1977 also continued this debate.¹⁸ However, this wider political interpretation misses an important point. The launching of 14

¹² On this, see A. Confino, *Germany as a Culture of Remembrance* (Chapel Hill, 2006).

¹³ See E. Wolfrum, *Geschichtspolitik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Darmstadt, 1999), pp. 303 ff.

¹⁴ S. Hall and M. Jacques, *New Times: The Changing Face of Politics in the 1990s* (London, 1989).

¹⁵ G. Metzler, 'Staatsversagen und Unregierbarkeit in den siebziger Jahren?', in K. H. Jarausch (ed.), *Das Ende der Zuversicht? Die siebziger Jahre als Geschichte* (Göttingen, 2008), pp. 243-60; Armin Schäfer, 'Krisentheorien der Demokratie: Unregierbarkeit, Spätkapitalismus und Postdemokratie', http://www.mpifg.de/pu/dokschaefer_dms1_2009.pdf, accessed 15 Aug. 2015.

¹⁶ On the Greens, see S. Mende, *Nicht rechts, nicht links, sondern vorn. Eine Geschichte der Gründungsgrünen* (München, 2011). On the profile of the *taz*, see J. Magenau, *Die Taz. Eine Zeitung Als Lebensform* (München, 2007).

¹⁷ On the *Bild*, see Kruip, *Das "Welt"- "Bild" des Axel Springer Verlags: Journalismus zwischen westlichen Werten und deutschen Denktraditionen* (Munich, 1999); H.-P. Schwarz, *Axel Springer: Die Biographie* (Berlin, 2008); J. Staadt, T. Voigt and S. Wolle, *Feind-Bild Springer: Ein Verlag und seine Gegner* (Göttingen, 2009).

¹⁸ G. Wallraff, *Der Aufmacher: Der Mann, der bei der Bild Hans Esser war* (Cologne, 1977).

new regional editions after 1972 helped *Bild* in fact to move away from the polarised political debates that had negatively affected its circulation numbers after 1968. Regionalisation and the appeal to much broader audiences boosted *Bild*'s circulation numbers from 3.7 million copies in 1973 to 5.4 million copies in 1982. This was an increase of more than 45%.¹⁹

The analysis of the regionalisation of all segments of the daily press in the 1970s that is presented in this article for the first time contributes to a more encompassing press history of the Federal Republic. While most historians agree that the twentieth century was the century of the 'mass media', research on the West German daily press is still in its infancy.²⁰ There are several studies on the press during the post-war years, the 1950s and the chancellorship of Willy Brandt.²¹ Further, the contributions by leading journalists of the daily press, such as Karl Korn, and editors, such as Axel Springer, have been researched.²² In addition, scholars have analysed different regional markets, such as the Saarland,²³ North-Rhine Westphalia,²⁴ Hamburg²⁵ and other regions. Finally, a number of historians, such as Schildt, Haase, Hodenberg, Führer, Frei and Bösch, have advanced new approaches to the press history of the Federal Republic.²⁶ However, an integrated perspective on all segments of the daily press is still missing, but is crucial for a wider understanding of the 1970s.²⁷

¹⁹ See Table 2 in the Appendix. For the regional editions, see IVW, 4 (1976), List B, Hamburg/Bild.

²⁰ See A. Schildt, 'Das Jahrhundert Der Massenmedien: Ansichten zu einer künftigen Geschichte der Öffentlichkeit', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 27 (2001), pp. 177-206.

²¹ C. Sonntag, *Medienkarrieren: Biographische Studien über Hamburger Nachkriegsjournalisten 1946 - 1949* (München, 2006); D. Gossel, *Die Hamburger Presse nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg: Neuanfang unter Britischer Besatzung* (Hamburg, 1993); K.C. Führer, *Medienmetropole Hamburg: Mediale Öffentlichkeiten 1930-1960* (Munich, 2008); D. Münkler, *Willy Brandt und die 'Vierte Gewalt'. Politik und Massenmedien in den 50er bis 70er Jahren* (Frankfurt a.M., 2005).

²² For an overview, see C. Haase, 'The German Mass Media in the Twentieth Century between Democracy and Dictatorship,' *European History Quarterly*, 40, 3 (2010), pp. 484-92. For research on journalists, see further C. Haase, 'Um der ehrenhaften Erinnerung willen: Marion Dönhoff und die Medialisierung adliger Erinnerungskultur in der Bundesrepublik,' *Jahrbuch für Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, 3 (2014), pp. 67-89. Id., 'From "Occident" to "Western Europe": Ernst Friedlaender and the idea of 'Europe' in West Germany, in C. Gorrara, H. Feldner and K. Passmore (eds.), *The Lost Decade? The 1950s in European History, Politics, Society and Culture* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 118-32. M. Payk, *Der Geist Der Demokratie: Intellektuelle Orientierungsversuche im Feuilleton der frühen Bundesrepublik: Karl Korn und Peter De Mendelssohn* (München, 2008). For publishers, see: H.-P. Schwarz, H.-P.S., *Axel Springer*; R. Dahrendorf, *Liberal und Unabhängig: Gerd Bucerius und seine Zeit* (München, 2000); P. Merseburger, *Rudolf Augstein: Biographie* (Stuttgart, 2007).

²³ C. Zimmermann, R. Hudemann and M. Kuderna (eds.), *Medienlandschaft Saar von 1945 bis in die Gegenwart*, 3 vols. (Munich, 2010).

²⁴ See, for example, B. Boll, V. Schulze and H. Süßmuth, *Zeitungsland Nordrhein-Westfalen: Geschichte, Profile, Struktur* (Bonn, 1993); B.-P. Lange and U. Pätzold, *Medienatlas Nordrhein-Westfalen: Grundlagen der Kommunikation* (Bochum, 1983).

²⁵ Führer, *Medienmetropole*.

²⁶ For a review of these new approaches, see C. Haase 'The German Mass Media in the Twentieth Century between Democracy and Dictatorship'. New contributions to the approaches of press history have been made by C. Haase and A. Schildt (eds.), *DIE ZEIT und die Bonner Republik. Eine meinungsbildende Wochenzeitung zwischen Wiederbewaffnung und Wiedervereinigung* (Goettingen, 2008); Kraiker, 'Between Concentration and Pluralization: The West German Press in the 1970s' (University of Nottingham, 2015); K.C. Führer, *Medienmetropole*; D. Münkler, *Willy Brandt und die 'Vierte Gewalt'*; C.v. Hodenberg, *Konsens und Krise: Eine*

The article builds on the research by Haase on West German and British press history in the 19th and 20th century, a first exploration into a new periodisation of West German press history in the project on *Die Zeit* by Haase and Schildt and a dissertation by Kraiker on the press in the 1970s that was supervised by Haase.²⁸ It draws on a wide range of primary sources from the archive of the *tageszeitung (taz)*,²⁹ the Hamburg Institute for Social Research,³⁰ the Springer archive,³¹ other newspaper archives,³² an interview with Helmut Schmidt and studies of his private papers,³³ and the reports of the Cartel Office.³⁴ The data of the *Informationsgemeinschaft zur Verbreitung von Werbeträgern (IVW)*³⁵ and the Nielsen media-planning agency have been used.³⁶ Finally, various content examples have been drawn from *Hamburger Abendblatt*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *taz*, *Bild* and further papers.

The article presents the empirical findings on the regionalisation of the press in the first section. The second section discusses the regional differentiation of the market. The third section shows the impact of press regionalisation on the wider media system. The last section looks at the wider impact of the regionalisation of the press on political developments in the 1970s.

Geschichte der westdeutschen Medienöffentlichkeit 1945-1973 (Goettingen, 2006); A. Schildt, 'Die Kräfte der Gegenreform sind auf breiter Front angetreten': Zur konservativen Tendenzwende in den Siebzigerjahren', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 44 (2004), pp. 449-78; Frank Bösch and Norbert Frei (eds.): *Medialisierung und Demokratie im 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2006).

²⁷ Birkner's *Mann des gedruckten Wortes: Helmut Schmidt und die Medien* (Bremen, 2014), focuses on the relationship between Schmidt and the press and less on the development of the press during Schmidt's chancellorship.

²⁸ See Haase and Schildt (eds.), *DIE ZEIT und die Bonner Republik*; C. Haase (ed.), *Debating Foreign Affairs: The Public and British Foreign Policy since 1867* (Berlin, 2003). For further publications by Haase, see footnotes 13 and 17. For the PhD thesis, see Kraiker, 'The West German Press in the 1970s.' The second supervisor of the thesis was John Young.

²⁹ The following folders have been used from the archive of the *taz*, Berlin: *taz* 78/79; *taz* intern 79-84, 'Zahlen und Papiere 1982.'

³⁰ The following folders from the archive of the Hamburg Institute for Social Research (AHIS) have been used: 'SBe 410 Gegenöffentlichkeit', 'SBe 411 Alternative Medien' and 'SBe 412 Alternative Medien'.

³¹ The Springer archive, Berlin, has provided a list of *Bild*'s regional editions. See *Table 3* in the Appendix.

³² The Marion Dönhoff papers in the archive of the Marion Dönhoff Foundation, Hamburg, have provided good insight into and a broader understanding of the developments and changes in the West German media and press sector in the 1970s.

³³ We are thankful that Helmut Schmidt granted Christian Haase a longer personal interview and Christian Kraiker access to his private papers in Hamburg for his PhD.

³⁴ The *Tätigkeitsberichte* of the Federal Cartel Office are published online. See http://www.bundeskartellamt.de/DE/UeberUns/Publikationen/Taetigkeitsberichte/taetigkeitsberichte_node.html They provide an excellent and detailed insight into the changes of regional newspaper markets after 1976 and the market interventions of the Federal Cartel Office.

³⁵ See footnote 6.

³⁶ On the Nielsen agglomerations and metropolitan regions, see J. H. P. Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik, *Regionalisierung sozialwissenschaftlicher Umfragedaten: Siedlungsstruktur und Wohnquartier* (Wiesbaden, 2000), pp. 48ff.

II. The regionalisation of the daily press: empirical findings

The regional transformation of reader-markets in the 1970s changed the basis of the West German daily press. Between 1954 and the early 1970s, local and regional subscription papers, such as *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* or *Wilstersche Zeitung*, supra-regional subscription papers, such as *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, and tabloids, such as *Bild*, had catered for different reader-, news- and advertising-markets. The supra-regional subscription and tabloid press published supra-regional and city editions, while the majority of the more than 1200 editions of the local and regional subscription papers were published on county-level. The spatial distinction between reader-, news-, and advertising markets gave way to a more comprehensively regionalised press market in the 1970s.

The first wave of regionalisation affected the segment of the local and regional subscription press. There is no standard definition of local and regional in German press history, but most often those papers are considered local that appear within one county (*Landkreis*), municipality (*kreisfreie Stadt*) or larger city (*Großstadt*) and report about local boroughs (*Gemeinden*). Regional papers on the contrary usually cover news from more than one county and often share news, adverts and full parts of the paper in a regional newspaper-group. Counties, municipalities and larger cities are the smallest regional units.

The origins of the local and regional subscription press date back to the re-establishment of the West German press market under Allied tutelage.³⁷ The Western Allies, especially the British, allocated large quantities of printing paper and regional distribution areas to newly licensed papers in order to give them a head start before the *Altverleger*, these are publishers that had already been active during the Nazi-years, were allowed to re-enter the market. Between 1954 and the late 1960, the unbalanced market structure between local and regional papers fuelled the process of concentration. *Table 1* in the Appendix shows that large regional dailies with a circulation above 150,000 increased their market-share between 1954 and 1967 from 31.8% in 1954 to 49.7% in 1967 at the expense of smaller, often local papers with a circulation below 40,000. This process of concentration slowed down in the early 1970s. *Table 4* shows that the number of ‘publicistic units’ did not change significantly between 1971 and 1973 anymore.

Several economic and political developments coincided that ended the process of concentration among local and regional subscription papers. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, many regional press centres were upgraded to the status of university towns, such as Braunschweig (1968), Osnabrück (1974), Bielefeld (1969), Bochum (1962) and Karlsruhe (1967).

³⁷ See D. Gossel, *Die Hamburger Presse*; Pürer and Raabe, *Presse in Deutschland*.

This helped the regional economy, including the press, to improve the quality of the workforce. Further, many small and mid-sized publishing houses received special loans from the government after 1967.³⁸ 'The majority of credits were issued to papers with a circulation up to 20,000 (64.6%) and 40,000 (17.9%) and thus were targeted at smaller companies.'³⁹ Most of the ERP credits were used to finance the transition from mechanical printing to electronic photo-type printing. Finally, boundary reforms were enacted all across West Germany that reduced the number of local boroughs drastically from 24,278 to 8,514. The number of urban municipalities fell from 135 in 1968 to 88 in 1978 and the number of counties was cut down from 425 to 235.⁴⁰ This enabled many papers to rationalize their production.

Despite the relatively strong position of the local and regional subscription press in the early 1970s, the recession in 1973 came as a shock. In the months following the oil price shock advertising revenues were falling across all media sectors. In late 1973 and early 1974, negative expectations about the future of the market gained the upper hand. Some smaller publishers voluntarily merged with larger publishers, because they feared that they could not shoulder the rising costs during the recession.⁴¹ Several regional groups of papers formed in 1974 and 1975 that enabled a stronger pooling of resources.⁴² In the Ruhr, for example, the *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Verlag* merged with the publishing companies of *Westfälische Rundschau*, *Neue-Ruhr-Zeitung* and *Westfalenpost* in 1975. They formed the largest regional newspaper group in the country, which sold more than one million copies per day in 1976.⁴³ In 1974, the *Stuttgarter Zeitung* formed a group with the *Stuttgarter Nachrichten* and *Südwestpresse* Ulm that offered a total circulation of more than 477,000 (Stuttgart) and 319,000 (Ulm).⁴⁴ Similar regional newspaper groups formed in Bremen, Schleswig-Holstein, in Munster, Bielefeld, Cologne, Kassel, Oldenburg, Munich and Aachen.⁴⁵ In some regions, newspapers perished as a consequence of mergers, but this remained the exception.

Due to the concentration among regional publishing houses in 1974/75, advertising departments merged and developed new larger regional advertising campaigns across regional

³⁸ Deutscher Bundestag, *Schlußbericht der Kommission zur Untersuchung der wirtschaftlichen Existenz von Presseunternehmen und der Folgen der Konzentration für die Meinungsfreiheit in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Pressekommission) Drucksache V/3122 (Bonn, 1968), p. 44 and 65.

³⁹ Kraiker, 'The West German Press in the 1970s', p. 62.

⁴⁰ See S. Mecking, *Bürgerwille und Gebietsreform: Demokratieentwicklung und Neuordnung von Staat und Gesellschaft in Nordrhein-Westfalen 1965-2000* (Munich, 2012), p. 461.

⁴¹ Media Perspektiven 1974.

⁴² See Wilke (ed.) *Mediengeschichte*, p. 787.

⁴³ See IVW, 4 (1976) and H. Janke, 'Riese im Revier. Die *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*', in W.M. Thomas (ed.), *Porträts der deutschen Presse* (Berlin, 1980), pp. 45-62.

⁴⁴ See IVW, 1-4 (1972), IVW, 1-4 (1973), IVW, 1-4 (1974) IVW 1-4 (1975) as well as Deutscher Bundestag, *Bericht des Bundeskartellamts über seine Tätigkeit in den Jahren 1979/1980 sowie über die Lage und Entwicklung auf seinem Aufgabengebiet (§ 50 GWB)* Drucksache 9/565 (Bonn, 1981).

⁴⁵ All circulation numbers have been quoted according to IVW, 4 (1975) and IVW, 4 (1976).

groups of papers. The IVW captured this trend for the first time in 1974. In 1974, the IVW introduced a new overview (B-list) into its quarterly reports,⁴⁶ which offered companies a way to book adverts in groups of papers. *Table 2* lists the 43 new press regions of the local and regional subscription press.⁴⁷

The regional expansion of the advertising campaigns of the local and regional subscription press was not only driven by concentration among publishing houses, but also by the emergence of newly expanded regional reader markets. These new regional reader and consumer markets exerted an enormous attraction on various papers. In 1979, the Nielsen media-planning agency labelled these new densely populated reader and advertising markets Nielsen-agglomerations (*Nielsen-Ballungsräume*). These included Hamburg, Bremen, Hanover, Munich, Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Nuremberg, the Rhein-Ruhr region (Dusseldorf, Cologne, Essen, Dortmund, Aachen), the Rhein-Neckar region (Mannheim, Heidelberg, Ludwigshafen) and Berlin-West. The company analysed that each of the agglomerations exhibited three characteristics, namely, a total population of at least one million inhabitants, a high density of more than 1,500 inhabitants per square kilometre in the centre and a lower density in the surrounding counties. The boundaries of these new agglomerations were defined by the distribution areas of various regional subscription papers. *Nielsen* offered companies the possibility to place advertisements across several regional newspaper-groups at the same time. Among those larger agglomerations, the Rhine-Ruhr was the largest and most complex. It consisted of several smaller regions with very different traditions, sport clubs and newspapers.

Subsequently, all dailies and newspaper groups competed for the new lucrative markets in the metropolitan regions and wider regional markets that cut across counties and municipalities. Before the 1970s, the leading quality dailies, such as *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Frankfurter Rundschau*, were mostly based in different larger cities outside of the capital Bonn, such as Frankfurt, Munich and Hamburg, where they sold a large part of their circulation. In the 1970s, the supra-regional subscription press regionalised its reader base. It expanded into the suburbs and wider areas of the metropolitan regions. In 1972, the *Frankfurter Rundschau* established a new edition for the *Höchst-Taunus district*. In 1976, the existing regional and local issues were further diversified into eastern and southern versions.⁴⁸ The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* strengthened its regional sec-

⁴⁶ IVW, 1 (1974).

⁴⁷ The geographical scope of the region is delineated by the largest regional paper or newspaper group of the region.

⁴⁸ See Kraiker, 'The West German Press in the 1970s,' pp. 181-4.

tions, too.⁴⁹ The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* established seven new regional issues in Bavaria and provided seven districts of the expanding Munich metropolitan region with new editions in 1977: Freising, Erding, Ebersberg, Bad Tölz-Wolfratshausen, Starnberg, Fürstenfeldbruck and Dachau. In 1980, 50% of its readers lived in Munich and the surrounding municipalities.⁵⁰ Finally, the *Welt* moved to Bonn in 1975 as part of Springer's overall regionalisation strategy in the Rhine-Ruhr region. The changes after 1973 reshaped the West German press market and gave it its unique profile in Europe until the re-unification of the country in 1990. In contrast to more centralised countries, such as the UK and France, the West German daily press lacked a dense 'national' press with a basis in the capital Bonn and was located in several metropolitan press centres that underlined the more decentralised character of the country.

Press regionalisation also engulfed the so-called alternative press that rose, peaked and withered away between 1974 and 1982. Up to now, historians have largely treated the alternative press as a separate segment of the newspaper market. Its irregular publication intervals, small circulation figures and diversely specialized topics suggest that it was more a means to improve the communication of the alternative milieu⁵¹ than part of the development of the wider press market. However, alternative media were strongly embedded in the regionalisation of the press market. They often exploited the increasing uneasiness that the boundary reforms and the enlargement of regional press districts among the regional and local subscription press had created. *Bremer Blatt*, for example, stressed that it was founded in 1976 after *Weser Kurier* had absorbed other Bremen papers and declared its role to report on 'events and problems in Bremen which do not get adequate room in the large media.'⁵² Even in the agrarian counties, which experienced a low point in press density, regional and local groups tried to establish new '*Initiativzeitungen*' and '*Volksblätter*'.⁵³

The breakthrough of the new regional and local alternative press was mainly driven by political factors. The rise of the alternative press to supra-regional importance occurred during the autumn of 1977 when the government of Helmut Schmidt was embroiled in a conflict with the left-wing terrorist organization RAF that led to the so-called 'news blackout,' a suppression of news reporting for security reasons that seemed to confirm the negative alternative

⁴⁹ This information has been provided by the Media Service of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.

⁵⁰ See A. Dürr, 'Weltblatt und Heimatzeitung: Die *Süddeutsche Zeitung*,' in M.W. Thomas (ed.), *Porträts der deutschen Presse* (Berlin, 1980), pp. 63-80: 79.

⁵¹ See S. Reichardt and D. Siegfried, 'Das Alternative Milieu: Konturen einer Lebensform,' in Id. (eds.), *Das alternative Milieu: Antibürgerlicher Lebensstil und linke Politik in der Bundesrepublik und Europa 1968-1983* (Göttingen, 2010), pp. 9-26.

⁵² 'Liebe Leser,' *Bremer Blatt* (15 Nov. 1976), p. 2.

⁵³ See Kraiker, 'The West German Press in the 1970s,' pp. 105-23. See also *Blatt München, Dokumentation*, Sbe 412, AHIS, p. 1.

view of the federal state. Current research on the West German press has highlighted the supra-regional effect of the terrorism crisis and has looked at its effects on supra-regional papers and journals, such as *Spiegel*.⁵⁴ However, the crisis had a significant regional press angle, too, which became particularly visible in the establishment of the *taz*,⁵⁵ which claimed to offer ‘truthful’ and ‘authentic’ news from the regions. Once the professionalization of the alternative press set in, also the *taz* could not escape the pull of densely populated reader markets. After the *taz*’s foundation in 1979, several local offices were established in regional centres of the West German press in Essen, Hanover, Düsseldorf, Bonn, Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Freiburg, Munich and Nuremberg.⁵⁶ Between 1980 and 1981, two regional editions of *taz* were launched in the metropolitan regions of Berlin and Hamburg. Michael Sontheimer, a leading journalist of the *taz* at the time, subsequently highlighted the importance of local and regional journalism.⁵⁷

The *Bild* began to expand more strongly into the metropolitan regions, too. Until 1972, *Bild* had published only three additional city editions with extra regional news, namely, the Hamburg, Berlin and Munich editions. Its advertising strategy was coupled to the television market. This changed after 1972. Between 1972 and 1975, *Bild* developed 14 new regional editions, namely, Frankfurt, Cologne, Ruhr-East, Ruhr-West, Stuttgart, Nuremberg, Aachen, Bergisches Land, Hanover and Bremen. *Bild* further expanded its former city editions in Hamburg and Munich into covering wider regional news. *Bild* changed from a federal paper with city editions (1952-1972) to a regionalised paper with a basis in the metropolitan press regions (1972/3-1989) (*Table 3*).

In sum, it can be said that regional changes in reader markets affected all segments of the daily press in the 1970s. This was the root cause of the new regionalisation of the daily press in the 1970s. In the segment of the local and regional subscription press, concentration among publishing houses provided an additional boost to the regional expansion of advertising markets. In the segment of the tabloid press, the appeal of newly expanded regional consumer markets accelerated regionalisation. In the segment of the supra-regional subscription press, the relocation of many families into suburbs was an additional factor. For the alternative press, finally, political factors, such as a belief in the ‘authenticity’ of regional news, played an additional role.

⁵⁴ See H. Balz, *Von Terroristen, Sympathisanten und dem starken Staat* (Frankfurt a.M., 2007).

⁵⁵ Despite its undisputed significance, the history of the *taz* has not been fully researched yet. An analysis of the newly available sources from the archive of the *taz* and papers on the alternative press from the Hamburg Institute for Social Research shows that the paper was shaped by its regional foundation and retained a strong regional basis. See Kraiker, ‘The West German Press in the 1970s,’ pp. 155-77.

⁵⁶ See W. Flieger, *Die TAZ: Vom Alternativblatt zur linken Tageszeitung* (Munich, 1991), p. 122 ff.

⁵⁷ See Kraiker, ‘The West German Press in the 1970s,’ pp. 172-7.

The regionalized daily press that emerged in the 1970s defies a simple political categorization. The West Germans traditionally preferred their papers to be above party politics. This trend gained renewed momentum through regionalisation. All dailies that belonged to the SPD, for example, were sliding into crisis in the early 1970s.⁵⁸ The SPD's *Telegraph* in Berlin perished in 1972 and the SPD's *Neue Hannoversche Presse* merged with Madsack's *Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung* in 1973.⁵⁹ The economic pressure on dailies was high. They needed to appeal to broad regional audiences across counties and city districts with different political preferences.

III. The regional differentiation of the market

The emergence of new metropolitan press regions split the overall West German market into very dense newspaper areas and weaker regions.⁶⁰ As a consequence of the new appeal of metropolitan regions, concentration among newspapers in larger cities stopped in 1973.⁶¹ This was largely due to regional expansion and new inner city reader groups, which revitalized the market. The effect is visible in *Map 1*. 'One-paper-counties' are indicators of the concentration among local and regional subscription dailies but also reveal the overall density of the newspaper market. The map highlights that the densely populated metropolitan regions sustained a higher density of newspapers than other regions. Most areas of metropolitan regions remained white, which indicates a higher density.

In Hamburg, for example, the *Hamburger Abendblatt* expanded into the neighbouring counties of Stormarn (1974), Norderstedt (1974) and Pinneberg (1974). Due to continuing suburbanization, Hamburg and the neighbouring counties were able to sustain two regional papers with local news, namely *Hamburger Abendblatt* and the small regional daily *Bergedorfer Zeitung*.⁶² The changes also affected the press in the surrounding counties. The *Pinneberger Tageblatt* on the Western periphery of Hamburg began to cooperate with the *Norddeutsche Nachrichten/Bergedorfer Zeitung* that served the Eastern side of the Hamburg metropolitan area in 1978. In the metropolitan region of Hanover, the *Göttinger Tageblatt* was linked to the *Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung* in 1973. Changes in the metropolitan regions

⁵⁸ See F. Bösch, "'Berlusconi von links?': Die Medien der SPD in historischer Perspektive," *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 44 (2004), pp. 501-8.

⁵⁹ See IVW, 4 (1973) and IVW, 4 (1974).

⁶⁰ On the changes in the newspaper market between 1971 and 1974, see Deutscher Bundestag, *Bericht der Bundesregierung über die Lage von Presse und Rundfunk in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (1974) - Medienbericht - Drucksache 7/2104* (Bonn, 1974), pp. 11ff.; for the changes between 1974 and 1978, see Deutscher Bundestag, *Bericht der Bundesregierung über die Lage von Presse und Rundfunk in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (1978) - Medienbericht - Drucksache 8/2264* (Bonn, 1978), p.14.

⁶¹ See Deutscher Bundestag, *Medienbericht* (Bonn, 1978), p.15.

⁶² On the *Bergedorfer Zeitung* and further processes of concentration in the Hamburg Economic Area, see *ibid*, p.14.

naturally also affected the inner city quarters. Many quarters were increasingly depopulated in the 1970s and offered cheap accommodation that was attractive for young students and foreign migrant workers. The new heterogeneity of inner city audiences resulted in a differentiation of newspapers markets within cities. The German edition of the Turkish *Hürriyet* was, for example, established in Frankfurt/Main in 1979.

However, more than half of the 61 million West Germans still lived outside of these metropolitan regions in the 1970s.⁶³ These people were often served by the standard editions of supra-regional papers and a thin layer of local and regional papers, such as the *Frankenpost* or the *Schwarzwälder Bote*. However, these readers also experienced massive changes in their papers in the 1970s. Old local news sections were abolished and integrated into larger regional news sections. This was a consequence of the erosion of smaller agrarian businesses in the 1950s and 1960s⁶⁴ and the boundary reforms between the late 1960s and 1978. The abolition of more than 15,000 local administrations eroded the value of local political news. The regional clustering of smaller local papers, such as the *Wilstersche Zeitung* in the county Steinburg that had joined the large group of the *Schleswig-Holstein Presse*, indicates that smaller local publishers felt that the value of local news had dwindled.

However, also the regions outside of the metropolitan regions were hardly homogeneous. The overall newspaper market was beginning to split into more densely and more sparsely populated as well as economically stronger and weaker regions in the 1970s. West Germany's Eastern borders with East Germany and Czechoslovakia as well as the coastal areas in Northern Germany, for example, were characterized by population emigration and missing economic cross-border activities that affected the sustainability of different papers in these regions. Weak regions, such as Upper Franconia around Hof or the county Lauenburg near the German-German border, could hardly sustain a mid-sized regional paper or even various smaller local papers. They were not attractive for advertisers. They, therefore, became more reliant on larger metropolitan press regions. In sum, it can be said that the regional differentiation of newspaper markets was driven by wider social, demographic and economic developments that led to growing regional disparities between 1974 and 1982.

⁶³ The exact number depends on the definition employed and can vary widely between 25 and more than 30 million. On the definitions, see J.H.P. Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik, *Regionalisierung sozialwissenschaftlicher Umfragedaten: Siedlungsstruktur und Wohnquartier* (Wiesbaden, 2000), pp. 48ff.

⁶⁴ See P. Erker, 'Revolution des Dorfes? Ländliche Bevölkerung zwischen Flüchtlingszustrom und landwirtschaftlichem Strukturwandel', in M. Broszat, K.-D. Henke and H. Woller (eds.), *Von Stalingrad zur Währungsreform* (Munich, 1989), pp. 367-426.

IV. The emergence of the press as the new regionally leading medium

The regionalisation of the press went hand in hand with a new regional thematic focus. The supra-regional daily subscription press added regional editions with four to eight pages. The *Bild* devoted an additional two pages per regional edition to regional political news and several further pages to regionalised *Bundesliga* news. The new focus on regional news across all segments of the daily press contributed to the fact that the press emerged as the regionally leading medium in the 1970s. Television and radio could not match the local and regional depth of press reporting in the 1970s.

Scholars of media studies have described the increasing domination of the West German market by regional dailies with their aggregated sections of local news as a 'threat' to local news.⁶⁵ While this held true for the 1960s when many local papers perished, the 1970s were more strongly characterized by an overall regionalisation of local news in the remaining papers. In the small-sized regional *Bergedorfer Zeitung*, for example, there were still three different pages dedicated to local news from Hamburg-Vierlanden, Bergedorf-Vierlanden and Bergedorf-Lohbrügge in 1965. The title page covered West German and international news. Regionalisation forced the *Bergedorfer Zeitung* to reposition itself. The *Bergedorfer Zeitung* regionalised its local news sections and highlighted regional news on its front page more strongly.

The unprecedented level of regional agenda setting and intra-media competition for new topics propelled the press into a lead role in reporting on regional politics. This affected, for example, the reporting on regional protests against Brokdorf near Hamburg, the *Startbahn West* in Frankfurt and the rocket-stationing site in Mutlangen near Stuttgart that shaped the political protest culture of the 1970s and 1980s. In Brokdorf near Itzehoe in Steinburg county, the local press, including *Norddeutsche Rundschau* and *Wilstersche Zeitung*, for example, reported widely on the protests against the planned nuclear power station on 18 December 1976. Both papers voiced the views of local fishermen who feared that the river Elbe would be polluted. The newspapers reported on the day before and the day after, too. This amplified the regional attention to the topic that was taken up in the regional section of the *Welt* on 18 December 1976 and in the federal edition of the paper on 20 December 1976.⁶⁶ The reporting in the press was the key to the wider mediatization of these events.

The press also took on a lead role in reporting on regionalised sports events, such as regionally popular *Bundesliga* games. Historians have considered the relationship between

⁶⁵ See, for example Schütz, 'Publizistische Konzentration.'

⁶⁶ See various articles on Brokdorf in *Norddeutsche Rundschau* (17-20 Dec 1976), *Wilstersche Zeitung* (17-20 Dec 1976), *Die Welt* (18 Dec 1976) and *Die Welt* (20 Dec 1976).

football and West German television as the hallmark of the 1970s and 1980s.⁶⁷ However, it was not only television but, above all, the regionalized press that was closely associated with the reporting on the regionally popular *Bundesliga* between 1974 and 1982. While the *ARD* and *ZDF* reported on Saturday afternoon (*Sportschau*) and Saturday evening (*Aktuelles Sportstudio*), *Bild* and the regional papers reported every morning between Monday and Saturday about the *Bundesliga* and thus kept the interest in regional events high throughout the week. *Bild* did not only profit from the rise of visitor numbers, but also actively encouraged readers to attend the games.⁶⁸ The high interest in regional sports news added an additional boost to the spread of regional political news that were often presented next to *Bundesliga* news on the title page.

The reporting on regional topics was the domain of the press in the 1970s. Public broadcasting was organised on the level of the *Länder* (*ARD*) and the *Federal State* (*ZDF*) and could initially not provide such regional and local depth. Although the public broadcasters had already introduced regional programs in the late 1950s as part of the new local UKW-broadcasting, they had largely encouraged their journalists to report most stories from the perspective of the *Bundesländer*.⁶⁹ This had been meant to solidify the new West German *Bundesländer* after the war. However, also public broadcasting could not escape the wider transformation of the market in the 1970s. Television and radio journalists who routinely read the press in the morning were well aware of the wider changes in the press sector.⁷⁰ They helped to introduce new broadcasts such as *Hallo-Ü-Wagen* (1974) or *Forum West* (1974) that contributed to the high attention that regionalised local news gained in the wider media. Finally, towards the end of the social-liberal era cable pilots went ahead in the new metropolitan press regions, namely, in Dortmund, Munich, West-Berlin and Ludwigshafen/Mannheim – a significant break from the *Bundesland*-based public television broadcasting of the 1960s.

V. Impact: Press and politics in the 1970s

The regionalisation of the press affected the relationship between press and politics between 1974 and 1982. Intense competition between all segments of the daily press in regional markets boosted the public attention to new regional topics, such as regional ecological problems

⁶⁷ H. Jonas, “‘Vom Erzfeind hinter der Linse‘ zur Vermarktungsplattform: Fußball und Fernsehen in der Bundesrepublik“ in M. Reitmayer and T. Schlemmer (eds.), *Die Anfänge der Gegenwart: Umbrüche in Westeuropa nach dem Boom* (Munich 2014), pp. 109-22.

⁶⁸ See *Bild* (Hamburg Edition) (17. Dec. 1974), p. 1 and pp. 12-4.

⁶⁹ See S. Quandt and J. Calließ (eds.), *Zur Regionalisierung der historisch-politischen Kultur: Nahwelt und Geschichte im Rundfunk* (Giessen, 1984) and L. Flamm, *Westfalen und der Westdeutsche Rundfunk* (Cologne, 1993).

⁷⁰ The contemporary debate about the regionalisation of broadcasting is depicted in W. Teichert, *Die Region als publizistische Aufgabe* (Hamburg, 1982).

and the boundary reforms. Further, the regionalized press became itself the subject of an intense debate that pitted the proponents of state-intervention into the press sector against those who opposed it. Finally, the regional press scandalized a number of sleaze scandals on regional level such as the *Hessische Landesbank (Helaba)*-scandal in Frankfurt/Main in 1976 and the Garski-scandal in Berlin-West in 1981 that presented significant challenges for the federal government.

Regional competition among newspapers and the general political interest in the region formed the background to the interest of various papers in the boundary reforms that became an early crystallisation point for regionalized media reporting. The reforms were unpopular because they removed established local town halls and relocated them in new and often unfamiliar regional centres. The *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Süddeutsche Zeitung* contributed to the widespread attention for the protest movement against the reforms. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* agitated against the ‘madness’ of national planning and labelled the annulment of established regional names an ‘unforgivable sin.’⁷¹ The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* published similar polemics against the naming of new artificial towns or regions after the name of rivers, i.e., into *Maintal*, that were typical of the 1970s.⁷²

The groundswell of regional grassroots unhappiness with ‘national planning’ found widespread and sympathetic views in the daily press. Subsequently, 760,000 people signed a petition in North-Rhine Westfalia in 1974 for an anti-reform referendum. In Uelzen, 12,000 protesters shouted ‘down with the district reform,’ in Hanover 25,000 people protested against the reforms. In Ermershausen, Bavaria, a small army of several hundred police officers had to storm to the local town hall in order to merge the village with the new larger district of Maroldsweisach. The villagers who blocked the doors called the regional press for help in order to report about the alleged injustice done to them by the government.⁷³ The regionalization of the press was part of a much wider regionalization of the political culture after 1974.

The stronger emphasis on regional news catalysed the attention to further new political regional topics. The alternative press and regional political protest groups often detected such topics, but lacked the potential to boost them to wider attention. One cannot fully understand the high media attention to regionalised political protests after 1974 without an understanding

⁷¹ ‘Den alten Dörfern ihre alten Namen. Hessens CDU: Unverzeihliche Sünde,’ *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (27 Aug. 1983), quoted in See Mecking, *Bürgerwille*, p. 302; see also ‘Alle Macht den Bürokraten,’ *Der Spiegel* (30 May 1977).

⁷² Quoted in ‘Alle Macht den Bürokraten,’ *Der Spiegel* (30 May 1977).

⁷³ See E. Holtmann and W.F. Killisch, *Lokale Identität und Gemeindegebietsreform: Der Streitfall Ermershausen: Empirische Untersuchung über Erscheinungsformen und Hintergründe örtlichen Protestverhaltens in einer unterfränkischen Landgemeinde* (Erlangen, 1991).

of the regionalisation of the press and protest strategies of many social movements.⁷⁴ In the Rhine valley near Freiburg, for example, where the planning of a new atomic power plant at Wyhl caused concern in 1974, alternative demonstrators played up the regional significance of the local atomic power station. The portrayal of the conflict as a regional protest drew in the *Badische Zeitung*. It reported widely on Wyhl which in turn boosted the attention of radio and television stations.⁷⁵ A similar effect can be observed with regard to the Thallium-scandal that received wide spread attention in Steinbrück county near Munster in 1976. The thallium was emitted by a cement plant in Lengerich near Munster. Despite the regional fallout, the local papers considered this a 'local' problem of Lengerich. After agitation by a regional initiative, the regional subscription press in the Munster-area and the *Spiegel* drove the issue to regional and national attention.⁷⁶

The regionalized press did not only boost the attention to several regional conflicts, but also became itself the subject of a huge political debate in the run-up to the 1976 election. Key for an understanding of the debate were the young SPD party members who were concerned about the increasing dominance of large press corporations in regional markets, particularly since the collapse of the SPD's own regional papers seemed to have contributed to this trend. Between 1964 and 1973, more than 700,000 people had joined the Social Democratic Party. More than 75% of the new entrants were younger than 40.⁷⁷ They were often influenced by the anti-Springer protests in the late 1960s and the discussions about the increasing concentration of the press at the time. They were receptive to pessimistic analyses that predicted a further slide of the market towards regional 'opinion monopolies' and pinned their hopes on the progressive influences of the state. A key role in these debates assumed Peter Glotz (1939-2005) und Wolfgang R. Langenbucher (*1938), two young media scholars. They published the then seminal book *Der mißachtete Leser*.⁷⁸ Glotz envisaged that one should reform and supervise the regional press along the lines of public broadcasting councils, which were orga-

⁷⁴ The significance of reports in the regional press for the protest movements in the 1970s is exhibited by the high number of press cuttings that were collected as a proof of demonstration's visibility and effect in the collections of the Hamburg Institute for Social Research (AHIS). See footnote 30.

⁷⁵ See H.-C. Buchholtz, 'Öffentlichkeitsarbeit in den Auseinandersetzungen um das Atomkraftwerk Wyhl: Prozess demokratischer Willensbildung oder Beispiel für die Herrschaft der veröffentlichten Meinung?', in Id., L. Mez, T.v. Zabern et al. (eds.), *Widerstand gegen Atomkraftwerke: Informationen für Atomkraftgegner und solche, die es werden wollen* (Wuppertal, 1978), pp. 49-82. For the role of *Blatt* (Munich) in the anti-nuclear protests see Kraiker, 'The West German Press in the 1970s', pp. 209-11.

⁷⁶ 'Gift aus dem Schlot', *Der Spiegel* (3 Sept.1976).

⁷⁷ S. Reichardt, *Authentizität und Gemeinschaft: Linksalternatives Leben in den siebziger und frühen achtziger Jahren* (Berlin, 2014), p. 13.

⁷⁸ See P. Glotz and W.R. Langenbucher, *Der mißachtete Leser: Zur Kritik der deutschen Presse* (Cologne, 1969).

nized on the federal (ZDF) and *Bundesländer* level (ARD). He embraced the state and press councils as the ultimate protectors of pluralism and freedom.

This view was increasingly criticized by alternative and conservative journalists and politicians in the 1970s. In the heated atmosphere of the mid-1970s, Glotz even accused the regional alternative media like the *Pflasterstrand*, *Info-BUG* and *zitty* but also the *Frankfurter Rundschau* of providing an ‘information system’ that made the members of a so-called ‘second culture’ allegedly ‘hostile’ towards representatives of the federal state.⁷⁹ The debate on the press was high on the agenda in the 1960s and took off again after 1973 when the CDU published their new media policy guidelines. These were predominantly focused on a free market approach⁸⁰ and promoted private broadcasting as a form of breaking away from the seemingly overpowering and ‘ungovernable’ state.

The government of Helmut Schmidt was initially reluctant to intervene too strongly in the market.⁸¹ However, in the run-up to the election in 1976, Schmidt needed to rally the party. The election was fought under the banner of ‘*Modell Deutschland*.’ Schmidt wanted to demonstrate the federal state’s capacity to act as an engine of social-liberal reform on an international level. On 28 June 1976, the *Law on Merger Control* was amended and included a special section for the press. The law applied a formal merger control (*formelle Fusionskontrolle*) and established turnover thresholds. Mergers above 25 million DM (turnover of the merging publishing houses) had to be reported to the Cartel Office that would then grant approval or refuse authorization.

The law that remained in place until 2012 was then opposed by the CDU/CSU that argued that it would stifle economic progress and limit freedom. The Schmidt government explained that the main reason for the amendment of the *Law on Merger Control* was that ‘the dying of newspapers was the result of competitive obstructions on the press market leading to rescue mergers and the rise of dominant publishing houses in the respective markets.’⁸² This was a reference to the economic research on press concentration. However, neither the ‘dying of newspapers’ between 1974 and 1976 nor the competitive obstructions were as important as the government presented them in the run-up to the election in 1976. There were in fact no significant changes in the number of independent newspapers, the so-called ‘publicistic units’

⁷⁹ P. Glotz, *Von Heimat zu Heimat: Erinnerungen eines Grenzgängers* (Berlin, 2005), p. 157.

⁸⁰ However, the CDU also called for stronger financial aid for smaller publishers. The party did not want to antagonize smaller conservative political strongholds that often relied on the support of the local paper.

⁸¹ See T. Birkner, *Mann des gedruckten Wortes: Helmut Schmidt und die Medien* (Hamburg, 2014).

⁸² Deutscher Bundestag, *Bericht des Bundeskartellamts über seine Tätigkeit im Jahre 1977 sowie über die Lage und Entwicklung auf seinem Aufgabengebiet (§ 50 GWB) Drucksache 8/1925* (Bonn, 1978), p. 42.

after 1974.⁸³ (Table 4) The law was meant to reassure smaller publishing houses, rally the party and slow down the concentration among regional publishing houses.

Despite the constructive, but rather symbolic press policy of the federal Schmidt government, regional criticism did not wither away. In the 1976 and 1980 elections, the conservatives made full use of the regional press and regional identity politics for their agitation against the government. The conservatives were headed by Helmut Kohl of the Rhineland Palatinate and the Bavarian CSU was represented in federal affairs by Franz-Josef Strauss. Both politicians emphasized market freedom from state intervention and promised a liberalisation of broadcasting that was attractive to the owners of large regional press publishing houses who were keen to invest into new private broadcasting stations. Further, both politicians played up their regional identities in the run-up to the 1976 and 1980 elections. Strauss spoke with a Bavarian accent, while Kohl publicly celebrated the consumption of regional dishes like sow's stomach. Both politicians were supported by the regional press. Kohl's views were amplified by regional papers in the Rhine-Neckar agglomeration such as the *Rheinpfalz*. Strauss had the backing of the CSU's weekly *Bayernkurier*, which increased its circulation between 1971 and 1975 from 123,213 copies to 179,797 copies per week, an increase of more than 40%.⁸⁴

The social democratic state-centred reform impulse began to buckle under the onslaught of these new regionalised political attacks. The conservative mix of regional identity and freedom rhetoric proved more successful in the 1976 federal elections than the Social Democrats' internationalist and state-centric program. The SPD received 42.6% of the votes, while the CDU/CSU under Helmut Kohl came close to an absolute majority with 48.6%. However, the FDP under Genscher received 7.9% and decided to keep Schmidt in power, based on a shared approach to foreign policy and economic policies. Thus, Schmidt won the election because he had campaigned on a coalition-ticket. However, the relative strength of regionalised attacks was laid bare. The SPD reacted in 1977/78 and established the so-called *Kommunalakademie* that was meant to rally the local and regional associations of the party and give elected politicians on the local level a greater say in the party. Despite these efforts, the 1980s elections brought a similar result. The CDU/CDU under Strauß received 44,5% of the vote, while the SPD remained at 42.9%. Strauß' result was largely based on his regional appeal in Bavaria, where he was able win an extremely high share of 57.6 % of the vote. The FDP decided to keep Schmidt in power again.

⁸³ Schütz, 'Tagespresse.'

⁸⁴ See *IVW* (1971-75).

In the federal system of Germany, power rests not only with the federal government, but also with the individual states, the *Länder*. Some of the press regions cut across the administrative boundaries of the *Länder*, such as the metropolitan regions of Hamburg and Bremen. Other regions were noticeably smaller. Despite this complex topography of press and political regions, the new press regions influenced politics in the individual states of West Germany. This was in particular the case in Hesse and Berlin-West, where a number of sleaze scandals were unearthed that damaged the social-liberal federal government further. The uncovering of these scandals has to be seen against the concentration of newspapers and highly qualified journalists in the metropolitan press regions. They modelled their regional approach to critical reporting often on the Watergate scandal in 1972/74 and received the backing of their newspapers to engage in critical and expensive investigative journalism.

In Frankfurt/Main, the regional press criticized the so-called *Helaba*-scandal in the run-up to the 1976 election. The then acting social democratic prime minister of Hesse, Albert Osswald, had been involved in a decision of the bank of the state Hesse, the *Hessische Landesbank (Helaba)*, to provide credit for unsound building projects. The regionalised press in the metropolitan press region Frankfurt/Main, such as *Frankfurter Neue Presse*, zoomed in on the topic and Osswald had to step down on the day of the national election. The CDU in Hesse was able to capitalise on the scandal and gained a remarkable strong share of the votes in the national election in Hesse in 1976. In the municipal elections in 1977, it nearly wiped out the Social Democrats in those areas that felt that their local or regional identity had been endangered by 'state-led' building projects and boundary reforms. In the artificially created new town Lahn, for example, the CDU increased their share of the votes by 30% in the communal elections.⁸⁵

The dynamic of regional agenda setting and regional criticism of social-liberal policies continued after the 1980 election. The Berlin-based *Tagesspiegel*, for example, contributed to the unveiling and scandalizing of the Garski credit affair in 1981. Dietrich Garski was an architect and personified the sleaze scandals that characterized the construction industry in many metropolitan regions. In 1980/81, Garski defaulted on a guarantee of the *Land* Berlin for a 110 million DM credit for a dubious building project in Saudi-Arabia. It was not the first scandal to hit the Social Democrats in Berlin who were still living on the prestige of the former mayor Willy Brandt. Already in 1974, an investor of the so-called *Steglitzer Kreisel* in Berlin went bankrupt and the *Land* government had to step in. The increased public pressure

⁸⁵ 'Es ist unser Kopf, der wackelt', *Der Spiegel* (2 Oct 1978).

ended one of the last social-liberal coalitions on the *Länder*-level and paved the way to the turn-around of the FDP towards the CDU on the federal level.

It was very telling for the period between 1972 and 1982/83 that much larger shifts in the Federal Republic of Germany were accelerated on the regional and *Länder*-level. The media markets of the metropolitan regions provided a particularly important role in boosting the attention to scandals and opposition politics. After the *Tagesspiegel's* attacks in Berlin, the conservative Richard von Weizsäcker governed with a minority cabinet that was tolerated by the FDP after 1981. The nascent Green party, which was founded in 1979 in one of the booming metropolitan regions, namely Stuttgart, where the alternative press had a stronghold, made its first breakthroughs to parliamentary representation in other strongholds of the alternative press: Berlin (1981) and Hamburg (June 1982), followed by Hesse with the Frankfurt region and Lower Saxony.⁸⁶

In 1982, a combination of the economic and security problems, internal problems of the SPD, regional scandals, the re-orientation of the FDP and further factors led to Schmidt's downfall.⁸⁷ Among all of those causes, the tidal wave of regional and local protests in the 1970s was crucial. Schmidt's political power as a global manager had been challenged throughout the 1970s through regionalised attacks that were widely reported in the press. After the vote of no-confidence against him on 1 October 1982, the press in Hamburg and Schmidt's regional appeal helped to reverse the fortunes of the SPD in Hamburg. The SPD had lost to the CDU in the elections in Hamburg in June 1982. However, the conservatives had not found a coalition partner, because the FDP had missed the 5% hurdle by 0.1%. The second election in December 1982 was fought under the impression of the end of Schmidt's chancellorship. Schmidt was remembered in Hamburg for his organisational skills during the flood-disaster in 1962. Driven by a strong media campaign with repeated emphasis on the 'traditions' of Hamburg across the press⁸⁸, the SPD skyrocketed back from 43,2% in June 1982 to the absolute majority of 51,3% in December 1982 – although the party had hardly changed its policies. In 1983, Helmut Schmidt joined a newspaper in a metropolitan press region, namely the *Zeit* in Hamburg, which underlines the high prestige that press journalism enjoyed in the 1970s and the close relationship between politics and the metropolitan press regions in the 1970s.

The height point of the period of press regionalization and regional press power was reached in 1983. The FDP, which had supported most of the protective measures of the press

⁸⁶ Mende, '*Nicht rechts, nicht links, sondern vorn.*'

⁸⁷ Rödter, *Bundesrepublik*.

⁸⁸ See D. Buhl, 'Bonn ist nicht Hamburg', *Die Zeit* (24. Dec 1982).

between 1976 and 1982, reoriented itself towards the CDU/CSU. Both parties subsequently won the election in 1983 and the Green Party made its breakthrough into the West German parliament. Subsequently, the Kohl government liberalized West Germany's broadcasting laws in January 1984 and a new era of private radio and television broadcasting began. The specific dynamic of press regionalisation ended. Regional publishing houses began to invest more strongly into regional radio markets from 1984 onwards. The regional paper groups that had been newly set up in the 1970s were not 'news' anymore.

VII. Conclusion

This article has challenged the key arguments of the dominant economic approach to press history. Economic scholars, such as Schütz, Pürer and Raabe, have argued that the daily press underwent a period of concentration between 1954 and 1976 and stabilised between 1976 and 1985.⁸⁹ However, concentration was not as significant in the 1970s as it had been in the 1960s. The change in the number of 'publicistic units' after 1974 was marginal.⁹⁰ The regional changes of reader-, advertising- and newspaper-markets, the emergence of new editions, the development of the alternative press and the thematic focus of the daily press underline that the West German daily press regionalized between 1974 and 1982. This regionalisation cut across the 'left' and 'right' divide. Herbert Kremp and Michael Sontheimer, the then leading editors and journalists of *Die Welt* and *taz*, as well as other editors encouraged their journalists to target the region in new ways. After 1974, regional editions went up from 1222 in 1974 to 1255 in 1983 and the overall circulation of the press increased to unprecedented heights in 1982 with more than 25.1 million copies per day according to the IVW. The emergence of several new regional metropolitan press clusters became a distinctive characteristic of the Federal Republic of Germany in the 1970s and 1980s that contrasted with the more centralised press markets of the UK and France.

The findings also challenge the research on the wider media system of the Federal Republic. It is often argued that radio in the 1950s and television in the 1960s and 1970s emerged as the new 'lead mediums.' However, the regionalized daily press enjoyed a uniquely high prestige in these years and formed the centre of the regional media markets. In 1975, regional subscription papers and regional groups of papers accounted for more than half of all daily subscription papers with an overall circulation of approx. 13 million copies per day.⁹¹

⁸⁹ See footnote 5.

⁹⁰ The number of publicistic units decreased from 122 in 1974 to 121 in 1976. See *Table 4* in the Appendix.

⁹¹ Deutscher Bundestag, *Medienbericht* (Bonn, 1978), pp. 8-9.

They raked in the largest share of the overall media advertising budget⁹² and reached more than 74.2% of all adults in the Federal Republic.⁹³ The regionalized daily press was the regionally leading medium in West Germany between 1974 and 1982.

Finally, it has been shown that the government of Helmut Schmidt encountered significant challenges on the regional level from its inception in 1974 to its end in 1982 that were accelerated by the regionalisation of the press. This adds an important regional perspective to the wider understanding of the 1970s that have so far been considered as a ‘global’, ‘social democratic’ or ‘conservative’ decade.⁹⁴ Regionalized press reporting and regionalized media events cut across the political divide and provided the glue for the conservative and alternative opposition movements in the 1970s, despite their very different political leanings.⁹⁵ Several studies, such as Schregel’s book on the peace movement, have highlighted in recent years that the spatial dimension is key to understanding political developments in the 1970s.⁹⁶ Mende has concluded in her study on the Green Party that regional demonstrations played a key role in giving the disparate groups the feeling to be a ‘movement’.⁹⁷ One of the key attractions of these demonstrations was the noticeable regionalized press coverage.

The much wider politicisation of the region was embedded into a wider discourse on regional identities in film, radio, television, exhibitions and politics between the early 1970s and the mid-1980s. The West Germans rediscovered old regional and local identities, rejected newly invented ones, such as Lahn or Maintal, and appreciated other ones, such as those of the metropolitan regions. In sum, it can be said that the West Germans began to accept the division of the country after Willy Brandt’s Ostpolitik and rediscovered the new and old regional fundamentals of the West German federal political system after 1973. This process played a crucial role for the acceptance of the Federal Republic as a more permanent home by its population⁹⁸ and the stability of the regionalized press after 1982. The online editions of various newspapers, such as *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and other papers, contain strongly regionalised news-sections up until today, which underlines the cen-

⁹² The dailies nearly doubled their advertising revenues from 2.8 Billion DM in 1974 to 5.3 Billion DM in 1980 while the revenues of public television only grew from 0.7 Billion DM in 1974 to 1.1 Billion DM in 1980. See Pürer and Raabe, *Presse in Deutschland*, p. 131.

⁹³ See Wilke (ed.), *Mediengeschichte*, p. 784.

⁹⁴ On the global interpretation, see Rödder, *Bundesrepublik*. On the discussions on the political polarization between ‘left’ and ‘right’, see G. Koenen, *Das rote Jahrzehnt: Unsere kleine deutsche Kulturrevolution 1967-1977* (Cologne, 2001). Livi, Schmidt, and Sturm (eds.), *Schwarzes Jahrzehnt*; Schildt, “Die Kräfte der Gegenreform sind auf breiter Front angetreten”.

⁹⁵ On this, see, for example, R. Karapin, *Protest Politics in Germany: Movements on the right and the left since the 1960s* (Pennsylvania, 2007).

⁹⁶ See S. Schregel, *Der Atomkrieg vor der Wohnungstür* (Frankfurt/M, 2011).

⁹⁷ See Mende, ‘Nicht rechts, nicht links, sondern vorn.’

⁹⁸ A. Rödder, *Abschied vom Provisorium: Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1982-1990* (Munich, 2006).

trality of regionalised reader markets for the understanding of the West German media system since the 1970s.

Appendix

Map 1. Growing regional disparities in the press: ‘One-paper-counties’ 1967 and 1976.

(The black regional clusters show counties and municipalities where only one paper covered local news. The map reveals processes of concentration and regionalisation.)

Source: Deutscher Bundestag, *Bericht der Bundesregierung über die Lage von Presse und Rundfunk in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (1978) - Medienbericht - Drucksache 8/2264*, p. 17.

Table 1. Market share of small, mid-sized and large daily newspapers, 1954-76

Circulation	Market share	Market share	Market share	Market share	Market share
	1954	1964	1967	1972	1976
0 - 40,000	33	23.9	21.7	19.8	18.3
40,000 - 150,000	35.2	32.5	28.6	25.9	21.8
> 150,000	31.8	43.6	49.7	54.4	60

Source: Deutscher Bundestag, *Bericht der Bundesregierung über die Lage von Presse und Rundfunk in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (1978) - Medienbericht - Drucksache 8/2264* (Bonn, 1978), pp. 8-9.

Table 2. IVW-press regions: regional newspaper groups and regional newspapers with several editions with a circulation of more than 80,000 copies, 1975 (IVW-B-List)

Nr.	<i>Bundesland</i>	Newspaper region	Largest publishing house or newspaper group [year of establishment of newspaper group] / largest regional paper(s)	Circulation (largest combination offered for advertising) 1975
01	Schleswig-Holstein	Flensburg-Kiel	Schleswig-Holstein Presse (1974): <i>Kieler Nachrichten, Flensburger Tageblatt</i>	332,380
02	Hamburg / Schleswig-Holstein / Lower Saxony	Hamburg: Economic Area	Springer: <i>Hamburger Abendblatt</i>	284,712
03	Lower Saxony	Brunswick	Eckensberger Gruppe (1972): <i>Braunschweiger Zeitung & Niedersächsisches Tageblatt</i>	256,776
04	Bremen	Bremen	Bremer Anzeigenblock (1975): <i>Weser Kurier, Bremer Nachrichten</i>	230,953
05	Lower Saxony	Hanover	Madsack: <i>Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung & Hannoversche Neue Presse</i> (1973)	351,460
06	Lower Saxony	Oldenburg	Nordwest-Zeitungs Gruppe (1969): <i>Nordwest-Zeitung</i>	270,998
07	Lower Saxony	Osnabruck	<i>Neue Osnabrücker Zeitung</i>	244,036
08	North-Rhine Westphalia	Munster	Zeitungsgruppe Münsterland: <i>Westfälische Nachrichten</i>	277,370
09a	North-Rhine Westphalia	Bielefeld / East Westphalia	Zeitungsgruppe Neue Westfälische (1967): <i>Neue Westfälische & Mindener Tageblatt</i>	214,787
09b	North-Rhine Westphalia	Bielefeld	<i>Westfalen-Blatt</i>	137,857
10	North-Rhine Westphalia	Dortmund / Ruhr-Ost	Ruhr-Nachrichten Verlag: <i>Ruhr Nachrichten</i>	233,551
11	North-Rhine Westphalia	Ruhr-Area and Westphalia	WAZ Group: WAZ & WP & WR (1975)	994,379
13	North-Rhine Westphalia	Aachen	<i>Aachner Nachrichten & Aachener Volkszeitung</i>	159,952
14	North-Rhine Westphalia	Cologne	DuMont: <i>Kölner Stadtanzeiger & Express</i> (1964)	650,022
15	North-Rhine Westphalia	Unna	Verlagsgemeinschaft Westfalen-Mitte	115,034
16	Hesse	Darmstadt	<i>Südhessen-Kombination</i>	104,049
17	Hesse	Kassel	Dierichs: <i>Hessisch-Niedersächsische Allgemeine</i> (1974)	218,894
18	Hesse	Frankfurt	Societäts-Druckerei: <i>Frankfurter</i>	135,021

<i>Neue Presse (Regional)</i>				
19	Rhineland-Palatinate	Koblenz	<i>Rhein-Zeitung</i>	202,464
20	Rhineland-Palatinate	Ludwigshafen	<i>Rheinpfalz</i>	238,953
21	Rhineland-Palatinate	Mainz	<i>Newspaper Group Rhein-Main</i>	177,798
22	Saarland	Saarbrücken	<i>Saarbrücker Zeitung</i>	191,834
23	Baden-Württemberg	Mannheim-Heidelberg	<i>Mannheimer Morgen</i>	174,716
24	Baden-Württemberg	Karlsruhe	<i>Badische Neueste Nachrichten</i>	157,923
25	Baden-Württemberg	Freiburg	Badischer Verlag: <i>Badische Zeitung</i>	150,655
26	Baden-Württemberg	Stuttgart	Verlagsgesellschaft: <i>Stuttgarter Zeitung with Stuttgarter Nachrichten</i>	507,777
27	Baden-Württemberg	Ulm	Südwest-Presse	319,266
28	Baden-Württemberg	Leutkirch	<i>Schwäbische Zeitung</i>	176,243
29	Baden-Württemberg	Heilbronn	<i>Heilbronner Stimme</i>	86,744
30	Baden-Württemberg	Karlsruhe	<i>Badische Neueste Nachrichten</i>	157,923
31	Baden-Württemberg	Konstanz	<i>Südkurier</i>	130,492
32	Baden-Württemberg	Oberndorf	<i>Schwarzwälder Bote</i>	116,318
33	Baden-Württemberg	Offenburg	<i>Mittelbadische Presse</i>	95,171
34	Bavaria	Hof / Upper Franconia	Oberfrankenpresse: <i>Frankenpost</i>	96,356 ⁹⁹
35	Bavaria	Nuremberg	<i>Nürnberger Nachrichten</i>	329,315
36	Bavaria	Munich	Münchner Merkur Group: <i>Münchner Merkur / tz</i>	325,895
37	Bavaria	Augsburg	<i>Augsburger Allgemeine / Allgäuer Zeitung</i> (1975)	302,529
38	Bavaria	Passau	<i>Passauer Neue Presse</i>	126,202
39	Bavaria	Regensburg	<i>Mittelbayerische Zeitung</i>	102,549
40	Bavaria	Straubing	<i>Straubinger Tageblatt / Landshuter Zeitung</i>	106,997
41	Bavaria	Würzburg	<i>Mainpost</i>	145,060
43	Berlin (West)	Berlin (West)	Springer: <i>Morgenpost, bz</i>	<i>Morgenpost</i> : 190,040 <i>bz</i> : 328,064

⁹⁹ The newspaper was later merged into a larger group.

Table 3. From a federal paper with city editions to a regionalized paper: The *Bild*, 1952-1989

Phase 1. The Federal Paper with City Editions	
9 Jul. 1952	Edition North, edition West
18 Jul. 1952	Rhine-Main edition, Hamburg edition
11 Apr. 1953	Combination of North and West editions
4 Jun. 1954	Rhine-Main edition is renamed a national edition
14 Oct. 1957	<i>BILD</i> -Berlin ('Berlin edition')
1 Jan. 1966	Editions (Bundesteilauflage): Hamburg, Hanover, Essen, Cologne, Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Munich
1 Apr. 1968	<i>BILD</i> Munich
1 Sept. 1969	<i>BILD</i> Munich (with paid advertisements)
Phase 2. The Regionalized Paper, 1972/3-1989	
1 Jul. 1972	RE (regional edition) Dusseldorf
1 Jul. 1972	RE Frankfurt
1 Jul. 1972	RE Cologne
1 Jul. 1972	RE Ruhr
1 Jul. 1972	RE Stuttgart
1 Oct. 1972	RE Nuremberg
1 Apr. 1974	RE Bielefeld
1 Apr. 1974	RE Muenster
1 Apr. 1974	RE South-Westphalia
1 Oct. 1975	RE Aachen (<i>BILD</i> Aachen until 31 May 1983)
1 Oct. 1975	RE Bergisches Land
1 Oct. 1975	RE Ruhr-East
1 Oct. 1975	RE Ruhr-West
10 Feb. 1975	<i>BILD</i> Hannover
29 Sept. 1975	<i>BILD</i> Bremen
1 Oct. 1977	RE Niederrhein (on 1 Jan. 1999 it merged with the RE South-Westphalia)
7 Dec. 1983	<i>BILD</i> Kiel (until 30 Sept. 1984)
1 Oct. 1984	<i>BILD</i> Schleswig-Holstein
11 Jul. 1989	RE Mainz / Wiesbaden

Source: Springer-Archive

Table 4. The daily press, 1954-1989

Period	1950s	1960s		Begin of new regionalisation		Breakthrough of regionalisation		Peak of regionalisation		Late 1980s
Year	1954	1964	1971	1972	1973	1974	1976	1983	1985	1989
'Publicistic units' (<i>Publizistische Einheit</i>)	225	183	135	133	131	122	121	125	126	119
Different editions	1500	1495	1276	1238	1236	1222	1229	1255	1273	1344
Number of publishing houses	624	573	460	442	438	432	403	385	382	358
Total sold circulation (in Mio.) / IVW	13.4	16.7	21.9	22.4	23.1	23.3	24.2	25.1	24.8	24.4

Sources:

Wilke (ed.), *Mediengeschichte*, p. 777; Deutscher Bundestag, *Medienbericht 1978*, 8/2264, p. 6; Id., *Bericht der Bundesregierung über die Lage der Medien in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland – Medienbericht 1994 – Drucksache 12/8587* (Bonn, 1994).