

UNIVERZA V LJUBLJANI
FAKULTETA ZA DRUŽBENE VEDE

Boris Mance

**Spremembe vloge in vzorcev kritičnega proučevanja
komuniciranja v sistemu znanstvenega revijalnega založništva**

**The changing role and patterns of critical communication
scholarship in the academic journal publishing system**

Doktorska disertacija

Ljubljana, 2020

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The changing role and patterns of critical communication scholarship in the academic journal publishing system

The field of media and mass communication research is undergoing profound change. On the one hand, it is developing into one of the fastest growing scientific fields, experiencing an exponential growth in the number of scientific journals, which offer new spaces for communication and the formation of specialised communities. On the other hand, the growing importance of scientific impact assessment is also changing the publishing practices of researchers and journals towards publishing, preferring the dominant type of research that is more likely to receive more citations. The study examines the presence of non-dominant, critical research in media and mass communication in eight international elite journals between 1945 and 2018. The investigation addresses the scope and dynamics of critical research, identifies the authors, institutions and countries conducting critical research and the most pronounced divisions within the critical community. The research also addresses the issues of the changing role of scientific publishing in the system of scientific impact assessment, where it examines the relationship between the visibility of critical research and Journal Impact Factors. The study conducts a quantitative analysis of the 15,238 articles published in the eight journals analysed in order to determine the use of critical vocabulary in the published articles. By treating the cited authors and critical vocabulary with the techniques of network analysis, the study identifies communities of critical scholarship in published critical articles and transformations of critical concepts. The communities of critical scholarship differ from journal to journal, while the most prominent critical actors belong to the most prominent institutions and economically developed countries. The central critical concept, as in the case of ideology, undergoes transformations that indicate its uncritical adoption. The study does not discover the correlation between criticality and Journal Impact Factor.

Keywords: critical research, scientific publishing, vocabulary, network analysis, Journal Impact Factor.

Spremembe vloge in vzorcev kritičnega proučevanja komuniciranja v sistemu znanstvenega revijalnega založništva

Področje proučevanja medijev in množičnega komuniciranja se močno spreminja. Po eni strani se razvija v eno najhitreje rastočih znanstvenih področij, saj beleži eksponentno rast števila znanstvenih revij, ki odpirajo nove možnosti za oblikovanje specializiranih znanstvenih skupnosti. Po drugi strani pa podeljevanje vedno večjega pomena faktorjem vpliva, spreminja tudi založniške prakse avtorjev in revij v smeri prednostnega objavljajanja dominantnega raziskovanja, pri katerem obstaja večja verjetnost, da bo v večji meri citirano. Študija tako proučuje prisotnost nedominantnega, kritičnega raziskovanja na področju medijev in množičnega komuniciranja v osmih mednarodnih elitnih revijah med letoma 1945 in 2018. Študija obravnava obseg in dinamiko kritičnega raziskovanja, prek identifikacije avtorjev, institucij in držav, ki izvajajo kritične raziskave, ter ugotavlja najbolj izrazite delitve znotraj kritične skupnosti. Poleg naštetega, obravnava zajema tudi vprašanja spreminjajoče se vloge znanstvenega založništva v sistemu vrednotenja znanstvenega vpliva, kjer študija naslavlja razmerje med prepoznavnostjo kritičnih raziskav in faktorji vpliva analiziranih revij. Kritičnost člankov je prepoznana s prisotnostjo kritičnega besedišča in s postopki kvantitativne analize 15,238 člankov, objavljenih v osmih analiziranih revijah. Z analizo omrežja citiranih avtorjev in kritičnega besedišča, študija identificira skupnosti kritičnega raziskovanja v objavljenih kritičnih člankih in rekonceptualizacijo osrednjega kritičnega koncepta, ideologije. Študija ugotavlja, da se skupnosti kritičnega raziskovanja med revijami razlikujejo, medtem ko najbolj izpostavljeni predstavniki kritičnega proučevanja prihajajo iz najvidnejših institucij in gospodarsko najbolj razvitih držav. Osrednji kritični pojem je, tako v primeru ideologije, podvržen različnim osmišljanjem, ki kažejo na njegovo nekritično rabo. Študija pa ne ugotavlja povezave med kritičnostjo in faktorjem vpliva.

Ključne besede: kritično raziskovanje, znanstveno založništvo, besednjak, analiza omrežij, faktor vpliva.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Mass communication research is one of the fastest growing fields of science (Nordenstreng, 2011). In the last 20 years, the rise of communication journals included in Web of Science (A&HCI, SSCI, SCI and ESCI¹ indexes) has been exponential, more than tripling (312 percent, from 75 indexed journals in 1999) (Web of Knowledge, 2019). Such growth may be attributed to ‘internetisation’ (Nordenstreng, 2011; Günther and Domahidi, 2017) that enables “the digitalization of everything” (Waisbord, 2019, p. 75) and an increase in applied research globally (UNESCO 2015), thereby placing communication in the spotlight. However, communication is a wide concept. The absence of common literature in the field and the continuing internationalisation of scholarly communication does not suggest integration of the field, but threatens its further differentiation into small “satellite fields” orbiting larger disciplines (Leydersdorff, 2004). Therefore, before claiming that the “field represents all of China”² (Peters, 1986), it is necessary to resist the bedazzling definitions of the field declared by profit-oriented multinational companies and analyse the structural transformations of scholarly communication that act as the chief mechanisms defining the borders of our understanding of communication research.

Private enterprises like Web of Science (Clarivate Analytics) and Scopus (Elsevier) are increasingly shaping and redefining not only the borders of the fields (with the inclusion/exclusion of a particular journal in/from a specific index), but the dynamics and significance of research production by classifying it by ‘importance’ using systems invented for journal ranking with mechanisms such as Journal Impact Factor (JIF). Mechanisms of scholarly impact assessment, for example JIF³, lead to considerable inequalities in both the science and in academic publishing by subordinating all segments of academic work, from scholars’ publishing strategies, dissemination practices to universities’ hiring practices (Monastersky, 2005; Larivière and Sugimoto, 2018), to the dominant logic.

Mechanisms for scholarly impact assessment are forcing academics to adopt various publishing strategies in the pursuit of a ‘high(er) impact’. The serious disharmony that exists

¹ The Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI) has been included in Web of Science since 2015.

² A critical remark on the institutionalisation of the field, conceived in the sense of a nation state, but at the same time overlooking the conceptual confusion within.

³ The mean number of citations received in a given year by papers published in a journal over the two previous years.

between the market segmentation of journals driven by a profit logic and the academic communities stimulated by and affiliated with particular theories and concepts means the latter are compelled to adapt. Articles published in journals with a high impact factor are cited more than identical counterparts published in journals with a lower impact factor (Larivière and Gingras, 2010, p. 425). With “the measure becoming the target” (Johnson, Watkinson and Mabe, 2018), one of the biggest deficiencies the impact factor generates is a skewed distribution, known as the “Mathew effect” (Merton, 1988). In addition, since JIF ignores cited articles that are older than 2 years, it ascribes higher values to journals that cite newer research (Larivière and Sugimoto, 2018). These deficiencies indicate homogenisation toward the kind of research that is dominant at the present time and outlines the future directions the dominant research is bound to take. Thus, the contours of the ‘future studies’ in our field suggest their topical orientation and saturation with empirical data, yet also their theoretical shallowness (Nordenstreng, 2011).

Early warnings about the field’s poor clarity were issued, with some describing the way ahead as “nebulous” (Boyd-Barrett 2006, 235) or “unüblich” (trans. *unusual, foggy*) (Lauf, 2002). Some 10 years later, scholars determine that we are “oversaturated” (Nordenstreng, 2011) or shattered to pieces, “hyper-specialised” (Waisbord, 2016). The paradox of the field’s disintegration is reflected in the optimism held by fragmented communities praising their autonomy within several associations and journals. The proliferation of topical research oriented to narrow problems shows the absence of paradigmatic distinctions or the adoption – the normalisation (Kuhn, 1962/1999) – of a single, dominant paradigm to suit the cause of an even higher level of industrial specialisation.

The circumstances are new, yet the debate is old. The identity of the field we regard as mass communication research has been the subject of discussion from the outset (see Berelson, 1959; Schramm, 1959). The variety of research traditions arising out of already established disciplines have never managed to speak a common language. Numerous controversies of an ontological and epistemological, theoretical and empirical or quantitative and qualitative research nature have generated paradigmatic cleavages the field has never been able to integrate so as to form a discipline. The substantial division between the dominant and the critical paradigm has related to the question of for whom, and for what purpose, should knowledge be produced and utilised. These ignited polemics have shaped the history of the

various fields and, through them, members of research community have seen themselves as partners in this ‘forced’ marriage. As the dominant paradigm, with the support of governmental and economic actors, strived for disciplinary recognition, which presupposed paradigmatic homogenisation and dialogical engagement with its opponent, the critical emancipatory visions of future were built on a critique of the existing administrative structuration and utilisation of research and society. Thus, it not only required the two to become engaged in a mutual argument, but constituted both in the process.

The critical paradigm has never been a homogenous line of thought. Yet, the different traditions, such as the political economy of the media, theories of the public sphere and critical cultural studies of media, had an emancipatory imperative in common. They reflected and criticised the misuses of mass communication (research), thereby generating instrumental knowledge serving particular interests of the dominant political and economic actors. The role of a critical paradigm, hence, is not only to dismantle conceptualisations that (re)produce the systems of human subordination and oppression, but to conceptualise an alternative future and to bring into consciousness the possibilities for the actualisation of utopia (Marcuse, 1971).

Critical reflections seem long absent from the central area of academic discussions in the field (i.e. Nordenstreng, 2012; Golding, Amon Prodnik and Slaček Brlek, 2017). This thesis analyses the prominence of critical research in elite journals since the start of the various fields’ institutionalisation, while also identifying the main actors; commencing at the level of authors and aggregating the units of analysis higher to the levels of institutional and national environments. Any analysis of bare dynamics in the prominence of critical ideas is incomplete if it is devoid of a more profound understanding of how the critical ideas transform. Therefore, by scrutinising changes in the “particular formations of meaning” (Williams, 1976/2015) of the critical vocabulary, the research investigates whether the many adoptions of the core critical concepts throughout history have reconceptualised them to the point where they lose their critical kernel.

In the 70 years since the field was institutionalised, the system of scholarly periodical publishing has also been shaped by different changes. More significant changes include the appropriation of journal impact factors (JIFs) by the systems for evaluating research, subordinating many aspects of academic work to the imperatives of efficiency and applicability. In order to raise or maintain their high reputation in the academic market, elite

scholarly journals favour certain types of research that are able to generate a high number of citations – the main currency in the modern academic ‘market’. On top of this, particular research interest is devoted to investigating whether this transformation has a discriminatory impact on how non-dominant ideas are treated. How does today’s academic market evaluate and transform the relations of power, the denunciation of human oppressions and action for liberation and social transformation (Splichal and Mance, 2018, p. 402)? Does the ‘nominal value’ of research in the sense of number of citations received correspond to its ‘actual value’ in terms of the extent to which the core critical concepts apply? And what are the new formations of the meaning of the (ab)used core critical concepts?

2 KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION – SCHOLARLY COMMUNITIES IN COMMUNICATION, COMMUNICATION IN SCHOLARLY COMMUNITIES

The ‘trueness’ of science is not contained in objects, but can be illustrated as a spectrum of ideas fragmenting at diverse angles, casting different shades on various objects. And likewise, some light frequencies are visible to the naked eye, while others, such as ultraviolet or gamma, evade our natural perception and only become visible with the application of ‘optics’ and other tools of scientific investigation. However, the revolutionariness of Newton’s discovery is not due to his invention, but rests on the shoulders of scholars preceding him. The revelation that the colours perceived by our senses do not reside in objects, but in light itself is a dawn of modern science not because it changed the perspective on how we see things, but because it marked the beginnings of systemic approach to communication of scientific discoveries (Wootton, 2016). For the first time in history, scholars had learned from the documented mistakes of others. The results of Newton’s research were initially revealed in a scholarly journal more than 30 years before they appeared in the author’s famous monograph. Henry Oldenburg, secretary of The Royal Society and editor/founder of the (second) oldest scientific journal *Philosophical Transactions* was quick to print Newton’s letter describing the refraction of light in 1671. The recognition flowing from the publicly announced claim of the discovery not only benefited the author (publicly attributing him with exclusive rights over the invention), but gave recognition to the journal, the wider scholarly community – The Royal Society and, above all, the political entity – the nation state (Fara, 2015).

The “journalism of the learned community” helped instrumentalise the knowledge originating from the publicity and led to Newton being accepted in the learned community as a Fellow of the Royal Society, which besides institutionally safeguarding the author’s intellectual property, made the discovery available to the public and exposing it for refutation and re-examination by the community. Isaac Newton’s wrote in a letter to Henry Oldenburg on 6 January 1671/2:

I am very sensible of the honour done me by ye Bp of Sarum in proposing mee Candidate & wch I hope will bee further conferred upon mee by my Election into the Society. And if so to testify my gratitude by communicating what my poore & solitary

endeavours can effect towards ye promoting your Philosophicall designs (Phil. Transactions, 6 (1671/2), 3075 in Turnbull et al., 1959, 80; Fara, 2015, 2).

In a later response to Newton, Oldenburg emphasised the (representative) publicity of the scientist and the society by stating: “May you live, Sir, and prosper, and continue to bee an *ornament* [emphasis of author] to both the Societys, of which you are now a member ...» (Phil. Transactions, February 8, 1671/2 in Turnbull et al., 1959, p. 108).

It is more than the practical value of an invention that attracts publicity – publicity is gained through membership of an institutionally affiliated community. Every community, including the scholarly one, is based on a system of social control where the performance of its members is evaluated, sanctioned and/or rewarded (Zuckermann and Merton, 1971, p. 68). Institutional structures of scientific communication, i.e. scientific journals, have been fundamental to the academic community since the very beginnings of science, serving as the spaces for the initiation and socialisation of new members and at the same time nourishing the formation of groups which share the same system of “beliefs, values and techniques” – a paradigm (Kuhn, 1962/1996, p. 25).

2.1 Evolution of Scholarly Communication and the Principle of Publicity

With the bourgeois class gaining power and disrupting the existing strata of social organisation in the 17th century, the idea that the road to greater progress leads via the specialisation of knowledge became the central imperative of academic endeavour (Merton, 1938, 596). The idea rested on the utilitarian principles of the Baconian doctrine, by which »progress consists in the development of instruments and means for attaining given ends, for increasing man's control over nature, and hence increasing his comfort and happiness« (ibid., p. 592).

The principle of publicity, as enabled by communication technology, proved to be the chief mechanism supporting the growth of knowledge. With the aim of greater progress, the audience of intellectuals had to widen and reach beyond the limits of physical proximity limited by oral communication. Geographical barriers were overcome with the publicly available postal service which created an epistolary model of scholarly communication (Guédon, 2014), while lack of personal acquaintance called for more formal communication (Barnes, 1934). As the number of scholars gradually rising, communication among

intellectuals was outgrowing the Republic of Letters, and the realm of relative privacy was abandoned. The break into the public domain saw the wider public engage in more intensive and formalised scientific production, leading to an increase in the authorship and (re)production of literature. As access to (especially foreign) literature had proven difficult (mainly due to poor book trade), (Guédon, 2014) the need for ‘learned journalism’ appeared and the earliest scholarly journals *Journal des Sçavans* and *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society were founded in 1665.

The changes introduced by printing were motivated by the scientists as the publicity provided by the journals – a collection of research articles containing original thought – would ensure their “intellectual property rights”, thus accrediting the author with not only a notion of priority with respect to a scientific proposition (Zuckerman and Merton, 1971, p. 68), but obliging them with a public responsibility likewise (Polanyi 1964, p. 16). Scholarly debates advanced with the establishment of scholarly journal(s) as a “succession of remarks, attacks and replies could be published and noised abroad throughout the learned world” (Barnes, 1934, p. 259). This increased the efficiency and publicity of research results while enabling the conservation and the continuity of the discussion (ibid.).

The institute of scholarly journals brought a major change to the field of scientific communication. The institutionalisation of authority in a form of a referee system “transformed the mere printing of scientific work into its publication” (Zuckerman and Merton, 1971, p. 68) as scholars were required to prove the “scientific authenticity” of their work (Ziman 1966, p. 148) which qualified and institutionally affiliated referees (today in the role of editors, members of editorial boards and reviewers) then legitimised and accredited. The criteria of scientific validity and reliability were universally accepted (Zuckerman and Merton, 1971, p. 66) and the procedures for arriving at a scientific claim had to be described in such detail that the results of the methodological procedure applied indeed corresponded to the claim, and the very same results could be obtained by numerous replications of the procedure under the same conditions. With the invention of printing, the exclusive task of research evaluation was handed over to special segments of the scientific community.

Apart from organised scepticism and disinterest, a more complex system of norms is underpinning the scientific social structure. Founded in transparency and general availability, publicity enables the scrutiny and evaluation of the scientific community and is a prerequisite

for research findings to be credible (Meadows, 1997, p. ix). Simply the act of making research work public renders work scientific (Zuckerman and Merton, 1971, p. 69). Research must also prove its adherence to the principles of universalism and communism (Merton, 1968, pp. 607–615) where scientific truth claims are obliged to be the outcome of universalistic and impersonal judging, treating the researcher’s personal or social attributes as irrelevant. The new knowledge, which is a product of communitarian collaboration and derives (to some extent) from already existing knowledge held by the community, must be made available to the very community (ibid.).

The community certifies the knowledge by adopting a set of characteristic methods. However, the accumulated knowledge does not exclusively stem from application of these methods but from a set of cultural values and mores which govern the activities termed ‘scientific’ (Merton and Storer, 1973, p. 268).

2.2 Differentiation of Science and the Institutionalisation of Scientific Communities

The concept of science of the 18th and early 19th century did not include “natural sciences”. Philosophy was the concept designating the production of undivided knowledge by the learned. With important breakthroughs being made in physical science, rationalisation based upon facts proved to hold practical implications for Europe’s industrialised society of the late 19th century, pointing to and praising the applied value of (natural) science(s). By subordinating philosophy, and thus theory, to the former, the (natural) sciences were perceived as “exact sciences” since their propositions of scientific inquiry followed the principles of understanding reality by verification in definite observations (Polanyi, 1964, pp. 7–8). Philosophy, in contrast, was regarded as “*a priori* assertions of truth which were untestable” [italics in the original] (Wallerstein, 1999, p. 5). In this constellation, philosophy was treated as imaginary, thus losing its scientific denotation (ibid.) as it could not follow the principles of scientific investigation where the pursuit of ‘objectivity’ is based on empirical data that are (it was believed) able to separate facts from opinions and/or the truth from beliefs. Activities investigating social phenomena were under pressure to seize and replicate the epistemological *modus operandi* of the natural sciences (Horkheimer, 1975, p. 191). The invention of new methodological tools in the form of quantitative techniques have split the academic community into two paradigms – “theorists and technicians” (Lynd, 1939/2016, p.

1) – that have applied their competencies likewise, with theorists disregarding immediate relevancies and technicians too often defining the problem highly narrowly, disregarding the institutional environment of the moment (ibid.).

As science adhered to the principle of impartiality and originality whereby each successive work ought to contribute some novel knowledge, the community grew ever larger. Consequently, as knowledge accumulated and started to become difficult to master, a practical approach to reduce the complexity was adopted, in turn enabling the production of knowledge with stable social arrangements and established patterns of behaviour (Pietilä, 2008, p. 206). Intellectual communities needed territory with demarcated boundaries where the autonomy and legitimacy of a particular community and hence certain knowledge could flourish. The subject of research was fragmented into subjects of ever smaller scopes (Wallerstein, 2000, p. 193), modelled and formed according to the process of industrial production (Polanyi, 1964).

The very apprehension of order in the social sphere – a central aim of the overwhelming majority of those who conceive sociology as part of a larger ‘scientific’ community serves, both in principle and in practice, to a greater or lesser degree, and in the shorter or longer run, to negate the likely rediscovery of that same order-or its observed magnitude in the future. This is due in large measure to the fact that the apprehension of that order serves to reconstruct the researcher's image of social ‘reality’ as well as the social constructions of all those to whom the apprehension is communicated (Friedrichs, 1972, p. 449).

The concepts used to designate the intellectual ‘territories’ of a given scholarly community are abundant. The proliferation of various terms like »discipline« (Wallerstein, 1999; Foucault, 1972), »(sub-)field« (Berger and Chafee, 1988; Swanson, 1993), »paradigm« (Kuhn, 1961), »area« (Fotheringham, 1952), »approach« (Schramm, 1959; Berelson, 1959), »tradition« (Fink, 1996), »studies« (Dow, 2005), “domain” (Craig, 1999) etc. might better be described as the »invention of different languages« that hinder (rather than contribute to) a common understanding. The differentiation of knowledge communities can nevertheless be distinguished on the basis of: intellectual, corporative and cultural dimensions. These dimensions overlap and interact in complex ways, although in an ideal-type categorisation they imply disciplines as the intellectual dimension, institutions as the corporative and the scientific community as the cultural dimension (Wallerstein, 1999, p. 3).

The intellectual dimension (ibid.), or cognitive institutionalisation (Whitley, 1974), designates a community as a discipline, a “bourgeois” (Kellner, 1990, p. 21) conceptualisation of

knowledge differentiation rooted in the division of labour, striving for efficient intellectual work. The intellectual efforts is thus becoming (hyper)specialised and isolated with the historically forged and largely arbitrary disciplinary borders (Calhoun and Rhoten, 2010, p. 113). Therefore, discipline acts like an "intellectual construct" or "heuristic device" (ibid.), separating it from other disciplines by what it perceives to be its monopoly over the research problems and the legitimate methods (Wallerstein, 1999, p. 3).

Community, on the other hand, may be institutionalised by way of a social structure, an organisational and professional framework or the "academic architecture" (Waisbord, 2019) constituted by universities and faculties, teaching programmes, research centres, associations, conferences and scholarly journals, as well as the fostering of communication and interaction within the community.

Scholars institutionalise communities (and differentiate among themselves) according to cultural premises and practices that are shared openly and subconsciously by most members most of the time while never or seldomly discussing their nature (Wallerstein, 1999, 4) and resonating with the concepts of "assumptions and background assumptions" (Gouldner, 1971, p. 29), "subsidiary awareness" (Polanyi, 1998, pp. 57–58), »infrasociality« (Knorr-Cetina, 1999, p. 13) or "paradigm" (Kuhn 1996). Members of a specific scientific community are considered as belonging to a paradigm (Kuhn 1996, p. 5) when they share a common "constellation of beliefs, values, techniques" (p. 175) that are disseminated through their studies and practices (p. 187) and which equip them with "concrete problem-solutions" or "exemplars" (Kuhn, p. 187, p. 192; Pan, 2003).⁴ The accepted "examples of actual scientific practice (including law, theory, application and instrumentation) together provide models from which specific coherent traditions of scientific research emerge" (Kuhn 1996, p. 10)⁵.

Kuhn's concept was heavily criticised for its inconclusiveness as 21 different definitions were identified in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962) (Masterman 1970: 61) and all apply to the social sciences and the humanities (Kuhn, 1970: 208).

⁵ Kuhn's conceptualisation of paradigms might appear like an empty designator since holding a common set of "beliefs, values and techniques" make for impossible criteria. A more appropriate conceptualisation designates it as a "consistent system of (particularly epistemological) assumptions about the method, object, and definition of the discipline underlying research which is rarely shared by all members of a scientific discipline or field of study« (Splichal and Dahlgren 2014, 4).

2.3 Disciplinary Homogenisation and Differentiation

The differentiation and specialisation of research enable intellectual resources to be concentrated, mobilised and utilised to narrow puzzle-solving, thereby facilitating faster scientific advancements. The autonomy gained by the specialised community spares that community from resolving cognitive dissonance(s) concerning i.e. the appropriate choice of research problem or the methods used since the community speaks a common language and shares agreed theoretical and methodological norms governing their conduct of research. A sufficient level of homogenisation is a prerequisite for disciplinary institutionalisation. This some scholars perceive as »a defined corpus of preferred theories, methodologies, and dominant foci of interest« (Hjarvard, 2012, p. 29). However, by thinking in a »detachedly departmentalized and spiritualist« manner (Horkheimer, 1975/1999) and being isolated from other disciplines, scholars are unconsciously subordinated to the production of “totalizing systems of knowledge” (Heyck, 2015). By dividing up intellectual activity and then focusing on particular problems, the very limits of one’s discipline become invisible (Horkheimer, 1975/1999). Without awareness of one’s limitations, identical objects are the source of problems that a single discipline cannot resolve in a reasonable time, hence postponing them to a distant future, while another discipline might easily accept the very same object as a given fact (ibid.).

Application of the paradigm concept in the same way as Kuhn’s concept of “normal science” calls for further elaboration since, in contrast to the natural sciences, the social sciences are characterised by numerous competing paradigms exclude consensus (a “pre-paradigmatic state”), thereby not abiding by the logic of the (natural) science. Whereas, normal science refers to the period of dominance of a specific paradigm capable of convincing the majority of the scientific community as to the exclusiveness of its solutions, with its universally recognised achievements proving to be unprecedented with regard to competing modes of social activity, but also by the inconclusiveness of problems by leaving many questions and problems unanswered and undefined for future scientific endeavour (Kuhn, 1996, p. 10).

The systemisation of knowledge in the social sciences may be illustrated using a »tree« metaphor (Splichal, 1989) where different branchlets of theoretical exemplars form bigger paradigmatic branches which, together with others, form a disciplinary tree in the field. Thus,

»normal« in the social sciences does not designate paradigmatic uniformity but the dialectic between different paradigms that make up a discipline (Splichal 1989, 330-331).

The field of mass communication research has never enjoyed a uniform conceptualisation of the state of paradigms. Potter et al. discern at least six different paradigmatic conceptualisations (1993): (a) three chronologically successive paradigms (Hall, 1982; Lowery and DeFleur, 1988); (b) the synchronous existence of three (Craig, 1989), which later transformed into seven (Craig, 1999) paradigms; (c) a single paradigm (Giddens, 1989); (d) the pre-paradigmatic state of discipline (Krippendorff, 1989); (e) the rejection of the pre-paradigmatic state and adoption of a state of crisis (Lang, 2013); and (f) the non-existence of paradigms (Rosengren, 1989).

2.4 (Mass) Communication Research

The institutionalisation keystones of media and mass communication research in the post-war era were largely laid by the “funding fathers” in the U.S., i.e. the Rockefeller Foundation (Gitlin, 1978, p. 228), the Ford Foundation (Simonson and Peters, 2008) and various branches of the US administration (Gary, 1996; Simonson and Peters, 2008), the Army, the CIA and the State Department (Pooley, 2008) which recognised (and thus exhaustively supported) the social-psychological tradition in mass communication research and privileged research on media effects. The newly established field was detached from communication research in other fields such as journalism and speech (Koivisto, 2010), and adopted a nomothetic approach based on surveys/polls, content analyses and experiments.

This nomothetic approach follows the principles of objectivity and tries to show the causality of social phenomena through the application of quantitative methodology. The large financial demands of the quantitative field and experimental work this strand of research has administered has subordinated the institutes ever more to the sources of financing, which only political or corporate actors could deliver. Research activities were hence “largely coordinated, if not stimulated” (Berelson, 1959, p. 1) by them. Research was perceived or argued to be ‘value-free’, concerned only “with what was rather than with what should be” (Gouldner, 1971, p. 137). By normalising the status quo, attempts at changing it would be interpreted as non-normal, thereby diverting the focus of aligning the research process with economic and political (f)actors. The moment of the hegemonic position of the behaviouristic

paradigm »stretched into a sociological era; the orientation and the paradigms attending it established themselves as normal sociological opinion« (Gitlin, 1978, p. 239).

The leading institutes and names of this particular paradigm include Paul F. Lazarsfeld's Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University, established in 1944; the Institute of Communications Research at the Illinois University formed by Wilbur Schramm in 1947, Kurt Lewin's programme at the University of Iowa, and Carl I. Hovland's Institute of Human Relations at Yale University and Laswell's Experimental Division for the Study of War Time Communications. The epistemological and ontological gauges of the field were provided just as much by the original disciplines of the »founding fathers« (Schramm, 1983, p. 8): sociology, social psychology and political science. Although institutionalisation is treated (especially in English) literature as a relatively new phenomenon which started with the institutionalisation of mass communication research in the USA (Schramm, 1959), it was prominently influenced by scholars from continental traditions and had a relatively European accent at the beginning; from the sociological and psychological tradition of Paul Lazarsfeld and Kurt Lewin, to members of the Frankfurt School.

Germany was the first to institutionalise mass communication research at Institut für Zeitungskunde at the University of Leipzig in 1916, followed by Publizistikwissenschaft in 1924 at Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität in Berlin, Münster and München (Neverla, 1997). Even those who acknowledge research on mass communication has been developing outside the USA ignore the profound body of (especially German) scholarly work on journalism and relate it to the »European variant of communications research – namely, the sociology of knowledge⁶« (Merton, 1968, p. 510). Long before the institutionalisation of communication research, German political economists of the late 19th century (i.e. Karl Bücher) already intellectually reflected on and problematised the fundamental dichotomy of the media's role between serving public or private interests (Hardt, 2004, p. 59). The interest in the media and mass communication was devoted to research of the political economy of the media, with

⁶ However, they do accurately identify the qualitative distinctions between the two centres »The European division refers, on the cognitive plane, to knowledge; the American to information. Knowledge implies a body of facts or ideas, whereas information carries no such implication of systematically connected facts or ideas« (Merton, 1968, p. 496).

Karl Bücher as a pioneer, and later more specifically of journalism with Emil Dovifat's work on a democratic and plural press. Emancipatory postulates were already present in early periods of the discipline's development in both epicentres and comprised rich theoretical and critical contributions (see Splichal, 2009).

2.4.1 International Institutionalisation

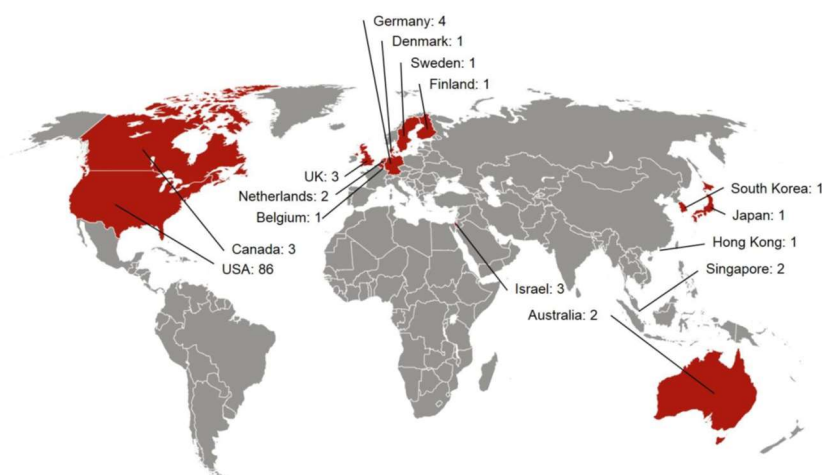
In the rise of the post-WWII institutionalisation of the discipline and at the start of the Cold War, National Society for the Study of Communication (NSSC) was founded by separating itself from the Speech Association of America in 1950, renaming itself to International Communication Association only in 1969 and publishing the first issue of its journal a year later. »Divisions« were thus created to cover various aspects of communication phenomena; hence the initial four divisions of Information Systems, Interpersonal Communication, Mass Communication, and Organisational Communication were supplemented with an Intercultural Communication division in 1970, Political Communication and Instructional Division in 1973 and Health Communication in 1974. In order to create the image of an association with broader social importance, non-academic members were »pushed for the leadership« (Weaver, 1977, p. 614). While the presidents certainly came from outside academia, the four ICA (then NSSC) presidents between 1953 and 1962, namely Kenneth Clark, John B. Haney, F. A. Cartier and Kenneth A. Hardwood, had a governmental background, in particular the US Air Force. The set organisational goals and functions of the divisions were in line with army (administrative) logic: "It seems logical that if NSSC is to achieve its goals, each subdivision and activity of the society must contribute directly to their achievement, just as the subordinate units of a military organization must each contribute to the mission of the larger command" (Clark, 1954, p. 6).

It was not until the fall of Iron Curtain in the 1990s that the ICA changed from »being a US-based organization that happened to have international members to a truly international organization that happened to be based in the US« (Haley and Stooksberry, 2012, p. 2413) with the opening of the board of directors, committees and editorials in order to reflect the »global mission« (ibid.). Although the association had some 150 members from 27 foreign nations in 1969 (Weaver, 1977, p. 615), it was only in 1997 that the first conference was organised outside of the USA. Despite the growing variance in nationalities of the ICA leadership, it »hardly changed ICA but rather changed the international communication field«

(Wiedemann and Meyen, 2016, p. 1495) as the non-US members of the leadership (presidents and fellows) come from regions with close ties to America (Figure 2.1) were educated at US universities or heavily influenced by US-based academic approaches (ibid.).

Not only were the very beginnings of the association influenced by ideological and administrative influence(r)s, but the journal was also criticised for being exclusive of non-academia members and favouring the publishing of nomothetic research while excluding humanistic approaches (Weaver, 1977, pp. 614–615) and international scholars given that submissions from outside North America were scarce since the ICA's publications lacked an »international look« (Haley and Stooksberry, 2012, p. 2414) and apprehended methodologies other than its own (ibid.).

Figure 2.1. The ICA's leadership map (fellows and former or future presidents)



Source: Wiedemann and Meyen (2016)

Driven by dissatisfaction with the social and economic conditions in the world in the late 1960s, International Society for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR) encouraged the active support of progressive thinking by creating a political and economic section (Nordenstreng, 2016). By critiquing the structural political and economic determinants of mass communication, critically appraising historical materialism, and questioning the "hegemonic status of logical positivism", authors like Herbert Schiller and Dallas Smythe began formulating a new approach in the critical paradigm: political economy of the media (Nordenstreng, 2004, p. 7). Over the next decades, it established itself as a serious alternative

to the dominant paradigm and is now found in the curricula of non-Marxist traditionalists in all social sciences (Smythe and Van Dihn, 1983, p. 123).

Scholars within this tradition, such as Herbert Schiller and Dallas Smythe, helped establish it as a serious alternative in curriculums of even non-Marxist traditionalists in numerous sociological disciplines (Smythe in Van Dihn, 1983, p. 123). By questioning the historical materialism as a structural political and economic determinant of social life, the tradition investigates the role of mass communication, media ownership, commodification of media, (de)regulation and the wider dimensions of social, political and cultural media production and »logical positivism« (Nordenstreng, 2004, p. 7) in (re)production of the hegemony. The tradition was not conceived explicitly in specific academic surroundings but in a broader international context. Herbert Schiller's concept of "media imperialism" (1969, 1976) was further elaborated by Nordenstreng and Varis, Read, Boyd-Barret, Tunstall, Lee, Mattelart and Lealand and led to a relevant strand of research known as international communication flows (see Sepstrup, 2006), and gained prominence by investigating and politically acting against communication inequalities on the global level, which not only contributed to discussions within UNESCO, but the issues raised then ultimately led to important global political initiatives for the democratisation of information and communication flows, namely the NWICO (New World Information and Communication Order) initiative and the Many Voices, One World report of the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems.

2.5 Two Paradigms of Mass Communication Research

The distinction of knowledge utilisation contains two dimensions: "for whom" and "for what purpose" the knowledge is produced (Table 2.1). The existence of dehumanising and oppressive realities, which it not only aims to comprehend and explain but to transform is the core problem the critical paradigm engages with (Splichal and Mance, 2018, p. 400). Critical research is "future-oriented research which produces knowledge that anticipates 'what-if' (rather than 'if-then' – characteristic of the positivist perspective)" (ibid). Therefore, the true utilisation of critical knowledge "lies not merely in its usefulness, but its importance" (Golding, 2005, p. 540). Conversely, the administrative or dominant paradigm serves 'extra academic' actors (political and economic ones, outside of academia) providing instrumental, 'value-free' knowledge to meet their particular interest.

The different conceptualisations of communication phenomena have largely been (pre-)defined according to the ontological, epistemological and axiological differences (Fuchs and Sandoval, 2008) that mass communication research inherited from its (ancestral) disciplines. Three research characteristics have thus been prominent when seeking to distinguish the two paradigms in many scholarly debates: (a) the type of the research problem; (b) the research methods employed; and (c) the ideological perspective as identified by the researchers' treatment of the results of the analysis as well as the choice of problems and tools (Smythe & Van Dihn, 1983, p. 117).

Table 2.1: Paradigmatic dimensions

FOR WHOM? FOR WHAT?	AUTONOMY For Academic Audience	HETERONOMY For Extra-academic Audience
Instrumental knowledge Pursuit of taken-for-granted ends	Professional Research conducted within research programs that define assumptions, theories, concepts, questions and puzzles	Administrative /Policy science* Defence of social research, human subjects, funding, congressional briefings
Reflexive knowledge Ends are not defined in advance	Critical A normative dialogue among scholars	Public Dialogue with the public

Source: Burawoy (2005); Splichal and Dahlgren (2014)

During the time of its existence, communication science never really achieved the status of a (coherent) discipline, with the particularism in the field instead mirroring two phenomena: a) “sterile eclecticism”, where certain research programmes acted self-sufficiently, thereby never succeeding in circumventing the boundaries between themselves and reaching consensus on crucial problems of the field, but imitating the research programme of the discipline of their origin; and b) “productive fragmentation”, where fragments of various disciplines in the way they were used did not and could not ever function as a coherent whole that would amount to more than just the sum of the separate parts (Craig, 1999, p. 123). Being unable to, analogously with the nature of the new discipline, “learn communication” in such fundamentally different ways as to develop “metadiscursive vocabularies, and metadiscursive

commonplaces that they appeal to and challenge” (Craig, 1999, p. 119), the followers of competing theories have had difficulties understanding one another (Wray, 2016, p. 66), leading to neither agreeing nor disagreeing, but effectively bypassing each other (Craig, 1999, p. 121). On the other hand, consensus achieved on the convergence of opinions due to identical interests and/or equivalent normative orientations would imply that the rationalisations involved have been trivial (Knorr, 1975, p. 229), which would result in a specific tradition becoming “logically redundant” (Craig, 1999, p. 150). A third kind of relationship between the dominant and the critical paradigm, one of dialogical-dialectical coherence, denotes “a common awareness of certain complementarities and tensions among different types of communication theory, so it is commonly understood that these different types of theory cannot legitimately develop in total isolation from each other but must engage each other in an argument” (Craig, 1999, p. 124).

Not only do the two paradigms profoundly interfere with the political, their point of departure is very similar with regard to effects of the media; while the dominant paradigm investigates the production of media effects for behavioural manipulation of the individual’s attitudes, the critical paradigm investigates the ways media affects the reinforcement of the dominant views (Bennet et al., 1990, p. 9). Both paradigms provide the types of research for application on the level of policy, while “policy research” of the administrative paradigm and “policy-relevant” research is conducted within the critical paradigm (Halloran, 1975).

2.5.1 Critical Paradigm

The origins of the critical paradigm, which designate as emancipatory those projects that challenge various forms of domination, precede the works of Karl Marx and stem from G. W. F. Hegel’s idea of unnecessary constraints on human freedom (Splichal and Dahlgren, 2013, p. 10). The heterogeneity of the concept of »criticality« is illustrated across scholarly literature where it extends from broader notions of critique, i.e. literal, dramatic and art criticism, to narrower notions of criticality associated with the tradition of the Frankfurt School, self-criticality (including criticism among members of different traditions within the critical paradigm itself, see Jay, 1974). The extensive use of the term »critical« today indicates its inflationary status (Fuchs, 2008; 2009, p. 7) since conceptualisations of the term is broadening to the extent of not only depriving the term of explanatory power, but

potentially conceiving the ideas of dialectically opposed conceptualisations as the ideas of the traditional theory (Smythe and Van Dihn, 1984).

The basic scholarly literature does not provide any standard definition or typology of critical traditions. Some discern four traditions: Marxism, the Frankfurt School, the North American radical tradition, and Cultural Studies (McQuail), while others only regard traditions that stem from Marxism as critical, i.e. structuralist, political economy and culturalist approaches (Gurevitch, Bennet and Woollacot, 1990) or (almost exclusively American) representatives of the political economy of the media (Lent and Amazeen, 2015).

More comprehensive taxonomies of the critical paradigm discern the following traditions (Splichal, 1989) or subfields (Fuchs 2009, p. 6) in media and mass communication research: Marxist critical theory; hegemony theory (Gramsci, Poulantzas, Althusser); the Frankfurt School (Adorno, Horkheimer, Marcuse); sociocultural approach (British Cultural Studies, Hall) and Marxist materialism (Splichal 1989), and supplement them with traditions beyond the Marxist frame, such as feminism, postcolonialism, the critique of race, ethnicity and queer studies (Splichal and Dahlgren, 2014, p. 12) or expressed using the generic label “new social movements” (Fuchs, 2009, 6).

Fuchs (2008) distinguishes three different notions of criticality: positivistic, Marxist and postmodern. Positivistic criticality or refutability (Popper) originates from conceptualising criticality as an »epistemological method« aimed at identifying logical or observational contradictions in the process of verifying knowledge. This conceptualisation of criticality is immanent to the traditional (realistic) theory of scientific pursuit as the accumulation of knowledge (Popper 1962, Fuchs, 2008). The positivistic notion of criticality runs orthogonal to the understandings of criticality within the critical traditions which designate an understanding of the inseparability of the social sciences, conceived as “a part of the social world as well as a conception of it ...” (Gouldner, 1970/1977, p. 13). The reductionism where the cognitive validity of intellectual ideas is weighed on the basis of their “trueness” or “falseness” classifies not only as intellectual ignorance but intellectual irresponsibility (ibid.). Critical theory nevertheless seeks »a connection with empirical analysis« (Kellner, 1990, p. 12) in order for social action to progressively transform contemporary society (ibid.). However, it is not concerned with increasing the accumulation of knowledge (p. 246), in

contrast to traditional science, with its only concern being reasonable conditions of life (Horkheimer, 1975/2002, pp. 198–199).

While the traditional axiom of pursuing the exclusive and objective truth is refuted as a grand narrative of domination by the postmodernist conceptualisation of criticality, the reluctance of postmodernism with respect to social structures, universalism and essence results in a conceptualisation that denotes a myriad of equally regarded truths (Fuchs and Sandoval, 2008, 118), disarming it for being »hypertheoretical« and politically powerless (p. 119).

Criticality, on the other hand, is a »negative« concept as knowledge is not generated through a positivist idea of validity and reliability as in traditional theory, but through a dialectical relation with the idea it is criticising (Jay 1996), providing logically consistent argumentation within the historical perspective (Horkheimer, 1975, p. 211). Likewise, since it has no specific influence, critical theory as a whole cannot be judged by the established criteria of a traditional theory, but only by its devotion to do away with injustice (Horkheimer, 1975/2002, p. 242).

Criticality designates radical analysis of historical processes to create reasonable conditions of life in the future which satisfy the needs and powers of men (Horkheimer, 1975/2002, pp. 198–199). The comprehension of the criticality is on the other hand not to be equated with the idea of the Frankfurt School or Marxism in the narrow sense, but the application of this very idea within different traditions which in their very heart contain an aversion to closed philosophical systems (Jay, 1996, p. 41). Fuchs and Sandoval define *Marxist criticality* as taking the

... standpoints of the oppressed. It is characterized by normative, objective, and political standpoints of the speakers, it speaks for whole groups, not just for individuals. It argues not just that one should form certain opinions, but that there are true and false opinions corresponding to true and false states of society. Typically, terms like domination, exploitation, class, power, or capitalism are used as negative terms (p. 121).

Labelling the definition *Marxist* frames the category too narrowly as the concepts designated by terms associated with Karl Marx apply more broadly within the critical paradigm. They tend to include certain normative, objective and political ideas (such as social categories), which call for progressive societal change but do not adopt a Marxist vocabulary; for example, the critique of liberal individualism comprehended by American pragmatists like

John F. Dewey, or emancipatory imperatives of anti-imperialist, anti-racial, feminist and gay social movements.

2.5.2 Epistemological Division

The most prominent cleavages between the two paradigms were considered to be epistemological, differentiating between quantitative and qualitative research methods (Smythe and Van Dihn, 1983, p. 118), the nomothetic approach of the administrative paradigm and the idiographic approach of the critical paradigm.

The nomothetic approach emphasises the importance of objectivity. Objectivity is supposed to be achieved through the generalisation of characteristics and rules in the phenomenon which, together with the principles of validity and reliability, offer the necessary probabilistic interpretation. The characteristic of the approach is the determination of causality of the social phenomena by following the methodological orientation of natural science's research methods, while in contrast the idiographic approach renounces the concept of objectivity and generalisation, claiming that the only true comprehensive understanding comes from research that recognises uniqueness and subjectivity in communication phenomena (Splichal and Dahlgren, 2014, p. 9).

Even though quantitative techniques were introduced into mass communication research from the disciplines, namely sociology and psychology, these disciplines were not homogenous in their epistemological orientation, and the quantitative turn faced fierce criticism from scholars in the disciplines. As Gardner Murphy, later president of the American Psychological Association, (APA) stated: "The feeling has grown that experimental and quantitative method are the hallmark of science ...woe to that science whose methods are developed in advance of its problems, so that the experimenter can see only those phases of a problem for which a method is already at hand" (Murphy, 1939, p. 114).

The differentiation of methodological data collection procedures as "administrative and critical tools" (Smythe and Van Dihn, 1983, p. 118) separated »theoretically interesting categories« from »empirical research techniques« (Merton, 1968, p. 504). Numerous practices oppose the differentiation, serving as an early example of a critical scholar building theoretically interesting categories of one, and empirical research techniques of the other, such as: Friedrich Engels' study on the condition of the working class in England (1845),

Theodor Adorno's study on authoritarian personality (1950), Raymond Williams' statistical analysis of the content of British newspapers and television, empirical research in former communist countries (Splichal, 2016), Leo Lowenthal's content analysis in the study of popular biographies in mass circulation magazines (Merton, 1968) and Gitlin's (1980) study of the American New Left where media effects were reconceptualisation from that of traditional behaviourist research (Fejes, 1984, p. 222).

2.5.3 The Positivistic Principle of Neutrality and the Critique of 'Value-free' Science

The growth of knowledge production and strive for progress facilitated a different kind of knowledge evaluation intended to seek out what was 'right/positive' in the research of other scholars, rather than providing a critique of what was not right. The departure from the 'negative' criticism of the French Revolution and the philosophes (Gouldner, 1970, p. 17) to the 'positive' approach of modern ideology created a path on which scientific claims are not judged through polemics but by seeking consensus, leading to the rhetoric of persuasion (ibid.). There is "often a hair-line separating science and faith" (Weber, 1949, 212)⁷. The empirical data always relate to the evaluating of ideas which establish them as »worth knowing«. The data can therefore never become the foundation for the empirically defensible proof of their validity as »beliefs and practices depend on views of Being which they witness, not cores of knowledge that they claim« (Shepherd, 1993, p. 85) or in Weber's terms: "Scientific truth is a product of scientific cultures and is not a product of man's original nature« (Weber, 1922/1949, p. 211).

The methodological procedures of quantification and individualisation that are presupposed by objectivity separate the research problem from its socio-political context, thereby largely reaffirming the structures of power and the existing social order (Hardt, 1992, p. 135). There is no apolitical position because "the selection of the subject-matter already involves an 'evaluation'" (Weber, 1912/1949, p. 11) and to regard one's position as 'value-free' is an act of consent with the dominant ideology as the non-partisan self-image can become »institutionalised only when the elites of a society are confident that its social scientists are, in fact, *not* neutral« (Gouldner, 1971, p. 470). In this sense, value-neutral communication

⁷ » ...die oft haarfine Linie, welche Wissenschaft und Glauben scheidet ... In Max Weber, 1922. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre: Die »Objektivität« des sozialwissenschaftlicher und sozialpolitischer Erkenntnis, 212.

research reduces the conceptualisation of communication as a cultural and symbolic interaction developed by pragmatists to the mere transmission/transaction of information (Splichal and Dahlgren, 2014, p. 13) whose aim is “efficient execution of policy and thereby make the existing system more efficient» (Halloran, 1981, p. 36).

2.5.4 The Triumph of Capitalism and the Demise of the Critical

The critical paradigm in mass communication research came to prominence in 1960's, when discontent with social and economic circumstances in Europe culminated in worker strikes and student protests. In the USA, the internal and foreign policy encountered antagonisms of social movements; the black movement was seeking social, political and economic emancipation at home, while peace movements internationally juxtaposed (America's) imperialistic intervention (in Vietnam) (Nordenstreng, 2004). Mass communication research was thus conceptualised as a socio-politically engaged actor with the aim of emancipating the underprivileged, uncovering »the contradictory aspects of communication in their systemic context« (Gouldner, 1970/1977, p. 17), critically condemning the categories which rule social life (Horkheimer, 1975, p. 208), including the ideas of 'value-free' research by which the pragmatist conceptualisations of communication as a cultural and symbolic interaction is being reduced to conceptualisations of communication as a process of information exchange (Splichal in Dahlgren, 2014, p. 13).

It was only due to a crisis in the dominant paradigm in 1968 that the critical began to gain in prominence and constitute itself as an equivalent counterforce, reflecting on identity in *“Ferments in the Field”* and *“Beyond Polemics: Paradigm Dialogues”*. The ensuing dialogues brought about integrative ambitions regardless of their initial intentions or final resolutions. With the crisis of the critical paradigm that had commenced with disintegration of the welfare state and the rise of conservatism in the UK and the USA in late 1970s and 1980s and the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s, the dissolution of social movements led to the migration of their members to universities. The emergence of competitive traditions within the critical paradigm, namely the influences of post-structuralist and post-modernist articulations, significantly reconceptualised the Marxist basis of the critical paradigm (Kellner, 2005).

2.5.5 Administrative Criticality

The dichotomy between the liberal West and communist East was not reflected in the acceptance of parallel paradigms. While the critical paradigm never became dominant in the West, the traditions stemming from Marxism have become the dominant paradigm in the institutionalised social sciences in the East. As industrialisation imposed the wider differentiation of USSR and Eastern European societies, the role of “academic sociology” institutionalised in 1956 was instrumental in integrating different sectors of social life (Gouldner, 1971, p. 467). Administrative mentality (Gitlin, 1978, p. 233) is not exclusive of ideology. Mass communication research, which developed later, was largely administrative in not only referring to the ideas of classic Marxists and ideas of political class members (Splichal 1989), but in accepting and institutionalising mass communication research as part of the western behaviouristic paradigm, like in the case of Yugoslavia (Vreg, 1972)

2.6 Contested Vocabularies

Concepts, the basic units of vocabularies, function as mechanisms of reduction. As redactors, each concept designates a set of arguments that a community agrees upon and differentiates (reduces similarity) from the concepts of incommensurable paradigms (Kuhn, 1961, p. 64).

This verbal arsenal or vocabulary enables followers to communicate through the established linguistic system of codes, or a “shared body of words and meanings” (Williams, 1976/2015, p. xxvii). It equips them with the conceptual apparatus needed to understand the problem and decide on investigative tools for their empirical work and defining the borders between legitimate/illegitimate problems of a certain community’s scientific activity. The field of mass media and communication research is built on various meta-discursive vocabularies, i.e. rhetorical, semiotic, phenomenological, cybernetic, socio-psychological, sociocultural and critical (see Craig, 1999). Due to the need for more practical and economical communication among members of a specific paradigm, the road to consensus via vocabulary leads through discussions on definition, comparisons and clarifications (Beyer, 1978, p. 70). Accordingly, the followers of (different) paradigms “/.../ are ensnared in reciprocal controversies about their specific metaphysical basic assumptions, which ultimately constitute their only *raison d’être*” (Knorr, 1975, p. 227).

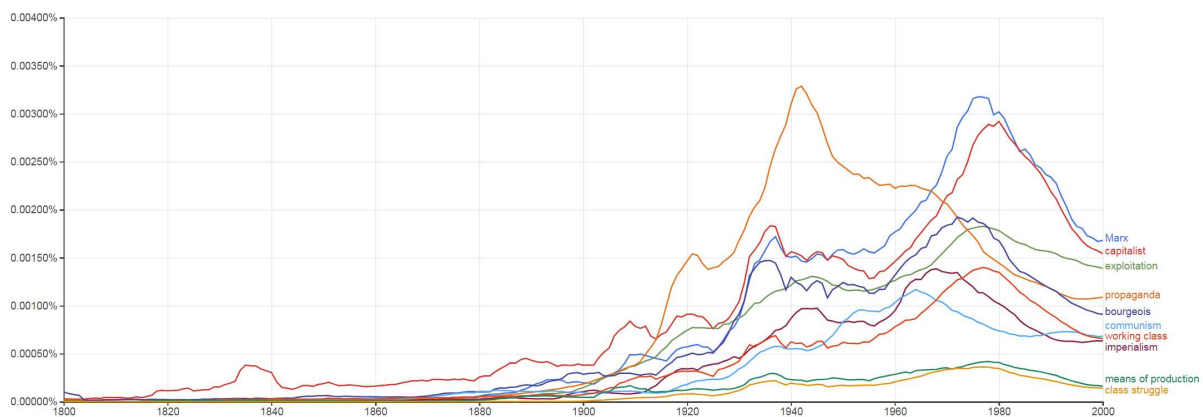
The most widely adopted contemporary conceptualisations of the critical paradigm endorse capitalism and are no longer anchored in its critique. Contemporary critical research is based on defending the “principles of ‘democracy’ and ‘pluralism’ against unwelcome encroachments of the market”, encroachments often understood as various manifestations of “neoliberalism” or the “neoliberal agenda” (Garland and Harper, 2012, pp. 413–414). With this transition, the critical paradigm transformed its “verbal arsenal” able to effectively pierce “the armour of the Establishment” (Marcuse, 1969/2000, p. 8, p. 73).

Ideas, for example the core critical concepts like “capitalism” (Boltanski and Chiapello, 2005, p. ix, p. xi), “alienation” (Williams, 1976), “ideology” (Downey and Toynbee, 2016), “hegemony” (Kincheloe and McLaren, 1998), “public opinion” (Splichal, 1999) or “public sphere” (Fenton, 2018), thereby became either: a) almost absent from the political, unionist, journalistic and academic vocabulary (Garland and Harper, 2012); b) replaced and degraded to the point where their explanatory power is neutralised (Downey and Toynbee, 2016); or c) the denoted social phenomena transformed so extensively that they become inadequate to effectively engage and address contemporary normative problems of mass communication (Fenton, 2018).

Reconceptualisations or transformations of meaning develop and occur in various ways (Williams, 1976/2015), as consciously different uses (propaganda/media effects), innovation (internetisation), obsolescence (base/superstructure), specialisation (from power to hegemony), extension (public opinion), overlap (hegemony and ideology) and by transfer or masking (from capitalist to market forces).

The Westernisation of mass communication research went hand in hand with America’s export of media content. As media technologies advanced from radio, television and the Internet and as higher education became structurally transformed, mass communication research was growing in significance (Simonson and Park, 2016). All of the successive “intellectual impoverishment” of mass communication research is mainly due to the way the field was institutionalised in the USA (Peters, 1986) and hence “westernised” (Gunaratne, 2010). More than 70 per cent of scholarly research comes from and deals with English-speaking countries (Pooley and Park, 2013; Lauf, 2005).

Figure 2.2: Distribution of critical concepts in the english citerature, 1800-2008 in Ngram



Source: ngram.google.com (2019)

As the American media industry was imperialising the globe with its cultural and ideological influence through news and entertainment content, it also exerted a strong influence on not simply European but world scholarly communities that uncritically adopted and imitated Western social science models, becoming centres in the peripheries (ibid.), thereby reflecting the oligopoly of the social science powers of the USA and the UK. Scholars from these centres were generally not only ignorant and disrespectful of their own ‘peripheries’ in the sense of actors (individuals or institutions) that did not follow the dominant paradigm in the field, but also of the history, philosophy and civilisation of the non-West (ibid.).

Unlike administrative research which had shown its utility value, funding for the institutionalisation of critical research could not be expected from national political, let alone economic, establishments due to the nature of the critique developed by the critical paradigm with respect to them. The rivalry of national and international interests between developed countries (e.g. member states of the Trilateral Commission) and their relationship with the less developed ones (e.g. the Non-aligned Movement) (Smythe and Van Dihn, 1983, p. 125) within the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) proved more suitable for supporting critical research. As the organisation’s mission was to engage »with the mental, philosophical, and psychological aspects of peacemaking in a post-war world« (Wagman, 2016, p. 71), the burning racial issues were all attributed to the problems of information flows where the concepts of “development” and “modernization” (Amrith and Sluga, 2008, p. 252) were imposed so as to cover problems originating from the colonial past and defined the (international) relations between the Global North and South. In

order to democratise the internationalised communication flows, UNESCO not only devoted itself to training and professionalisation in journalism, but the Commission for the Study of Communication Problems brought together prominent actors from both paradigms where, besides the representatives of the critical paradigm, such as James Halloran (1978), Herbert Schiller (1978) and Stuart Hall (1980), ideas were also contributed by scholars from the dominant domain, i.e. Ithiel de Sola Pool (1979) and Wilbur Schramm (1979) (Wagman, 2016, p. 78).

Global inequalities have not only significantly marked and contributed to the emergence of critical paradigm mass communication research (Smythe and Van Dihn, 1983, *ibid.*) but have shown that intellectual thought is a counterforce to the dominant, especially with UNESCO's New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) initiative.

2.7 Commercialisation of Academic Labour

With the rise of neo-liberal policies of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher in the 1980s and normalised as a single socio-political system on a globalised level (especially after the fall of socialism), knowledge production was subjected to the imperative of the market. In order to attribute value to the product of scholarly work, new systems of valorisation of academic research based on research output were invented, which "reduced research to publications and publications to refereed journals and related the journals to impact factors" (Burawoy, 2012, p. 8).

Therefore, the system of research evaluation has increased the attractiveness of elite journals and helped to change their role as trendsetters of research priorities for the entire scientific community. As a result, it has made academic research even more subordinate to the "imperative of the market", which demands that research demonstrate its "relevance and impact" by neglecting theoretical and/or critical research (Splichal and Dahlgren, 2014, p. 44). With the increasing fragmentation of scientific publishing in journals, the functions of elite journals are becoming even more important; not only for enabling the communication of scientific knowledge, but also for the development and application of "uniform criteria of quality and intellectual relevance for the entire field" (Whitley, 2007, p. 9).

Because of the numerous existing paradigms within the social sciences, the institutionalised means of scientific communication are more fragmented than in the traditional sciences. The

lion's share of publications in the social sciences was once made up of monographs and proceedings and, because the publication of articles in journals is subject to rigorous editorial bias, it was considered to result in a more consensual output (Pierce, 1987). Yet, the trends in the social sciences are changing as a result of research evaluation systems, with the publication of articles increasing and the share of monographs falling (STM, 2018, p. 67).

Apart from other social science disciplines, journals covering developments in mass communication research do not form a discernible field, while the internationalisation risk of becoming ever more specialised could fragment the field to the point of decomposition (Leydersdorff and Probst, 2009). In just 15 years, the number of journals in the SSCI category "communication" doubled, rising from 42 in 2002 to 84 in 2017 (Clarivate Analytics, 2018). Journal production rose in output, reflected in the growth of issues published per year as well as articles per issue. Internet growth (Günther and Domahidi, 2017) has supported significant interdisciplinarity and expansion of the mass communication research field to such an extent that it has become one of the most rapidly expanding areas of scientific research (Nordenstreng, 2012). One might argue that in an ever more diverse research environment with new journals fragmenting the system of institutionalised communication, research stemming from non-dominant paradigms can flourish. But it is precisely the existence of journals whose research scope covers non-dominant perspectives and research problems that relieves the elite journals of the need to consider them and produces conditions in which the marginalisation of non-dominant perspectives and journals is both legitimised and institutionalised. Non-dominant research, on the other hand, takes comfort in the autonomy it has gained in relatively isolated institutionalised structures of communication, in either specific journals or corresponding divisions of professional associations.

2.7.1 Scientific Publishers – Gatekeepers of Science

For alternative ideas to be treated equally as the dominant ones, (at least) they must make their way past the 'gatekeepers of science', the editors of journals (De Grazia, 1963). By selecting and controlling which information is permitted to circulate widely among members of the field, a process conducted through journals' review procedures (Calhoun and Rhoten, 2010, p. 103), "editors of scientific journals perform a dual 'gatekeeper' role as they exert considerable control over (1) the flow of scientific information, and (2) enable access to

channels of recognition for individual scientists. Thus, how they perform this role has important consequences for both science and for individual scientists” (Beyer, 1978).

The institutional structures for scientific communication have considerably transformed from the traditional model of scholarly communication (Lyman and Chodorow, 1998, p. 89) operated by university presses and disciplinary associations. Almost everywhere in academic publishing, society- and association-based actors have declined in importance and commercial publishing has become dominant (UNESCO, 2015, p. 5). While in 1990 the five biggest commercial publishers together accounted for less than 10 per cent (Larivière, Haustein and Mongeon, 2015), the acquisition of existing and formation of new journals has led to the recent concentration of renowned scholarly journals in the field (indexed in Web of Science SSCI category “communication”) issued by six major corporate publishers (*Taylor & Francis/Routledge* (33 journals), *Sage Publications* (25), *Oxford University Press* (6), *Elsevier* (4), *Wiley* (2) and *Springer* (1) (Clarivate Analytics, 2018)) exceeding 80 per cent. The profit margins of these commercial oligopolies are some of the highest in the private sector and comparable to world’s pharmaceutical and banking corporations like Pfizer and Industrial & Commercial Bank of China (Larivière, Haustein and Mongeon, 2015).

The disciplinary and paradigmatic fragmentation of the social sciences has twice been shown to be a weakness arising from the concentration of these commercial publishers. On one hand, the fragmentation of the social sciences is seen in their market segmentation, of commercial interest to publishers. On the other hand, the fragmentation also contributed to the relatively weak economic viability of their professional associations which were thus more easily acquired by or associated with commercial publishers. The concentration of commercial publishers in science, technology and medicine (STM) has remained stable (35 percent) as the strong professional association firmly controls their publishing share, while the faster turning out of research calls for more agile forms of scholarly communication relying on internet-based and open-access technologies of scholarly communication (Larivière, Haustein and Mongeon, 2015).

2.7.2 Commercialisation of Scholarly Impact Assessment

Like with the publishing of journals, corporations are again dominating the systems for research evaluation (e.g. Web of Science by Clarivate Analytics and SCOPUS by Elsevier). In

order to reflect the impact or quality of a particular research article, author and/or journal, various indexes (journal impact factor, h-index, etc.) are generated by bibliometric parameters – citations. By generating the citation score(s) of an article(s) to the level of a journal, the derived “journal impact factor” (JIF)⁸ serves as the key indicator for evaluating research, producing considerable effects on both the science and academic publishing. As it considers articles not older than 2 years, it ascribes higher values to journals that cite newer research and creates a bias towards current research trends (Larivière and Sugimoto, 2018), thereby influencing scholars’ publishing strategies and dissemination practices, as well as universities’ hiring practices (Monastersky, 2005; Larivière and Sugimoto, 2018).

The JIF factor’s appropriateness is problematic not due to the intention of its use, since it was originally developed to assist librarians make a selection of journals to keep, but its later appropriation for the evaluation of research work. The source of all deficiencies the factor is causing is a consequence of Goodhart’s Law by “the measure becoming the target” (Johnson, Watkinson and Mabe, 2018). One of its main deficiencies is the bias power curve it generates, known as “Mathew’s effect”, where “papers published in high impact journals obtain more citations than their identical counterparts published in journals with lower impact factors” (Larivière and Gingras, 2010, p. 425). Yet the appropriation of research evaluation systems has led to several deficient practices of circumvention of the normative purpose of scientific communication. Among others, the JIF has been criticised in particular for creating a bias towards English as the standard language in scientific communication (Archambault et al., 2009) and for favouring anglophone research centres (Hicks, 1999).

In order to increase their ‘impact’, scholars are hence adopting various strategies to raise citations either directly (by adding to citations of existing work) and/or indirectly (by adding to the number of publications). “Coercive citation” (Wilhite and Fong, 2012; Haley, 2016) is a type of “collusive citation” where authors are coerced to cite superior authorities (editor(s) of the journal one is submitting to). Another phenomenon, known as “citation cartel” or “citation mafia” (Fister, Fister and Perc, 2016), is a form of relationship whereby scholars engage in reciprocal citing. In order to raise the publication and citing potential, scholars also adopt practices of “salami publishing”, where the research results of an integral work are partitioned

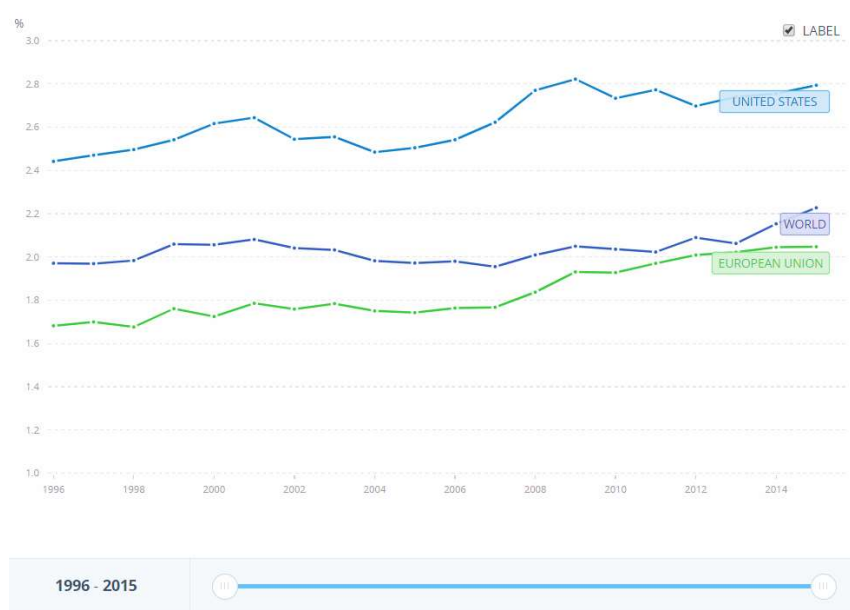
⁸ The mean number of citations received in a given year by papers published in a journal over the two previous years.

and published as smaller parcels. Disturbing scholarly publishing practices are also spreading with the emergence and growth of ‘predatory journals’, that in 2014 were estimated to number some 8,000 (Shen and Bjork, 2015) and 4 years later were estimated by Cabells at 9,179. The interest in publishing these journals is merely financial in nature as peer review and editorial work is often absent or poor, and the main imperative is to profit through article processing charges (APCs), often on the level of golden-access APCs.

Scholarly communication infrastructure (journals and conferences) is seeing a transformation towards instrumentalisation. It is less and less utilised as an infrastructure holding dialogical potential where problems would be discussed on the basis of critical publicity. With the administrative imperative prevailing and research evaluation systems imposing narrow topical research on issues of immediate administrative use, the purpose of scholarly communication infrastructure is shifting towards achieving greater visibility and status, thereby resembling Habermases “representative publicity”. The conceptualisation of communication is thus also (re)transforming towards information dissemination mediated by a (thematic) channel.

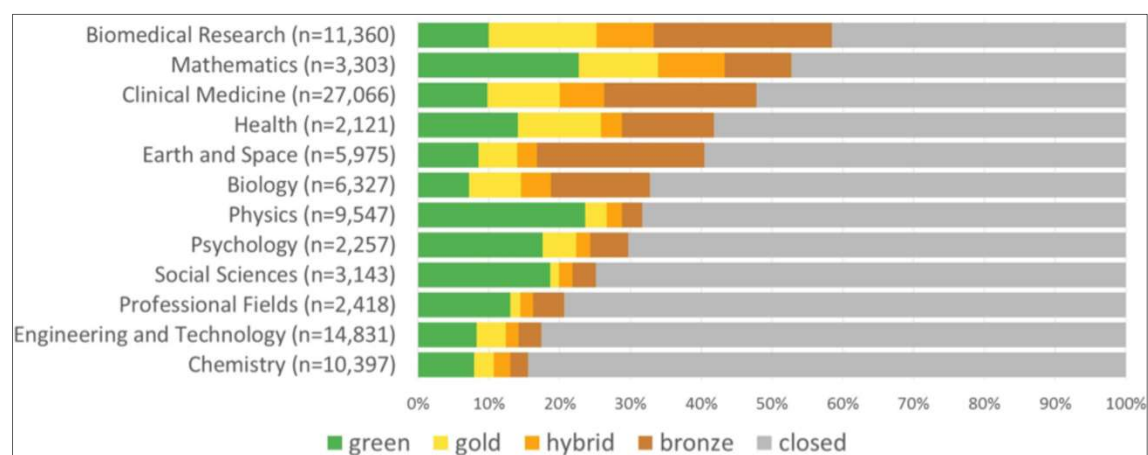
On the other hand, access to the research outputs – the products of (free) academic labour – is restricted while research budgets are growing (Figure 2.3), three-quarters of the scholarly periodical literature in the social sciences is pay-walled (Figure 2.4) while subscription fees are growing faster than inflation (Association of Research Libraries, 2017), the emerging “serials crisis” is making access unaffordable for even most prestigious universities (Harvard Library, 2012).

Figure 2.3: USA, EU and world research and development expenditure (% of GDP), 1996–2015



Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2019)

Figure 2.4: Percentage of different access types of a random sample of WoS articles and reviews with a DOI published between 2009 and 2015 per NSF discipline (excluding Arts and Humanities)



Source: Piwowar et al. (2017)

2.7.3 Professional Association Publishing

The challenged economic viability of professional associations and university publishers in such oligopolised journal markets forced them to embark on joint ventures with commercial publishers, particularly with ‘big deal’ bundle journal subscriptions. Professional associations

thus provide their reputation but retain editorial autonomy, while commercial publishers utilise their economies of scale to widen the market.

To open the organisation and the journal up to the global and diversified market, the ICA adapted the publication portfolio to suit the commercial publisher (previously Wiley, currently Oxford Press). Currently, the association has various publications and publishes journals in the field, segmenting the new journals according to the main divisions; thereby separating communication from media (Human Communication Research, 1974), theory (Communication Theory, 1991), new technologies (Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 1994), critical communication research (Communication, Culture, & Critique, 2008) and mostly reviewing literature in the ‘residual’ journal Annals of the International Communication Association (1982).

The Journal of Communication with its broadly declared **scope of interest** is declared to be an all-encompassing scholarly journal established to bridge existing divisions in the field by encouraging author submissions that cross inner field divisions (ICA, 2019). The journal played an important role in reflections on the state of the field/discipline, expanding the debate to overcoming the paradigmatic research in (international) communication research, as a (self-)reflecting forum and a cultivator of scholarly debates on the future of the field (1983, issue 3; 1993, issue 3; 2018, issue 2), and moving beyond narrow research topics.

3 COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY: CRITICAL THEORY AND RESEARCH IN EIGHT COMMUNICATION JOURNALS

3.1 Design of the Study

The presented study aims to examine the dynamics of the critical research in the mainstream journals and the meaning of core critical concept(s) presented. In addition, it aims to contextualise the findings in the light of transformations of the institutionalised structures of scientific publishing, to find out whether the system of academic evaluation (based on the journal impact factors – JIF) has a discriminatory impact on the treatment of non-dominant research.

3.1.1 Research Questions

The study addresses the following research questions:

RQ1: What is the extent of critical research presented in the mainstream journals in the history of the field?

RQ1a: Who are the principal critical authors and to which institutions and countries are they affiliated?

RQ2: What are the main cleavages within critical research presented in the mainstream journals?

RQ3: Has the meaning of the principal critical concepts transformed? In what way?

RQ4: Does a negative correlation between criticality and Journal Impact Factors exist?

3.1.2 Research Methods and Procedures

3.1.2.1. Measuring Criticality

In order to investigate the prominence of critical research, two complementary operationalisation procedures with two basic units of analysis were carried out. In the investigation, criticality is operationalised using the common language - a critical vocabulary based on core concepts that scholars, as members of the community, constitute through the central literature (Kuhn 1996).

Deriving a list of indicative words from the most important historical "critical works" could have led to a large general »critical dictionary« with only weak or no matches in the selected articles. Instead, the critical vocabulary for this study was derived from the selected articles by identifying the title words and key words that refer to issues of power, oppression, human liberation and social transformation (Splichal and Mance 2018, 402). The sampling procedure for critical indicators is limited to article titles and keywords in the published articles, as these are the most exposed parts of the article and contain the most important and significant ideas and concepts used in the article. The analysis assumes that criticality is not a hidden characteristic, but a virtue that an author is inclined to show.

The procedure operationalises the »patterns of criticality« and not the critical paradigm or critical theory, which are narrower concepts with more precise research problems, institutions and authors. Since indicators are derived from the sample of analysed articles, the notion of criticality is limited with the existing population of words, since a common definition of what criticality designates and from which an operationalisation procedure could be derived is absent. In addition, if criticality is to be operationalised, the procedure enables that the reliability of the analysis is the highest possible.

The metadata from the Web of Science (titles and keywords) for the 28,234 articles published up to 2018 contained 25,598 unique words in the titles and 11,837 unique words in the keywords, including the KeyWord Plus terms of the WoS.

The frequency of words in the articles was very uneven: »media« appeared in 2,644 titles, »communication« in 1,991, »news« in 1,765, »television" (1,431), »public« (1,323) and »political" (1,104) in more than 1,000 titles. On the other hand, the 57.2 percent (14,643) of words in titles and 67.4% (7,928) of keywords with a frequency of less than 10 were not taken into account either, because they have the least explanatory value, while their number would have a considerable influence on the formation of clusters. Only words that occur in at least 10 titles or keywords were considered relevant for vocabulary formation. Out of 2,960 words in titles and 668 keywords, 192 words were selected as indicators of criticality by taking an abductive rather than purely deductive approach to »derive« critical words from the general conceptualization of criticality and general vocabulary.

The »coding decisions« were cumulative rather than detailed coding instructions. The judgments were probabilistic (as in induction), which is usually the case with the coding of latent and projective content in qualitative research, where analysts are not interchangeable »coders« but are supposed to use their subjective interpretations. They may see a given situation in other terms which are not simply "right" or "wrong", and their differences of opinion should not be interpreted as errors (Stempel, 1989, 126; Splichal and Mance 2018, 402).

A researcher is considered critical if he or she has written (or co-written) an article that contains at least ten critical indicators. In order to investigate the prominence of the organisational and national origins of critical scholarship, data on the institutional and national affiliation of critical authors were aggregated.

Additional analyses are conducted to investigate the structural and dynamic features of paradigmatic patterns in identified critical articles. Network analysis is applied to critical indicators and cited authors in the articles considered critical, according to their co-occurrences. Next, the VOS community detection method in the Pajek software is used to identify important clusters of critical indicators and cited authors. The analysis is primarily conducted on a whole sample of critical articles and additionally on sub-samples depending on whether journals originate from US or Europe and, finally, on each journal for the period during the Cold War and after.

In order to further test the criticality of the critical articles, a control group of critical scholars is formed from 225 representative critical scholars derived from the basic literature with the analysis of six monographies⁹ focusing on the critical paradigm, however from different perspectives: US (Hardt, 1992), a wider philosophical perspective (Felluga, 2015), contemporary reflections on critical paradigm (Ouellette and Gray 2020, Fuchs 2016). By inspecting the authors referenced in these works, an initial sample consisted of all the authors

⁹ Bennett, Tony, and Meaghan Morris. 2008. *New Keywords: A Revised Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. Williston: Blackwell Publishing; Ouellette, Laurie, and Jonathan Gray. 2020. *Keywords for Media Studies*; Fuchs, Christian. 2016. *Critical Theory of Communication: New Readings of Lukács, Adorno, Marcuse, Honneth and Habermas in the Age of the Internet*. University of Westminster Press; Hartley, John, Martin Montgomery, Ellie Rennie, and Marc Brennan. 2004. *Communication, Cultural and Media Studies: The Key Concepts*. London: Taylor & Francis and Hardt, Hanno. 1992. *Critical Communication Studies: Communication, Theory and History in America*. London: Routledge and Dino Franco Felluga. 2015. *Critical Theory: Key Concepts*. London: Routledge.

which appeared in all of works more than once. The number of references differed among the works: 316 (Hartley, 2004), 115 (Fuchs, 2016), 363 (Feluga, 2015), 96 (Hardt, 1992), 554 (Ouellette and Gray, 2020) and 713 (Bennett, Grossberg, Morris, 2011). 225 (12,4%) of authors out of total of 1,809 authors we identified.

The presence of critical scholars among all cited authors in the network serves as an indication of the presence of critical scholars within a given sample. The visual examination of the placement of critical scholars from the control group within the citation networks and their distribution within specific clusters offers an additional dimension for identifying communities of critical scholars (not only authors of critical articles), but also a reflection on whether (and to what extent) the primary critical indicators actually measure criticality.

Table 3.1: Year of first appearance of keywords and KeyWord Plus in the journals

	JMCQ	MCS	POQ	CR	CM	D&S	EJC	JOC
Keywords	2012	2011*	-	2003	1996	1994	1995	2014
KeyWord Plus	1990	1991	1990	1991	1990	1994	1993	1991

*Although the journal adopts the contemporary article format which includes abstract and keywords in 2011, author's keywords are already included in WOS since 2000

28,234 titles contained 25,598 unique words (out of the total of 259,354 words). The word “media” appears in 2,644 titles, “communication” in 1,991, “news” in 1,765, »television« (1,431), »public« (1,323) and »political« (1,104) appear in more than 1000 titles. 57,2 percent (14,643) of words appear only once in the titles. Keywords (including KeyWord Plus) contained 42,523 words and phrases out of which 11,837 unique. Again, »media« (723), »communication« (668) »news« (499) and »television« (414) are the words appearing most often. 67.4 % (7,982) of (key)words of (key)word phrases were found only in one article.

In order to allow for a meaningful network analysis, the words with the lowest frequency were not considered because they have the least explanatory value, while their number would have a significant influence on the formation of clusters. Only words that occur in at least 10 titles or keywords were considered relevant and included in the analysis. Out of 2,960 words in titles and 668 keywords, 192 words were selected as indicators of power relations, human

oppression and actions of liberation and social transformation to form the core of the critical vocabulary (see Appendix A). Specific critical indicators have also been adapted to include American (e.g. Americanization) and British English (e.g. Americanisation) as well as forms with or without hyphen. In cases of lexical overlap of critical indicators - when one critical indicator contains part of another (i.e. "deliberative" and "deliberative democracy") - the syntax has been adapted to avoid double references to indicators (spaces have been replaced by underscore characters) in order to maintain the validity of the research. An automated search in the sample of articles was performed using Boolean operators on search queries and adapted to include and/or exclude certain words or phrases (e.g. "democratiz" OR "democratis" or "deliberativ" NOT "deliberative democrac"). In order to ensure that the search results were indeed critical indicators and not, for instance a part of a word, indicators were surrounded with space characters. »Left-leaning« and »right-leaning« characters – keys and symbols (ie. .,!?!;)(/« » ” `';:) were removed from the corpus, as they would mask the indicators from the search algorithm, treating them as non-results. Furthermore, as critical indicators could also be placed as the first or the last word in a paragraph, thereby lacking the space character before or after and therefore masked for the search query, additional space characters were inserted to optimise the automated search.

Since words occur in different parts of the language (nouns, verbs, adverbs or adjectives, singular/plural), the sample of critical indicators was subjected to a stemming procedure to reduce them to common base forms. In stemming, modulated words (e.g. »struggle«, »struggles«, »struggling« ...) were reduced to their base form stem (»struggl_«). In order to identify the occurrence of different word parts for a specific critical indicator, the online application Voyant Tools (www.voyant-tools.org) was used to carry out a procedure to identify them in the entire corpus of articles analysed (for specific search results see Appendix 1). In this way, all words that occur in the corpus and have the same root were identified and retrieved. This procedure enabled the derivations of critical indicators to be identified accurately. Words that share the same stem but have different meanings (e.g. "labor" and "laboratory") were thus more easily identified and excluded from the analysis. After the automated search, different variations of the words/critical indicators were summed up.

With the help of the software Agent Ransack an automatic search was carried out in the entire corpus of the sampled articles for the selected 192 words. In order to avoid random occurrences, an indicator had to occur at least twice in an article.

Due to technical and time limitations, homonym reduction (e.g. "»black« as a colour or "Black" as a surname) was used in the procedure to determine the systematic use of critical vocabulary - an article was considered "critical" if it contained at least ten binary critical indicators.

3.1.2.2 Critical Networks

Criticality is not a concept with a unanimous meaning, but differs not only between different epistemic communities (which are grouped together in certain journals), but also within the same community. For this reason, a more comprehensive study of the structure of criticality will be carried out between them. On the basis of the criticality indicators and the cited authors in the sample of critical articles, the most important divisions between different communities / traditions of critical research will be identified. The identification of groups/clusters of cited authors and critical indicators is performed with the VOS algorithm in the software package Pajek.

Since journals differ to a greater or lesser extent, not only in the number of published (critical) articles, but also in the number of authors cited, publishing periods, etc., it is impossible to make a direct comparison. Instead, the analysis offers an investigation into the prominence of the most central critical indicators and cited authors within journals in certain periods of time and identification of most prominent clusters within critical research.

For this purpose, two 2-mode networks, namely article x cited authors and article x critical indicator are combined into a single 2-mode network, where the first column represents Article ID and the second consist of critical indicators or cited authors co-occurring in a particular article. With further transformation into a 2-mode network, the links among the critical indicators and cited authors are obtained according to their co-occurrences in a particular article.

Besides the links among all co-occurring nodes, the transformation also generates a self-referential link for each node – a loop, which designates nodes' total number of links. These links have been disregarded from the analysis. In order to make the clustering clearer, all the least significant nodes – cited authors appearing once or twice (depending on the sample size) were also disregarded from the analysis.

Networks consists of different groups of nodes, so-called modules, which have a higher density of links among themselves and a weaker density between other, neighbouring modules/clusters within the network. When defining clusters, the VOS algorithm takes into account not only the edge weights (link strengths) between the nodes, but also the degree value – number of links incident to a node. VOS Community Detection Algorithm is a weighted and parameterized variant of the clustering technique based on modularity (Waltman, van Eck and Noyons, 2010), in which the resolution parameter can be manipulated to detect clusters of nodes of different density (edge weight and degree), which correlates with the number of communities; the higher the value of the resolution parameter, the greater number of clusters are obtained.

The visualisation of the network is performed with Atlas Force 2 energised algorithm, in which the nodes are placed in the network based on the vector which is a product of two opposing forces; the attraction force, based on the weights of the edges connecting them and on the repulsion force generated by adjacent nodes (Jacomy et al., 2014). In this way, nodes stronger edge weights are pulled closer together, while those weaker are pulled further apart. In the graph, the nodes and their labels are proportionally dimensioned according to their degree weight (number of all connexions connected to the node). While VOS clustering technique takes into account both, the edge weights (link strengths) and degree values – number of links incident to a node, the visualisation algorithm only considers the edge weights of the links. Thus, the inconsistencies in cluster membership and the node placement can indicate ambiguity, e.g. different conceptualisations.

In order to form a control group of critical representatives to serve as an additional test for the primary analysis, an inspection of four contemporary encyclopedic works from the field of media and communication was carried out. However, the »degree of agreement« with the most prominent representatives of the critical paradigm was rather low, as only three encyclopedias were structured in a form of articles that would allow for a comparison of

certain terms. The »critical paradigm«, however, proved to be a concept which obviously is not in wider use, as it is absent from encyclopedic articles. In the encyclopedia of Communication Theory (Littlejohn and Foss, 2009, xiv), however, the »critical paradigm« was associated with 66 critical theoretical orientations. An attempt to compile various encyclopedic entries denoting different orientations, ideas and concepts that make up the critical paradigm would be a complex undertaking. Instead, a single term - »critical theory« - was used as a test term, which was included in all three encyclopedias due to its popularity. The articles were compared at the level of the authors cited, whereby in the case of several authorships only the first author was included in the analysis, while several citations by the same author were treated as a single one. The number of individual cited authors associated with critical theory varied: from 15 cited authors (Donsbach, 2008) to 25 (Valdivia, 2013) and 31 (Wright, 2015). Of the 62 different authors cited when all citations are added up, only 2 authors were common to each of the three articles, namely Theodore W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer. Jürgen Habermas, Martin Jay, Douglas Kellner, Herbert Marcuse and Heinz Steinert were the authors who appeared in the references of both articles. 55 authors (about 90 percent of all cited authors) were cited in only one encyclopedic article. The results underline that even for the well-known terms, such as critical theory, there are no established conceptualisations of the critical. The encyclopedic literature proved to be a bad choice, as this type of literature is more likely to serve as a first source of information and to suggest complementary literature to certain entries, rather than to offer a comprehensive and elaborated content.

Thus, instead of encyclopedias, six monographs with a thematic focus on the critical paradigm were analyzed to identify the most prominent critical scholars who would make up the control sample. Of 1,809 authors cited, an initial sample consisted of 225 scholars (12.4 percent) who were cited in at least two works. The works differed in the number of references: 316 (Hartley 2004), 115 (Fuchs 2016), 363 (Feluga, 2015), 96 (Hardt, 1990), 554 (Ouellette and Gray, 2020) and 713 (Bennett, Grossberg and Morris, 2011).

The sampling method performed selected the critical core authors on whom there is at least minimal agreement. However, the co-citation method does not directly indicate a paradigmatic proximity between the authors analysed. The proximity may well be related to the treatment of a specific research problem by the cited authors, who are cited in a polemical

context, as is the case with the representatives of the dominant paradigm (i.e. Paul Lazarsfeld, Elizabeth Noelle Neumann, Harold Laswell etc.).

3.1.2.3. Reconceptualisation of Critical Concepts

In order to investigate if the meaning of the principal critical concepts has transformed, and in which way, the critical concept that emerge as the most prominent in the previous analyses in all the journals will be analysed. Temporal salience of the concept is presented by frequency distribution of the yearly number of articles containing the indicator normalised by the number of all published articles in the journal within the year. The contextual framework analysis will supplement the temporal analysis with associations to the most prominent critical indicators and cited authors co-occurring in the critical articles. The described quantitative analytical procedures are crossexamined and supplemented by a qualitative investigation of the content.

3.1.2.4 Journal Selection

The analysis includes a population of articles published in eight prominent mass communication research journals and indexed in the SSCI bibliographic database Clarivate Analytics - Web of Science (WOS): Public Opinion Quarterly, European Journal of Communication, Journal of Communication, Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, Media Culture & Society, Communication Research, Discourse & Society and Communication Monographs. The date range covers all published articles from 1945 to (including) 2018.

The selection of the sampled journals reflects differences in the type of publisher (associative or commercial), reporting periods, research scope and countries of origin. To provide an analysis of the transformations of the field since its institutionalisation in the United States, the sample includes some of the earliest association journals associated with the field: Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, published by the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC), Communication Monographs, published by National Communication Association (NCA), Public Opinion Quarterly, published by American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) and Journal of Communication, published by International Communication Association (ICA).

European journals in mass communication research, such as European Journal of Communication, Media, Culture & Society and Discourse & Society, appeared later, parallel to the institutionalisation and development of mass communication research in Europe, and offer a comparison between two cultural contexts.

Since the journals differ in their research scope, the analysis compares both journals with the broadest research scope, i.e. the Journal of Communication of the ICA, and journals with a narrower theoretical (Media, Culture & Society) and empirical (Discourse & Society, Public Opinion Quarterly and Communication Research) research area (see Table 3.2).

During the period under study, some journals changed their titles and the search parameters had to be adjusted according to the previous titles, e.g. Communication Monographs formerly known as Speech Monographs and Journalism & Mass Media Quarterly formerly known as Journalism Quarterly.

Table 3.2: Sampling frame adopted from the Web of Knowledge

Journal	Founding year/ Covered in WOS since	Publisher	Rank in - WOS Communica- tion/Journal Impact Factor 2018	Number of articles in the sample	Country of origin
JOURNALISM QUARTERLY / JOURNALISM & MASS COMMUNICATION QUARTERLY	1923/1928	SAGE / AEJMC	29/2.030	4,322	U. S.
SPEECH / COMMUNICATION MONOGRAPHS	1933/1934	Taylor & Francis / NCA / 38	18/2.365	1,691	U. S.
PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY	1936/1937	Oxford UPress / AAPOR	10/3.310	2,499	U. S.
JOURNAL OF COMMUNICATION	1950/1956	Oxford UPress / ICA	5/3.753	2,403	U. S.
COMMUNICATION RESEARCH	1973/1974	SAGE	11/3.087	1,346	U. S.
MEDIA, CULTURE & SOCIETY	1978/1980	SAGE	35/1.886	1,497	U. K.
EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF COMMUNICATION	1986/1993	SAGE	30/2.015	724	U.K.
DISCOURSE & SOCIETY	1989/1994	SAGE	52/1.237	756	The Netherlands

Source: www.webofknowledge.com (2018)

3.1.2.5. Web of Science Article Metadata

The Web of Science Core Collection generates the most important indexes of scientific evaluation; SSCI (Social Science Citation Index) since 1900, SCIE (Science Citation Index

Expanded) since 1900, Arts & Humanities Citation Index (A & HCI) since 1975 and since 2015 the Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI). The bibliographic record for each article in the Web of Science database (www.webofknowledge.com) includes the journal title, the title and abstract of the article (if available), the name of the author, institutional affiliation, year of publication, page count and cited references. Thus, the data for the analysis as well as other metadata on authorship, journal title, year of publication, keywords, KeyWord Plus terms and document type were obtained from the database on 31 July 2019.

However, for certain periods in the analysis, the (meta-)data coverage for certain journals was missing. Most of the missing data were either taken from the database SCOPUS (i.e. Communication Monographs, years 1966-1968; Discourse & Society 1990-1993; European Journal of Communication 1983-1992; Journal of Communication 1951-1955; Media, Culture & Society 1979 and Public Opinion Quarterly 1945, 1948-1952, 1952-1954, 1975, 1984-1985) or manually (year 1979 of Media, Culture & Society and year 1974 of Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly). 278 documents retrieved from SCOPUS accounted for 1.8 percent of the final sample and 127 documents which were acquired manually accounted for 0.8 percent of the documents in the final sample.

3.1.2.6. Cited References

Cited references records in the Web of Science (WOS) database are presented in three distinctive comma delimited formats depending on the publication type cited. The formats analysed in the presented research are monograph, edited volume and article, with authors last name appearing first in all three instances.

Monograph

[author], [publishing year], [title]

Example: Reeves B., 1996, THE MEDIA EQUATION

Edited volume

[chapter author], [publishing year], [title of edited volume], [chapter beginning page], [DOI number]

Example: Cottle S., 2011, TRANSNATIONAL PROTES, P17

Article

[author], [publishing year], [title], [volume], [beginning page], [DOI number]

Example :Shapiro MA, 2004, J BROADCAST ELECTRON, V48, P675

Reducing the information on authorship to the first author with only the initials of the author's first name can cause two types of errors: On the one hand, the lack of complete information on the authors' first names increases the occurrence of (potential) misidentifications due to the appearance of synonyms and/or homonyms, while on the other hand, the lack of information on other authors (in the case of co-authorship) excludes all non- first authors and thus creates a bias against the first author(s).

As the WOS database is not fully standardised, particular attention was devoted to standardisation of synonyms (different name records for the same author) and homonyms (same name records for different authors) in order to achieve a reliable analysis (Table 3.3).

Due to the abbreviated information of referenced works, author homonyms are not rare. In cases where an abbreviated entry could not provide a sufficient information for a definite author identification (i.e. entry “ANDERSON B” may designate “Anderson Benedict” or “Anderson Barbara A.”) an inspection of the original article was conducted. In order to increase the reliability of author matching, other meta data of the referenced work, such as year of publishing and title of the work were taken into consideration.

Table 3.3: Example of 18 different entries for Paul Felix Lazarsfeld

LAZARSFELD P	LAZARSFELD PF
LAZARSFELD PF	LAZARFELD P
Lazarsfeld P. F.	LAZARSFELD B
Lazarsfeld Paul F.	Lazarsfeld Paul
LAZARSFELD	LAZARSFELD PR
Lazarsfeld P.	Lazarsfeld Paul Felix
Lazarsfeld P.F.	LAZARSFELD PL
Lazarsfeld P.F	Lazarsfeld Paul F
LAZARFELD PF	LAZARSFELD BP

The identification of every cited author in the database would prove as an excessively laborious undertaking. The identification and matching of authors was thus performed only on more prominent authors references – those which, when ordered alphabetically by the author's last names, appeared consecutively with the minimum frequency of four. Alphabetical arrangement of the cited authors enabled a relatively effective identification.

Cases of authors holding more middle names (i.e. Pool Ithiel de Sola) or containing prefixes to last name(s) (i.e., van, von, de, de la, etc.) were additionally reviewed for other synonyms (i.e. “de Sola Pool, I.«, »Pool De Sola« or »Sola Pool I de«). The inconsecutiveness of synonyms contributed to a more complex identification procedure¹⁰. In order to identify them, a search for the distinctive parts of the author’s name (i.e. “Pool”) was conducted.

Nonetheless, not all of the problems linked to author identification originate from the inconsistencies or deficiencies of the database providers. Changes in the author’s names do occur, for example, with the change of their marital status. Unfortunately, these instances were identified only in cases where an old last name was retained by the author (and the new one was added).

Several iterations of the cleaning procedure had to be conducted in order to obtain the final version of cited authors database. The principle was to obtain the version of the author’s name which included the most information; (potentially) full first and the last name(s), including abbreviations of the middle names.

Table 3.4: Frequencies of the raw and mended entries of ten most prominent cited authors in the sample

Cleaned Author Name Order	Final Author Frequency	No. of Unique Synonyms	Raw Author Name Order	Raw Frequency
Van Dijk Teun A.	1,256	8.	Gerbner G	624
McCombs Maxwell E.	997	11	Chaffee SH	617
Gerbner George	906	8	MCLEOD JM	466
Chaffee Steven H.	895	14	ENTMAN RM	391
McLeod Jack M.	877	11	EVELAND WP	390
Katz Elihu	861	6	Fairclough Norman	381
Iyengar Shanto	766	11	GREENBERG BS	367
Fairclough Norman	753	6	BURGOON JK	338
Zillmann Dolf	739	8	COHEN J	330
Goffman Erving	737	10	ZILLMANN D	310

Out of the total of 551,880 cited references, almost one third (32.3 percent) of cited authors appeared less than four times and were thus not subjected to the cleaning procedure. The sample of 15,238 articles (from the population of 28,234 documents) contained 482,834 (87.5

¹⁰ »Find all« function in MS Excel was utilised for this purpose.

%) of cited authors. Roughly 54 percent of documents which were not regarded in the sample accounted for 12.5 percent of references in the population. The sampled articles were cleaned of reference records lacking an author information, such as anonymous references, newspaper articles and/or documents without any author information accounted for additional 25,599 records (4.6 % of the population and 5 percent of the sample) which were excluded from the analysis.

The references where authorship was assigned to an organisation, remained in the sample. After the cleaning procedure the sample consisted of 142,359 unique cited author names. 26,259 (18.4 %) of them were cited authors whose record names were mended in the procedure and they accounted for 298,727 (61.9 %) of all the records in the sample. A comparisson (see Table 3.4) of 10 most prominent authors in the cited references before and after cleaning procedure demonstrates significant differences in the frequency and order of cited authors.

3.1.2.7 Categorisation and Selection of Documents

The WOS database served as the primary source of metadata for all the documents published in the analysed journals, while the missing metadata was complemented from SCOPUS or retrieved manually. Each unit should correspond to an identifier – a unique code assigned to a particular document for the purpose of identification, labelled as “Succession Number (UT)” in WOS (“Scopus Document Identifier (EID),” in SCOPUS) and standardised “Digital Object Identifier (DOI).” However, two types of inconsistencies were identified: (1) several documents shared the same identifier and (2) some documents are associated with more than one DOI identifier. The first type of inconsistency appeared in 840 cases, often in particular sections consisting of several shorter contributions (i.e. “Research in Brief” in JMCQ, “Living Research/Current Research” in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, and particular book reviews), which all together were handled as a single unit, although written by different authors. Conversely, WOS and Scopus records on book reviews with more than one book reviewed were occasionally multiplied and assigned different identifiers according to the number of books reviewed; in this way each book review record was treated as a distinct unit (assigned a unique identifier) although it appeared in combination with other reviews in a joint contribution. On the other hand, particular record have been assigned more than one “unique”

identifier (DOI). Thus, the data cleaning procedure could not rely solely on record identifiers and other types of metadata were utilised within the identification procedure.

Document Types. The classification used by the Web of Science and Scopus differs from the classifying categories used by journals. For instance, a document considered an article and labeled as such in a journal, can be classified as a “note,” “review,” “proceedings paper,” “special report” or an “item about the individual” in the Web of Science database.

As the study aims to investigate the evolution of mass communication and media research, the document types of secondary relevance were excluded from the analysis. Articles represent the core document type of every scientific journal and act as “nerves of a discipline” (Weaver and Wilhoit, 1988, p. 31) or a “barometer” (Riffe and Freitag, 1997, p. 515) serving as a primary source to inform the scientific community on new and original knowledge, thus reflecting contemporary trends within particular research. Apart from research articles, various types of documents are published within the journals in order to inform on developments and events in the research community, which were considered relevant for the present analysis: shorter research contributions in journal sections titled as “Research in Brief” in *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, “Living Research/Current Research” in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, “Research Notes” in *Journal of Communication* and *Communication Monographs*, “The Polls” in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, discussions, commentaries, interviews and reports. Apart from their difference in length, the shorter contributions contained original research and provided relevant content for the present study.

Excluded from further analysis were certain types of documents with minor or no potential contribution to the quality of the analysis, which would require an excessive amount of additional work to make them compatible with the research design.

Reviews are types of documents which offer a critical assessment of scholarly work, such as research monographs (in case of book reviews) and specific research questions (in case of review essays). Quite commonly such documents refer to authors of different paradigmatic views; if taken as a single unit, they blur the paradigmatic differences indicated by citation patterns and shared conceptual language.

Other documents published in scientific journals, such as (annotated) bibliographies¹¹, reports on doctoral, master and graduate research and reviews (lists of media and mass communication research in US and foreign journals¹²), are also important for the scientific community as they inform the readers about the state of the art research. Nevertheless, the inclusion of these documents in the analysis would obscure (potentially) existing paradigmatic patterns. As a single bibliography can reference up to 715 works,¹³ the vocabularies and authors are compiled solely on the basis of novelty of their published work and not on the basis of paradigmatic membership.

Reports are of an administrative nature and inform the readers on particular development of different committees and administrative tasks, but rarely reference research. For this reason the types of documents were also disregarded in the study.

Book reviews are short contributions which evaluate relatively newly published monographs, which in general contain only the references to reviewed works. However, the specific role of the reviewers which are often designated for a longer period could cause bias towards particular authors.

Additional publications, such as editorial material, introductions/prefaces, abstracts/meeting abstracts, letters, forums, reviews, software reviews, biographical items, obituaries, corrections, additions and retraction notices lack substantial research content and were thus also removed from the sample.

Only documents with substantial research content were included in the final sample, i.e. articles, proceeding papers, commentaries/discussions, shorter research contributions¹⁴, and research notes, provided that they cited at least two works. All of the documents contained in the sample had to cite at least two works.

The final sample consisted of 15,238 documents. A total of 12,992 documents were excluded from the sample either because of the lack of citations or because of content: 4,900 book

¹¹ Also named as »Book notes« in *Public Opinion Quarterly*,

¹² In *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*: Articles on mass communication in US and foreign journals, A selected bibliography from foreign journals,

¹³ Cleary, JW, A Bibliography of Rhetoric and Public Address for the Year 1957, published in *Communication Monographs* 25, (3) 1958.

¹⁴ Living Research, Research in Brief

reviews, 4,267 reviews, 1,322 articles, 799 reports, 325 editorials/introductions, 283 short research contributions, 234 letters to the editor, 213 commentaries, 136 notes, 117 items of “editorial material”, 116 bibliographies, 88 corrections and additions, 69 items about an individual, 47 discussions, 34 proceedings, 16 miscelanny items, 14 replies, 4 forums, 3 other contributions, 2 abstracts, 2 theses and one retraction notice.

Article Length. Article length is a variable which changed throughout the period of analysis until its relative standardisation in the 1990's. When articles of different length are compared, a doubt on methodological approach could be raised as the variability in length could produce bias towards the longer articles, containing greater number of words and raising the probability of containing more indicators. However, presumption that particular vocabulary indeed follows this logic could be countered, as perceived social phenomena do not depend upon the length of someone's argument.

A quick linear correlation test was performed on the sample of 15,238 articles to examine relationship between the article length (measured in the number of words) and the number of critical indicators contained. The Pearson correlation index 0.562, (sig 0.000) indicated close correlation; longer articles do tend to include more critical indicators. The problem of appearance of critical indicators can to a greater or lesser degree depend on the context of use (i.e. critical indicator “margin_” can designate the “marginalisation of specific groups in the society” or “making a marginal note”). Thus articles which contain a greater number of critical indicators have a higher probability of conveying critical context, expressing societal critique of relations of power, human oppression and/or striving for liberation and social transformation. Articles containing at least 10 critical indicators were considered critical, as this relatively high number suggested systemic use of a critical vocabulary, forming an integral part of an article. When the correlation between the article length and the number of indicators was examined only on critical articles¹⁵ (n=7,003), Pearson index was lower but still statistically significant ($r=0.266$, sig= 0.000), indicating that the article length and the diversity of (critical) vocabulary are less strongly correlated in the critical articles than the total sample.

¹⁵ 7,003 articles contained at least 10 critical indicators. After indicators were dichotomised, and only critical indicators appearing in the article were considered valid, the sample of critical articles narrowed to 2,421.

Author Names. The procedure of author name cleansing was identical to cleansing of cited authors. The procedure identified author's synonyms (unification of different entries of the same author's) and, discerned of homonyms – unique entries designating different authors, especially with common last names (e.g. Smith, Anderson, etc.). Author records in the WOS database often do not contain author's full name, but only last name with initials and are thus more prone to identification errors. In dubious cases (where neither available metadata, such as publishing year, possible co-authors, country and institutional affiliations, nor inspection of the original document could help identifying the author) identification was conducted by obtaining full author's name from the original document. In cases where full author's name could not have been established with the help of available information, the data entry remained unaltered. In the process of author identification, 17.2 percent of 22,832 author names were modified. 9,179 (40 percent) of authors appeared only once in the sample.

Institutional Affiliation. The pieces of information included in the note on author's institutional affiliation(s) evolved in time. In the beginning of the analysed period the absence of author's institutional affiliation in the contribution to the journal was not very uncommon. As institutions (universities in particular) evolved and became more diversified in their organisational structure, the differentiation of institutional affiliations within the same organisation became more pervasive. Due to their size, US universities are often organised as systems with various branches/locations (i.e. University of California – Los Angeles, University of California – Davis, University of California – Santa Barbara or General Motors Foundation, General Motors Research Laboratories etc.) In the present study different branches were standardised according to their highest organisational level – (i.e. University of California or General Motors Corporation) in order to enable a valid and meaningful comparison.

The organisational diversification of organisations in public administration is significantly wider than the ones in academia. In the coverage of various spheres of societal life from, the narrowing of the categories and unification of various governmental institutions under one category (i.e. U. S. Government) would generate a large entity without a proper explanatory value as it would dispose the relevant differences between various governmental institutions (i.e. between Army and Social Care Centres) and thus produce in an important information loss. Governmental institutions nevertheless appeared significantly lower in frequency than

academic institutions. The most prominent were among authors originating from U. S. where 188 (0.7 percent) were affiliated to governmental bodies on the federal level (i.e. US Census Bureau, National Institute of Mental Health, US Air Force etc.).

As the highest level of institutional affiliation of universities was treated as the unit of analysis, cases where an author was affiliated to more than one organisational units within the same institution were treated as a single affiliation. Only in 275 cases authors were affiliated to more than one institution (e.g., two different universities or university and governmental institution). For this reason an affiliation (and not the author) was treated as the unit of analysis.

In cases where university affiliation was not discernible, other authors' records were compared in the period within the same year, in order to provide the missing affiliation. In the case that data on author's affiliation offered none or only general information on author's employment¹⁶ without any specific institutional affiliation, it was coded as "non-affiliated."

Institutional affiliations in the Web of Science database are not standardised, thus the same institutional affiliation could be found under different names (e.g., "University of Lancaster" and "Lancaster University"). A manual search was thus conducted within all the affiliations for a particular identifier for each institution (i.e. "Lancaster" or abbreviations in combination with a geographical identifier, "UCLA" and "Los Angeles"), which improved the reliability of affiliation recognition and increased the standardisation of affiliations.

During the analysed period, names of some institutions have been changed. A rather common case was the transformation of colleges into universities. Nevertheless, in the coding procedure, the official institutional name at the time the article was published was coded, as tracking the transformations of institutional names would prove as an overly complex assignment.

27,198 author entries or documents published by 14,761 unique authors were found affiliated to 26,979 institutional entries (2,596 unique institutions). In 219 cases, authors' affiliation was not indicated.

¹⁶ Such as: independent, freelance journalist, freelance researcher, independent researcher, consultant, retired professor, retired academic,, freelance photographer, independent filmmaker etc.

National Affiliations. The nationality of the institutions affiliated with the authors was ascertained from the WOS database. In the cases of authors' affiliation to a branch of an international or multinational organisation in a country (e.g. Sandoz USA), the stated country was coded. Governmental institutions located outside of home countries, such as embassies, were exceptions to this principle. Therefore, national affiliations of authors from governmental institutions (i.e. American Consul General in Mozambique, etc.) were coded according to their primary national affiliation. An institution was coded as international when country affiliation was absent due to the transnational nature of its operation (e.g., Association of European Journalists). Intergovernmental and international organisations, such as the United Nations or the European Union, are another typical example. In cases where an author was affiliated to two or more institutions in different countries, all affiliations were coded. Therefore, national affiliation served as a basic research unit for this particular analysis.

Out of 22,755 units included in the sample, only in 95 or 0.4 percent of documents, author's national affiliation was not identifiable and thus coded as "non-affiliated." Most affiliations in the sample, 20,945 (92.0 percent) were to the USA, followed by 1,438 (6.3 percent) to the United Kingdom, 618 (2.7 percent) to The Netherlands, 479 (2.1 percent) to Germany, 365 (1.6 percent) to Australia, 318 (1.6 percent) to Israel and 365 (1.6 percent) to Canada. The shares of all other national affiliations were below 1 percent, including 23 authors (0.1 percent) with international institutional affiliations.

3.1.2.8 Acquisition and Preparation of Journal Articles for Text Analysis

The majority of digitalised full-text articles were acquired through the Slovenian National and University Library (Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, NUK) web portal (www.nuk.uni-lj.si). Unfortunately, due to the terms of subscription between the library and the publishers, NUK does not provide journal contents for all selected journals and the entire period of analysis. Acquisition of the missing documents was conducted through foreign university libraries.

Batch processing of image to text format – OCR (Optical Character Recognition) was performed with the AbbyTool software package. Considering that the manual acquisition of articles could result in errors, such as particular copies being saved multiple times (under

different file names), the procedure of automatic checking for duplicate files was performed with the Easy Duplicate Finder software.

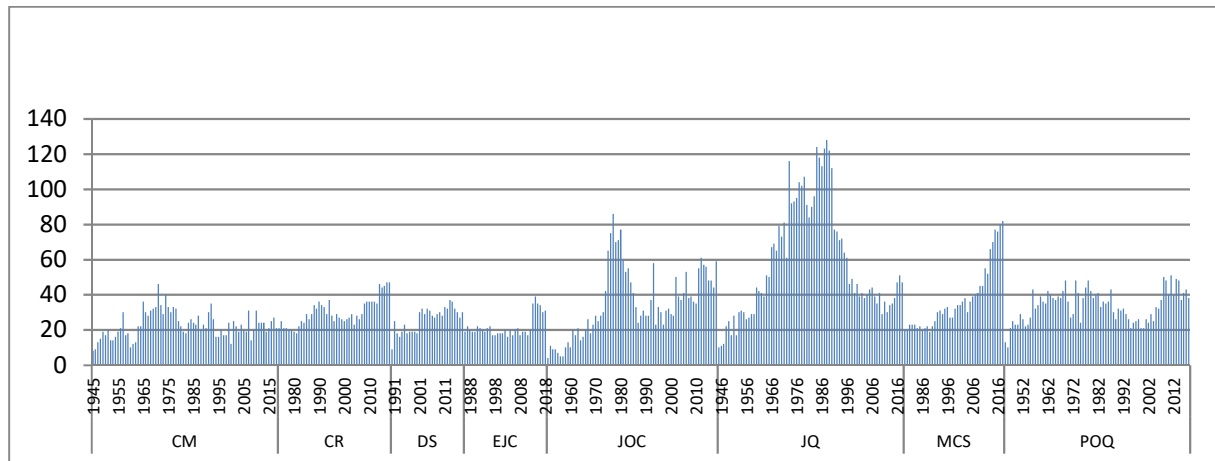
Some downloaded files have contained more than one document; especially shorter contributions in the thematic sections (distinctive to the earlier period) of Public Opinion Quarterly, such as “The Polls”, and/or “Living/Current Research” in Journalism (and Mass Communication) Quarterly. In the case of journals’ sections appearing in a two-column continuous layout (each contribution did not end with a page break), text was converted into a single column document and saved as a single and independent document.

3.2 Conceptual Trends and Patterns in Communication Journals

3.2.1 The Overall Population of Articles

15,238 (53.9 percent) of a total of 28,234 published items in the analysed journals were considered as an article type.

Figure 3.1: Frequency distribution of articles in analysed journals, 1945–2018 (n=15,238)

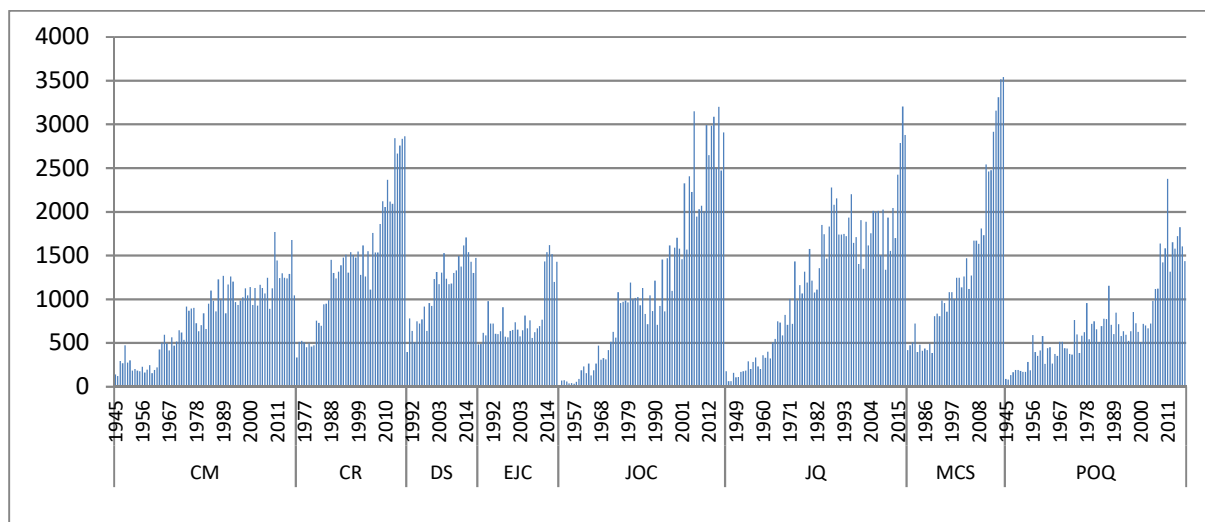


The final sample of articles included 4,322 articles published in *Journalism Quarterly*, 2,499 in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 2,403 in *Journal of Communication*, 1,691 in *Communication Monographs*, 1,497 in *Media Culture & Society*, 1,346 in *Communication Research*, 756 in *Discourse & Society* and 724 in *European Journal of Communication*.

Almost all of the surveyed journals experienced a significant rise in the number of articles in the second period of analysis, partially due to an increase in the number of published issues per year. The rise in production output roughly coincided with the break of the new millennia, as *European Journal of Communication* began publishing six issues per year in 1999, *Discourse & Society* went to the same number of issues in 2001, *Public Opinion Quarterly* ascended to five issues in 2005, and *Journal of Communication* to 6 in 2011, while *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* remained quarterly. Nevertheless, a steep rise in the number of published articles in *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* is noticeable between 1973 and 1994 as volume 67 of the journal (in the year 1990) consisted of 113 (shorter) articles across 1,190 pages. Since 2011, *Media, Culture & Society* expanded publication from six to eight issues per year and intensified the number of articles

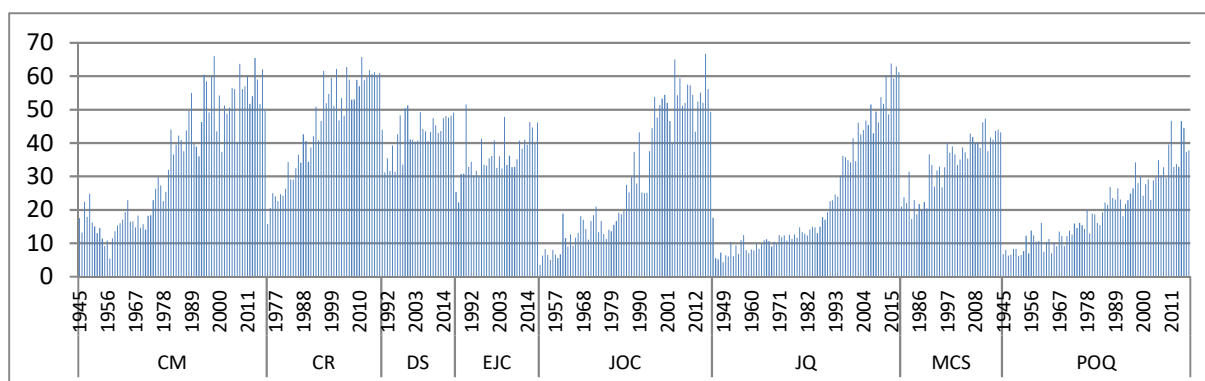
accordingly, from 40 in 2010 to 83 in 2018. Eight issues per year have become the norm for Communication Research as well. Communication Monographs increased their output from one or two issues per year until 1948, to four in 1950, and remained quarterly until now.

Figure 3.2: Frequency distribution of citations in the analysed article items, 1945–2018 (n=457,235)



The final sample of 15,238 articles contained 457,235 citations (see the yearly distribution in Figure: 4.2). Articles in Journalism Quarterly contained 91,101 citations, Journal of Communication 78,239, Communication Research 64,035, Communication Monographs 57,775, Media, Culture & Society 54,685, Public Opinion Quarterly 52,107, Discourse & Society 32,661 and European Journal of Communication 26,632. The steep rise in the average number of citations per article (Figure 3.3) indicates a rising trend in research production and the general availability of research outputs.

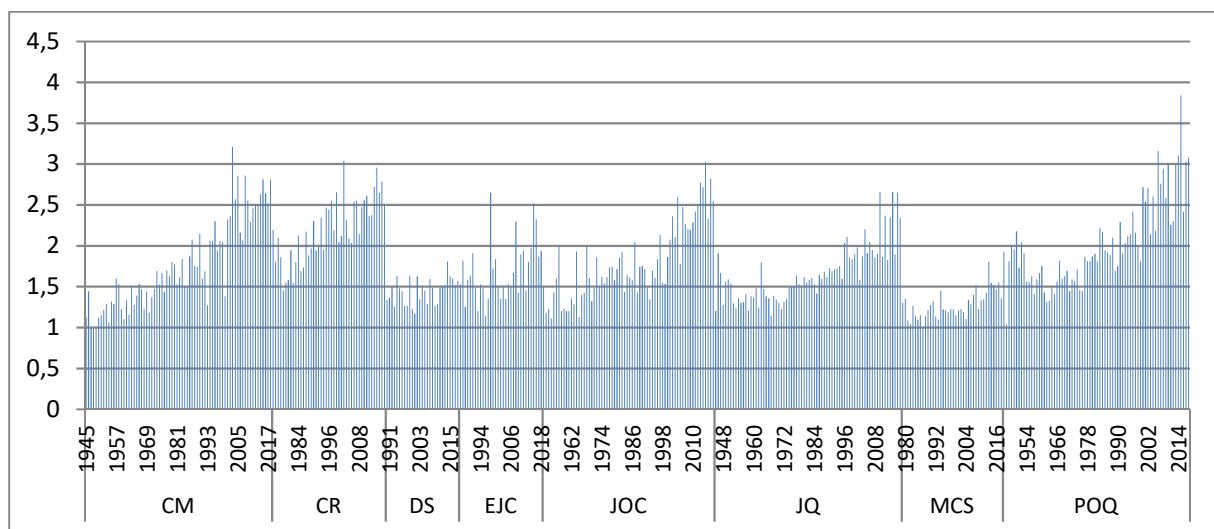
Figure 3.3: The annual average number of citations per article



While the average number of citations in a 1940's article was below 10, the growth of citations contained in an average article rose exponentially. This trend is best reflected in the three oldest analysed journals, namely Communication Monographs, Journal of Communication and Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly. On the other hand, the growth of citations in Public Opinion Quarterly was relatively linear. The average number of citations in the four analysed journals today exceeds 50, even 60 citations per article.

The final sample contains 26,610 authorships: 6,890 in Journalism Quarterly 4,882 in Public Opinion Quarterly, 4,479 in Journal of Communication, 3,036 in Communication Research, 3,002 in Communication Monographs, 1,976 in Media, Culture & Society, 1,241 in European Journal of Communication and 1,104 in Discourse & Society. The temporal perspective of the average number of authors per article exposes curves of similar gradient among all analysed journals, with the lowest gradient evident in Discourse & Society and Media, Culture & Society.

Figure 3.4: The annual average number of authors per article



The sample of article items contains 26,978 authorships from 14,465 unique authors, affiliated with 2,595 unique institutions across 95 countries. Information about 219 (0.8 percent) of the authors' institutional and 96 (0.4 percent) of national affiliations were absent (and could not be established by inspection of the rest of the author data) and thus coded as "non-affiliated."

Table 3.5: Frequency distribution of institutional affiliations of authors in the sample (n=26,978)

	Institution	Count	%
1.	University of Wisconsin	1,119	4.1
2.	Michigan State University	801	3.0
3.	University of California	801	3.0
4.	University of Michigan	620	2.3
5.	University of Illinois	588	2.2
6.	University of Texas	530	2.0
7.	Ohio State University	526	1.9
8.	University of Minnesota	522	1.9
9.	Indiana University	453	1.7
10.	Stanford University	357	1.3
11.	Pennsylvania State University	321	1.2
12.	University of Pennsylvania	320	1.2
13.	University of Amsterdam	312	1.2
14.	University of Washington	305	1.1
15.	University of Maryland	301	1.1
16.	University of North Carolina	295	1.1
17.	University of Georgia	282	1.0
18.	University of Missouri	281	1.0
19.	Purdue University	257	1.0
20.	Columbia University	249	0.9
21.	University of Iowa	245	0.9
22.	Northwestern University	216	0.8
23.	University of Kentucky	211	0.8
24.	State University of New York	210	0.8
25.	University of Arizona	208	0.8
26.	California State University	205	0.8
27.	University of Southern California	196	0.7
28.	University of Alabama	196	0.7
29.	Washington State University	185	0.7
30.	University of Oklahoma	174	0.6
31.	Ohio University	173	0.6
32.	Cornell University	173	0.6
33.	Southern Illinois University	166	0.6
34.	University of Chicago	162	0.6

44.3 percent of all authors in the sample are affiliated with 34 of the most prominent institutions. With the exception of the University of Amsterdam, all others are based in the US.

Table 3.6: Frequency distribution of institutional affiliations of authors in Communication Monographs and Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, divided by the periods of analysis

	Period 1945-1989	Count	%	Period 1989-2018	Count	%
	C. Monographs (n=1,535)			C. Monographs (n=1,473)		
1.	University of Illinois	80	5.2	University of California	90	6.1
2.	University of California	74	4.8	Michigan State University	81	5.5
3.	Michigan State University	61	4.0	University of Missouri	63	4.3
4.	University of Wisconsin	59	3.8	University of Arizona	61	4.1
5.	Purdue University	53	3.5	University of Wisconsin	57	3.9
6.	Ohio State University	49	3.2	Purdue University	55	3.7
7.	University of Washington	45	2.9	University of Texas	51	3.5
8.	University of Minnesota	39	2.5	University of Illinois	40	2.7
9.	University of Iowa	38	2.5	Penn. State University	39	2.6
10.	Pennsylvania State University	37	2.4	University of Oklahoma	38	2.6
	J. Quarterly (n=4,256)			J. Quarterly (n=2,754)		
1.	University of Wisconsin	275	6.5	University of Wisconsin	146	5.3
2.	Michigan State University	212	5.0	Michigan State University	112	4.1
3.	University of Minnesota	212	5.0	University of Texas	99	3.6
4.	University of Texas	129	3.0	University of Alabama	89	3.2
5.	Indiana University	106	2.5	Indiana University	87	3.2
6.	University of North Carolina	106	2.5	University of Georgia	84	3.1
7.	University of Illinois	100	2.3	University of Minnesota	58	2.1
8.	California State University	80	1.9	Southern Illinois University	56	2.0
9.	Southern Illinois University	76	1.8	Uni. of North Carolina	55	2.0
10.	University of Georgia	74	1.7	University of Florida	54	2.0

Table 3.7: Frequency distribution of institutional affiliations of authors in Public Opinion Quarterly, Journal of Communication and Communication Research, divided by the periods of analysis

	POQ (n=2,606)	Count	%	POQ (n=2,505)	Count	%
1.	University of Michigan	171	6.6	University of Michigan	234	9.3
2.	Columbia University	137	5.3	University of Maryland	89	3.6
3.	University of California	113	4.3	University of California	84	3.4
4.	University of Chicago	99	3.8	Stanford University	64	2.6
5.	University of Illinois	70	2.7	*RTI International	62	2.5
6.	University of Wisconsin	63	2.4	*Westat	56	2.2
7.	Harvard University	62	2.4	University of Wisconsin	54	2.2
8.	Michigan State University	57	2.2	Columbia University	51	2.0
9.	Princeton University	51	2.0	*US Census Bureau	48	1.9
10.	Stanford University	51	2.0	University of Minnesota	46	1.8
	JOC (n=1,957)			JOC (n=2,582)		
1.	University of Wisconsin	84	4.3	Ohio State University	119	4.6
2.	University of Pennsylvania	72	3.7	University of Wisconsin	102	4.0
3.	Michigan State University	64	3.3	University of California	95	3.7
4.	University of California	62	3.2	University of Illinois	84	3.3
5.	Stanford University	48	2.5	Michigan State University	81	3.1
6.	University of Texas	47	2.4	University of Pennsylvania	66	2.6
7.	City University of New York	41	2.1	Indiana University	60	2.3
8.	Indiana University	38	1.9	University of Amsterdam	56	2.2
9.	Temple University	33	1.7	University of Washington	54	2.1
10.	State University of New York	32	1.6	University of Texas	48	1.9
	CR (n=708)			CR (n=2,312)		
1.	University of Wisconsin	73	10,3	University of Wisconsin	176	7,6
2.	University of Minnesota	41	5,8	Ohio State University	131	5,7
3.	Stanford University	36	5,1	University of California	104	4,5
4.	University of Michigan	28	4,0	University of Amsterdam	86	3,7
5.	Indiana University	27	3,8	Michigan State University	76	3,3
6.	University of S. California	23	3,2	University of Illinois	60	2,6
7.	Michigan State University	21	3,0	Cornell University	58	2,5
8.	University of Pennsylvania	21	3,0	University of Arizona	50	2,2
9.	University of Kentucky	19	2,7	University of Texas	45	1,9
10.	University of California	17	2,4	University of Pennsylvania	44	1,9

Table 3.8: Frequency distribution of institutional affiliations of authors in European journals, divided by the periods of analysis

	EJC (n=124)	Count	%	EJC (n=1,118)	Count	%
1.	Stockholm University	6	4.8	University of Amsterdam	74	6.6
2.	Free University Amsterdam	5	4.0	Loughborough University	31	2.8
3.	University of Gothenburg	5	4.0	University of Mainz	29	2.6
4.	University of Amsterdam	4	3.2	London School of Economics	25	2.2
5.	University of Leicester	4	3.2	University of Munich	21	1.9
6.	University of Lund	4	3.2	Katholieke Univ. Leuven	19	1.7
7.	Free University of Brussels	3	2.4	University of S. Denmark	19	1.7
8.	University of Iceland	3	2.4	Ghent University	16	1.4
9.	University of Perugia	3	2.4	University of Vienna	16	1.4
10.	Aarhus University	2	1.6	Tampere University	15	1.3
	MCS (n=239)			MCS (n=1,706)		
1.	University of Westminster	27	11.3	University of Westminster	37	2.2
2.	University of Leicester	8	3.3	University of California	31	1.8
3.	University of Illinois	7	2.9	London School of Economics	30	1.8
4.	City University of New York	4	1.7	Loughborough University	28	1.6
5.	Northwestern University	4	1.7	Cardiff University	27	1.6
6.	Temple University	4	1.7	University of Leeds	26	1.5
7.	Thames Polytechnic	4	1.7	Hebrew University Jerusalem	24	1.4
8.	University of California	4	1.7	University of Amsterdam	24	1.4
9.	University of Grenoble	4	1.7	Stirling University	20	1.2
10.	University of Iowa	4	1.7	University of Oslo	20	1.2
				D&S (n=1,104)		
			1.	University of California	50	4.5
			2.	Lancaster University	49	4.4
			3.	Loughborough University	28	2.5
			4.	University of Adelaide	22	2.0
			5.	University of Vienna	18	1.6
			6.	University of Illinois	16	1.4
			7.	Cardiff University	15	1.4
			8.	City University of Hong Kong	15	1.4
			9.	Macquarie University	14	1.3
			10.	University of Helsinki	13	1.2

The University of California is the most prominent among 2,595 institutions in both periods of the analysis. When the presence among the most prominent 10 institutions is compared, the authors from this institution are among the most prominent in all US-based journals (except *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*) and in the two European-based journals, namely *Media Culture & Society* and *Discourse & Society*. Other prominent institutions

according to the same criteria are the University of Wisconsin, Michigan State University, the University of Illinois and the University of Texas.

The most prominent institutions in both, US and European journals are based in anglophone countries. Apart from the European Journal of Communication, the most prominent, non-US-based institutions are based in the UK, as with the exception of University of Grenoble, UK-based institutions represent all of the non-US based institutions appearing among top ten in Media, Culture & Society in the first period of analysis while in the latter period, six out of ten of the most prominent institutions are based in the UK. The only non-Western universities, appearing among top ten are the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in Media, Culture & Society and the University of Hong Kong to which authors in Discourse & Society are affiliated. However, historically both of these institutions have been greatly influenced by western scholarly communities.

The University of Amsterdam is an exception, as it is the only non-US based institution obtaining high prominence in US-based journals (even more prominent than institutions based in the UK). Six out of ten of the most prominent institutions' authors publishing in Media, Culture & Society during the first period were affiliated with institutions based in US, such as University of Illinois, City University of New York, the University of California, Temple University, Northwestern University and the University of Iowa. Similarly, the University of California is the most prominent institution to which authors publishing in Discourse & Society, another European-based journal, are affiliated. The research that authors affiliated with the University of Amsterdam produce establishes the institution not only among the most prominent in the the European based journals, but in US as well. Moreover, these authors from the University of Amsterdam are present in the journals that traditionally publish empirical research, such as Public Opinion Quarterly and Communication Research, as well as journals nurturing theoretical research, such as Media, Culture & Society. Besides appearing among ten most prominent institutions in Public Opinion Quarterly and Communication Research, they are among the most prominent in European Journal of Communication and in the latter period of Media, Culture & Society.

Not all of the most prominent institutions are bounded to academia. Substantial number of authors in the latter period of Public Opinion Quarterly are affiliated to private research

institutions, such as RTI International, Westat and public administration institution, US Census Bureau.

The sample of articles in the whole analysed period contains 26,514 national affiliations. Information about 96 authors was absent.

Table 3.9: Ten most prominent countries according to the number of author's national affiliations within the sample

Country	No.	%	Cummulative %
US	20,460	77.2	77.2
UK	1,421	5.4	82.5
The Netherlands	608	2.3	84.8
Germany	477	1.8	86.6
Australia	363	1.4	88.0
Canada	362	1.4	89.3
Israel	317	1.2	90.5
Sweden	225	0.8	91.4
Peoples R. China	182	0.7	92.1
Belgium	167	0.6	92.7
Spain	160	0.6	93.3

Authors affiliated with four anglophone countries are the most prominent in the sample (Table 3.9). The only non-Western country the authors among the top 10 countries are appearing from, is People's Republic of China. It's share is more than 100 times smaller than the share of the leading country, the US. While the sample contains four articles published by authors coming from the Peoples Republic of China before 1990, the presence of Chinese authors in the analysed journals has risen steadily since 1995 (Figure 3.5).

Figure 3.5: Annual breakdown of the number of authors within the sample affiliated with People's Republic of China, 1945–2018

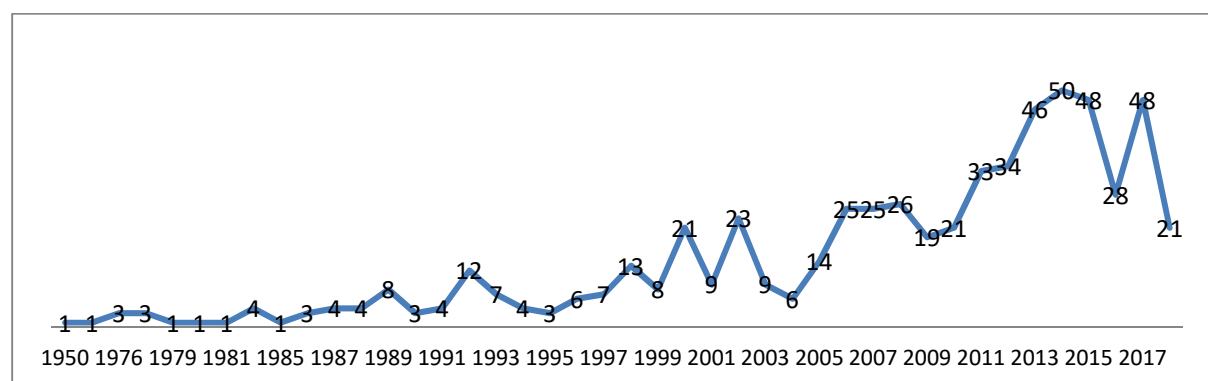


Figure 3.6: Annual breakdown with a trendline of the number of authors within the sample affiliated with the German Democratic Republic (blue), the Federal Republic of Germany (red) and Germany (green), 1945–2018

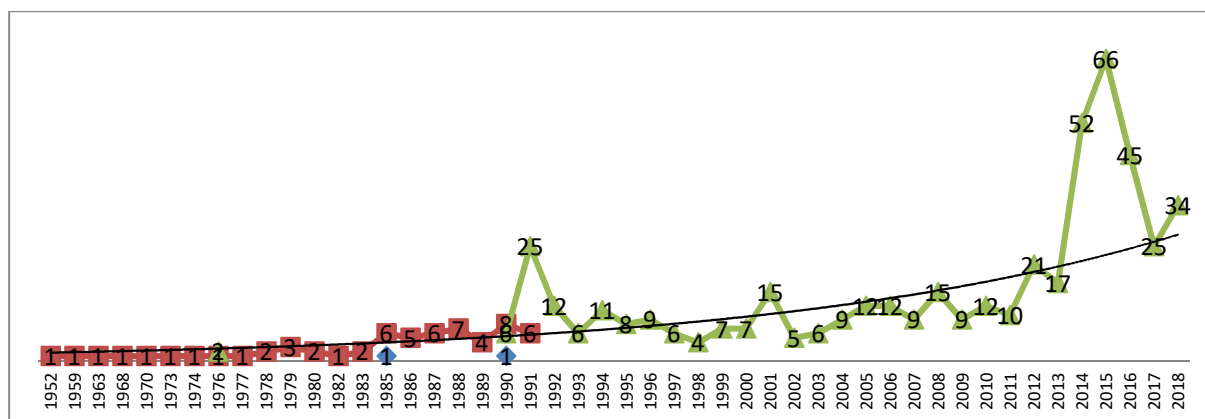
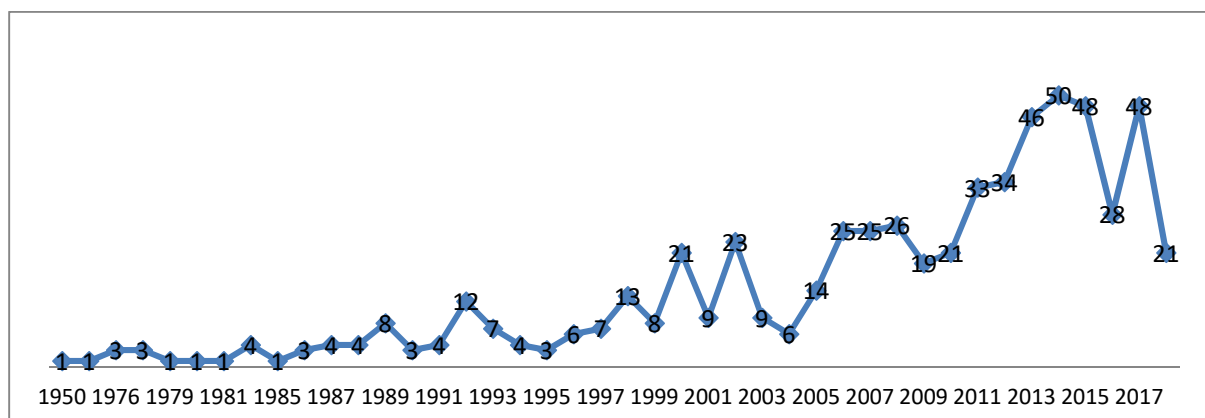


Figure 3.7: Annual breakdown of the number of authors within the sample affiliated with the Netherlands (between 1945 and 2018)



While European authors in the US-based journals are underrepresented, inversely, authors affiliated with US-based institutions are the second most prominent in Media, Culture & Society (24.2 percent) and Discourse & Society (23.2 percent), while the fifth most represented in the European Journal of Communication (5.4 percent).

Authors from UK are among the most prominent in both, European and US-based journals. When comparing the presence among the top 10 most frequent national affiliations in individual journals, the Netherlands is the most represented European non-anglophone country. Authors affiliated with the institutions in the Netherlands are among the most prominent in all journals (and in particular journals, the Netherlands' rates even exceed UK authors) except in *Discourse & Society*. In this journal, the main editor is of Dutch nationality.

Table 3.10: Ten most prominent national affiliations per journal

	Journal	Count / % / Cum. %	Journal	Count / % / Cum. %
	JMCQ (n=6,878)		POQ (n=4,855)	
1.	USA	6,377/90.6/90.6	USA	4,330/84.3/84.3
2.	South Korea	60/0.9/91.5	UK	103/2.0/86.3
3.	Canada	57/0.8/92.3	Germany	88/1.7/88.0
4.	Netherlands	41/0.6/92.9	Canada	66/1.3/89.3
5.	UK	37/0.5/93.4	Netherlands	48/0.9/90.3
6.	Peoples R. China	35/0.5/93.9	Israel	41/0.8/91.1
7.	Germany	34/0.5/94.4	Australia	25/0.5/91.5
8.	Israel	31/0.4/94.8	Federal Rep. of Germany	18/0.4/91.9
9.	Australia	21/0.3/95.1	Belgium	16/0.3/92.2
10.	Switzerland	18/0.3/95.4	Sweden	15/0.3/92.5
	CM (n=3,000)		CR (n=3,026)	
1.	USA	2,898/96.1/96.1	USA	2,463/81.3/81.3
2.	Canada	15/0.5/96.6	Netherlands	157/5.2/86.4
3.	Netherlands	12/0.4/97.0	Germany	53/1.7/88.2
4.	Australia	11/0.4/97.3	Israel	48/1.6/89.8
5.	Israel	9/0.3/97.6	South Korea	38/1.3/91.0
6.	South Korea	8/0.3/97.9	Peoples R. China	34/1.1/92.1
7.	Japan	8/0.3/98.2	UK	28/0.9/93.1
8.	UK	6/0.2/98.4	Sweden	27/0.9/94.0
9.	Germany	5/0.2/98.5	Australia	26/0.9/94.8
10.	Peoples R China	4/0.1/98.7	Canada	24/0.8/95.6
	JOC (n=4,469)		MCS (n=1,944)	
1.	USA	3,594/79.0/79.0	UK	566/28.8/28.8
2.	UK	118/2.6/81.5	USA	475/24.2/53.0
3.	Netherlands	118/2.6/84.1	Australia	146/7.4/60.5
4.	Germany	109/2.4/86.5	Canada	72/3.7/64.1
5.	Canada	90/2.0/88.5	Netherlands	63/3.2/67.3
6.	Israel	83/1.8/90.3	Israel	60/3.1/70.4
7.	Australia	36/0.8/91.1	Sweden	55/2.8/73.2
8.	Singapore	27/0.6/91.7	PR China	45/2.3/75.5
9.	South Korea	25/0.5/92.3	Denmark	40/2.0/77.5
10.	Switzerland	24/0.5/92.8	Belgium	39/2.0/79.5
	EJC (n=1,239)		DS (n=1,103)	
1.	UK	268/21.4/21.4	UK	295/26.7/26.7
2.	Netherlands	152/12.2/33.6	USA	256/23.2/49.9
3.	Germany	126/10.1/43.7	Australia	91/8.2/58.1
4.	Sweden	75/6.0/49.7	Peoples R. China	43/3.9/62.0
5.	USA	67/5.4/55.0	Spain	40/3.6/65.6
6.	Belgium	66/5.3/60.3	Canada	28/2.5/68.1
7.	Spain	52/4.2/64.5	Germany	25/2.3/70.4
8.	Italy	42/3.4/67.8	Finland	24/2.2/72.6
9.	Finland	41/3.3/71.1	Austria	21/1.9/74.5
10.	Denmark	39/3.1/74.2	Israel/Sweden	20/1.8/76.3

South Korea is another example of a relatively small country with a relatively big research production. The authors affiliated with South Korea are the second most prominent authors in *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*.

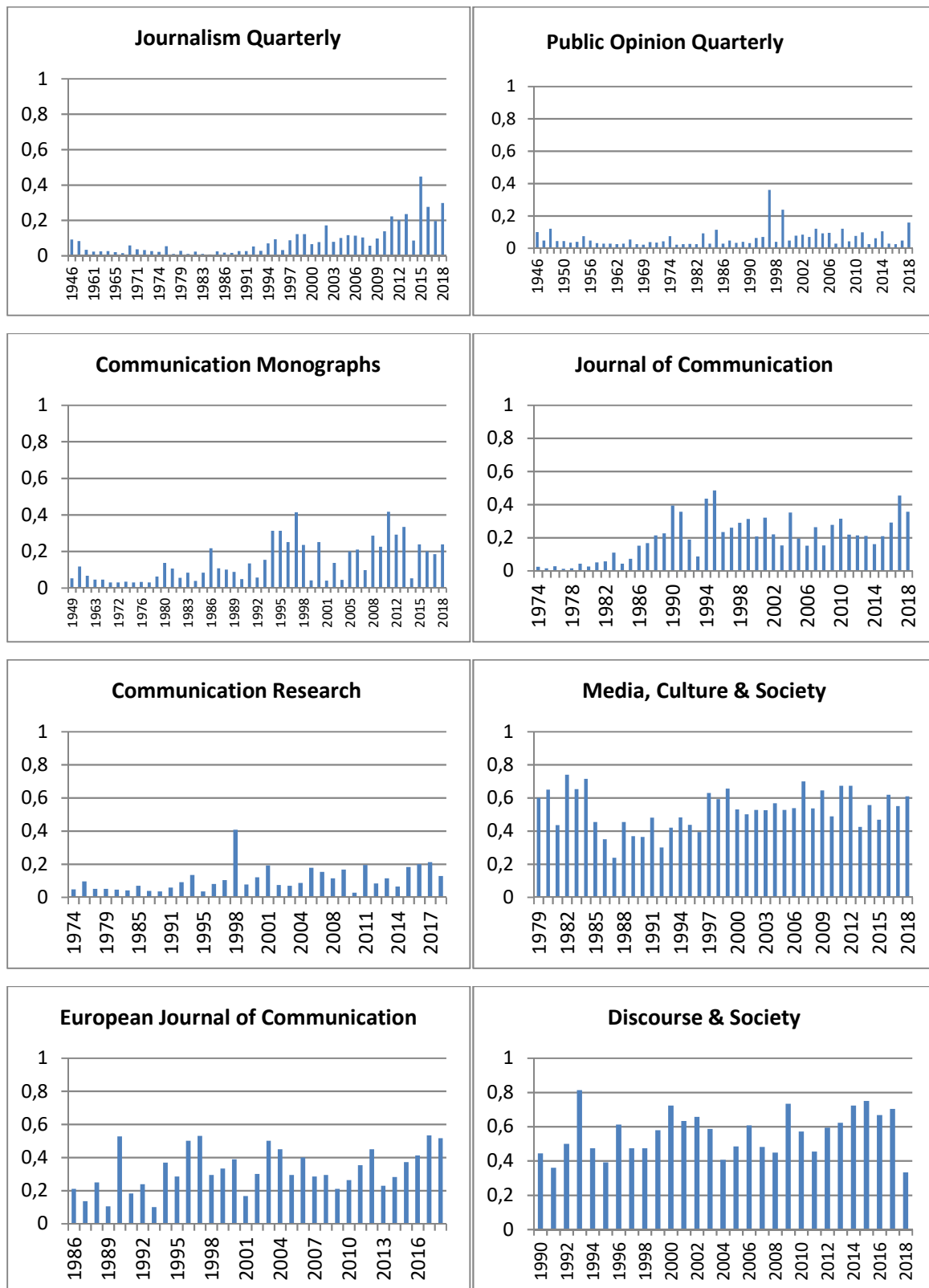
Even 29 years after the unification of East and West Germany, the authors affiliated with Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) are still at the eighth most prominent position in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, which indicates towards a particularly important part of scientific community and research conducted there and published by *Public Opinion Quarterly*, albeit the journal led a strong US centred publishing policy.

3.2.1.1 Critical Articles

In order to minimise the sporadic use of the critical indicator, the particular indicator had to appear at least twice in a single article to be counted. Including the precondition that a critical article has to contain at least 10 of 192 critical indicators, 2,421 (15.9 percent) of the articles in the sample were considered critical. The highest number of critical articles was identified in *Media, Culture & Society* (808), followed by *Discourse & Society* (429), *Journal of Communication* (350), *European Journal of Communication* (238), *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* (203), *Communication Monographs* (152), *Communication Research* (124) and *Public Opinion Quarterly* (117).

In order to make a comparison and exclude the influence of uneven article production, the yearly frequency of critical articles is normalised by the yearly production, resulting in a criticality index (Figure 4.8). The comparison of journals according to the criticality index yields the same results as the comparison based on the non-normalised results. The two journals containing the highest index of criticality and maintaining it at a relatively steady level are *Discourse & Society* (average=0.56) and *Media, Culture & Society* (average=0.53). They are followed by the *European Journal of Communication* (average=0.32), which experienced periodical oscillations in the index value. Three US-based journals, namely *Journal of Communication* (average=0.20), *Communication Monographs* (average=0.14) and *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* (average=0.09) have begun to publish more critical content during the second period of the analysis compared to the first period. The same rise in index values can be observed with the remaining two US-based journals, namely *Communication Research*

Figure 3.8: Journal criticality indices, 1945–2018



(average=0.11) and Public Opinion Quarterly (average=0.06). However, their index values (especially during the latter period) are significantly lower than aforementioned journals.

3.2.1.2 Critical Authors

2,421 of the critical articles were authored by 3,023 scholars. The most prominent scholars in the sample, appearing at least 5 times, are Dhavan V. Shah (13 articles), Lance W. Bennett, (12), Jaeho Cho, (9), Douglas M. McLeod (9), Martha Augoustinos (9), Sonia Livingstone (8), Maria Elizabeth Grabe (7, for all following), Francis L. F. Lee, Lilie Chouliaraki, Graham Murdock, Dana E. Mastro (6, for all following), Ruth Wodak, Kees Brants, John Downey, Karol Jakubowicz, Colin Sparks, Liesbet van Zoonen, Chin-Chuan Lee, Patrice M. Buzzanell, (5, for all following), Travis L. Dixon, Cynthia Stohl, Magdalena E. Wojcieszak, Joseph Man Chan, Claes H. de Vreese, Oscar H. Gandy, Jack M. McLeod, John D.H. Downing, Karmen Erjavec, Norman Fairclough, John Flowerdew, Van Dijk, Teun A., Jay G. Blumler, Simon Cottle, James Curran, Christian Fuchs, Peter Golding, Philip Schlesinger, Nicholas Garnham, David Rowe and Nicholas A. Valentino.

3.2.1.3 Institutional and National Affiliations of Critical Authors

The sample of critical articles contains 3,881 authorships from 3,023 unique authors affiliated with 840 institutions across 74 countries.

Table 3.11: Institutional affiliations of critical authors

Institution	No. of authors	%	Cumulative %
University of California	115	3.0	3.0
University of Wisconsin	107	2.8	5.8
University of Amsterdam	72	1.9	7.7
University of Illinois	64	1.7	9.3
Ohio State University	62	1.6	10.9
University of Pennsylvania	55	1.4	12.4
University of Michigan	50	1.3	13.7
University of Texas	49	1.3	15.0
Indiana University	48	1.3	16.2
Loughborough University	45	1.2	17.4

Thirty-eight critical authors appear in the 2-mode network of journals and critical authors when the network is reduced to only those authors who published critical articles in at least three of the analysed journals. Journals with the highest degree values within the network are Journal of Communication (35), Media, Culture & Society (24) and the European Journal of Communication (20). The group of scholars who published in each of the mentioned three

journals is also the largest, containing 13 authors, 8 of whom were affiliated with institutions based in the UK.

Figure 3.9: Network of authors who have published critical articles in at least three of the journals analysed (min. degree = 3)

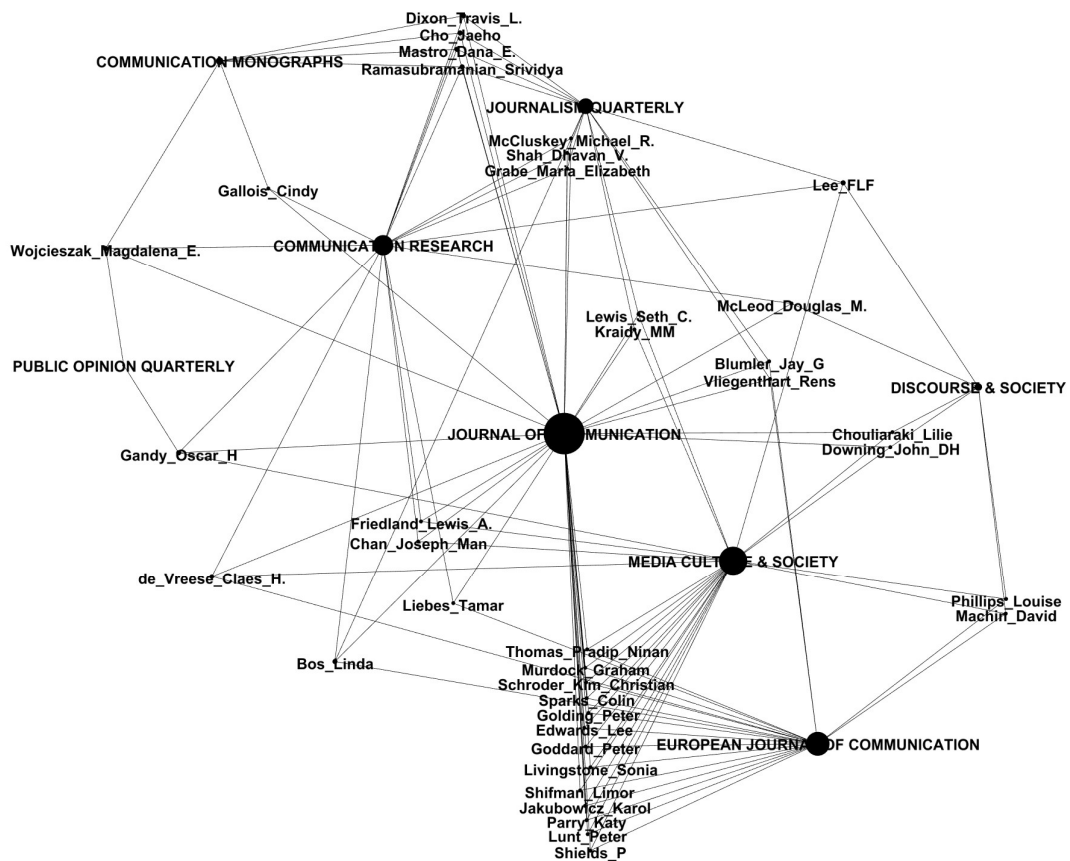
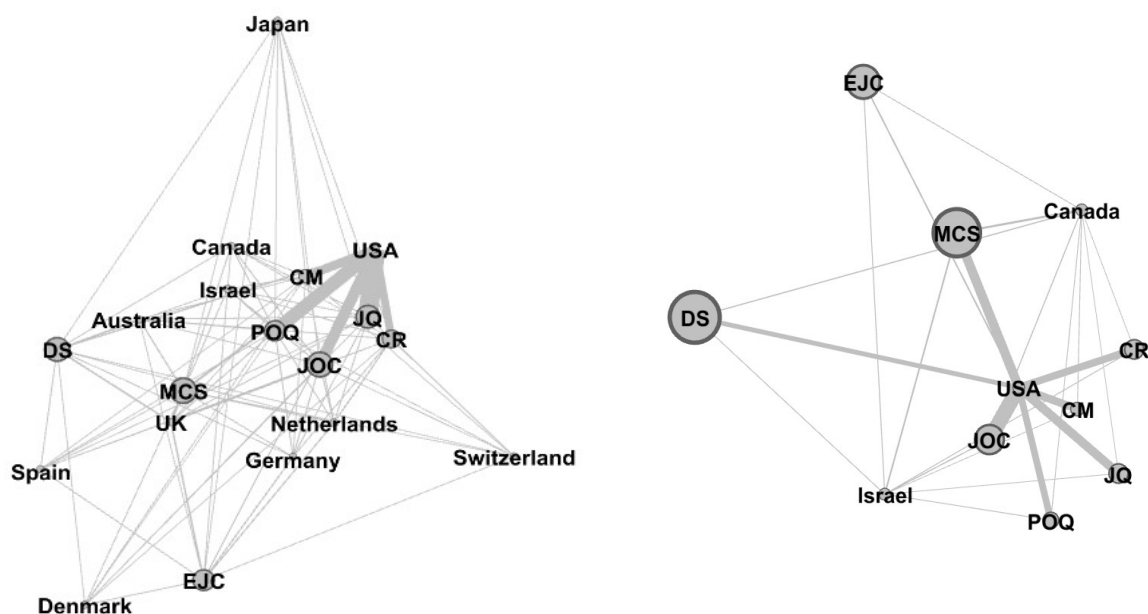


Figure 3.10: National affiliations present in all journals, analysed on the whole population (left) and only on the critical population of articles (right)



The distribution of national affiliations of the critical authors (Table 3.13) does not diverge significantly from the distribution in the whole sample of articles (Table 3.12). Most of the critical authors are affiliated with Central Western English-speaking countries, such as the US, UK, Australia and Canada, complemented with four European countries: the Netherlands, Germany, Spain and Sweden and Israel.

Table 3.12: Ten most prominent national affiliations of authors in the whole sample ordered by total frequency

Country	CM	CR	DS	EJC	JOC	JQ	MCS	POQ	Total
USA	2,913	2,468	256	67	3,662	6,526	476	4,577	20,945
UK	6	28	295	269	121	38	570	111	1,438
The Netherlands	12	157	18	152	118	42	63	56	618
Germany	5	53	25	126	109	34	38	89	479
Australia	11	26	91	6	36	22	147	26	365
Canada	15	24	28	11	90	57	72	68	365
Israel	9	48	20	25	84	31	60	41	318
Spain	2	4	41	53	24	7	24	5	160
Denmark	2	1	12	39	14	5	41	12	126
Switzerland	3	11	5	18	24	18	17	9	105
Japan	8	13	9	1	9	10	13	8	71

Critical Chinese authors were more prominent in the Media Culture & Society while, unlike the authors from US, Canada and Australia, they were entirely absent in the European Journal of Communication. The most critical authors from Israel publish in Media Culture & Society.

Table 3.13: Ten most prominent national affiliations of critical authors ordered by total frequency

Country	CM	CR	DS	EJC	JOC	JQ	MCS	POQ	Total
USA	246	229	140	28	497	283	301	209	1,933
UK		2	186	104	38	2	288	1	621
Australia	3	2	62	3	12	2	90		174
The Netherlands		18	8	40	9	4	31	3	113
Canada	5	2	17	6	13	1	49	5	98
Israel	2	8	8	9	17	2	31	6	83
Germany		2	12	18	23	5	15		75
Peoples R. China	1	6	19		7	6	31		70
Spain	1	2	29	6	5		7	1	51
Sweden		5	5	14	3		23		50

A more detailed analysis of criticality is offered in the following subchapters where authors, their institutional and national affiliations are segmented according to analysed journals.

3.2.2 Critical Authors in Communication Journals

3.2.2.1 Communication Monographs

Only four of 229 critical authors in Communication Monographs have authored more than two critical articles. The three of the most prominent critical authors in Communication Monographs are women – both former presidents of ICA – Patrice M. Buzzanell, author of 5 critical articles with a research focus on issues of feminism, and Cynthia Stohl, author of 4 critical articles, who devotes her research work to the critique of globalisation and its impact on human rights. Elizabeth A. Suter (4) has been researching issues of same-sex parenthood parenthood, while Mohan Jyoti Dutta's (3) research focus is on activism and collective action.

The majority (246 or 93.2 percent) of critical authors who publish in Communication Monographs are affiliated with universities and other institutions in the US. Countries whose authors have published more than one critical article in Communication Monographs include Canada (5), Singapore (3), Australia (3) and Israel (2). Critical authors affiliated with

institutions based in New Zealand, South Korea, Denmark, the People's Republic of China and Spain have contributed one article.

Almost one-third of all authors that have published in the journal are affiliated with top 10 universities (Table 3.13)

Table 3.14: Ten most prominent institutional affiliations of critical authors in Communication Monographs (n=265)

	Institution	Count/%/Cum. %
1.	University of California	16/6.0/6.0
2.	Purdue University	12/4.5/10.6
3.	University of Missouri	10/3.8/14.3
4.	Northwestern University	7/2.6/17.0
5.	Pennsylvania State University	7/2.6/19.6
6.	University of Colorado	7/2.6/22.3
7.	University of Denver	7/2.6/24.9
8.	University of Iowa	7/2.6/27.5
9.	University of North Carolina	7/2.6/30.2
10.	Arizona State University	6/2.3/32.5

3.2.2.2 Communication Research

The seven most prominent critical authors in Communication Research are Dhavan V. Shah (6), Jack M. McCleod (5) and Jaeho Cho (4), investigating the problems of political engagement and public participation; Douglas M. McLeod (4), who critically examines framing, Maria Elizabeth Grabe (3; same for the following) on the knowledge and gender inequalities, Joerg Matthes critiquing media effects, populism and migration, Zhongdang Pan and Lijiang Sheh who research opinion formation and deliberation.

Although *Communication Research* is a US-based journal, critical authors from the University of Amsterdam appear in third place, accounting for 5.5 percent of all critical authors within the journal. However, critical authors from the US make up 77.9 percent of all critical authors published in the journal. In second place are authors from the Netherlands (6.1 percent), followed by authors from Israel (2.7 percent), Austria (2.4 percent), Peoples R. China (2.0 percent), Sweden (1.7 percent) and South Korea (1.4 percent). Authors from countries such as Australia, Singapore, Great Britain, Canada, Germany, Spain, Canada, Switzerland, Norway, USSR and Hungary account for less than one percent of the affiliations.

Table 3.15: Ten most prominent institutional affiliations of critical authors in Communication Research (n=293)

Institution	Count/%/Cum. %
University of Wisconsin	36/12.3/12.3
Ohio State University	15/5.1/17.4
University of Amsterdam	15/5.1/22.5
University of California	13/4.4/27.0
Indiana University	11/3.8/30.7
University of Illinois	10/3.4/34.1
University of Michigan	8/2.7/36.9
University of Pennsylvania	8/2.7/39.6
State University of New York	7/2.4/42.0
University of Alabama	7/2.4/44.4

Almost half (44.4 percent) of the critical authors within Communication Research are (almost exclusively) affiliated with the top 10 universities, 9 of which are based in the US. (Table 3.15).

3.2.2.3 Discourse & Society

Among the 644 critical authors identified in the Discourse & Society, 19 have published more than two articles. These authors include Martha Augoustinos (9) with a research focus on racism, nationalism and migrations, Ruth Wodak (6) who critiques racism, nationalism and far right movements, Norman Fairclough (5) critiquing political discourse, John Flowerdew (5) with a critique of colonialism, patriotism and globalisation discourses, Karmen Erjavec¹⁷ (4) with a critique of discrimination of minorities, Adam Jaworski (4) who critiques hegemony and Teun A. Van Dijk (4) who adopts a wider research angle of critiquing of discourse(s) and elaborating critical discourse analysis as a scientific method. Other critical authors with three articles each include Mariana Achugar, Lilie Chouliaraki, Justine Coupland, Danielle Every, Simon Goodman, Phil Graham, Brianne Hastie, Veronika Koller, Amanda LeCouteur, Hugh B. Mehan, Elizabeth H. Stokoe and Eero Vaara.

Critical authors in Discourse & Society are affiliated with 54 countries, while information on the national affiliation of one critical author was not available. The majority of critical authors are affiliated with universities and other institutions based in the UK (186), US (140),

¹⁷ The editor and the publisher of the journal have expressed concern over research integrity regarding two of the articles co-authored by Karmen Erjavec, (Erjavec and Volčič, 2010; Erjavec and Volčič, 2007).

Australia (62), Spain (29), the Peoples R. China (21), Canada (17), Austria (15), South Africa (12) and Germany (12). Country affiliations appearing less than ten times were: Finland (9), Israel (8, same for the following), Ireland, the Netherlands, Greece (7, same for the following) Nigeria, Denmark, Chile (5, same for the following) Argentina, Malaysia, Sweden, France (4, same for the following) Russia, Belgium, Brazil, Taiwan, Slovenia, Singapore, Poland (3, same for the following), Turkey, Switzerland, Czech Republic, Iran, Oman (2, same for the following), Ghana, Italy, Uruguay, Portugal, Japan, Romania, New Zealand, Zimbabwe, Saudi Arabia, Iraq (1, same for the following) Ethiopia, Mexico, Morocco, Norway, Indonesia, Estonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Ecuador, South Korea, Federal Republic of Germany and Palestine.

The majority of the critical authors published in *Discourse & Society* are affiliated with institutions from English speaking countries, with the University of Vienna and City University of Hong Kong acting as exceptions.

Table 3.16: Ten most prominent institutional affiliations of critical authors in *Discourse & Society* (n=643)

Institution	Count/%/Cum. %
Lancaster University	39/6.1/6.0
University of California	22/3.4/9.5
University of Adelaide	21/3.3/12.8
University of Vienna	12/1.9/14.6
Cardiff University	10/1.6/16.2
City U. of Hong Kong	10/1.6/17.7
University of Illinois	10/1.6/19.3
University of Queensland	10/1.6/20.8
Loughborough University	9/1.4/22.2
Coventry University	7/1.1/23.3

3.2.2.4 European Journal of Communication

Among the 353 identified critical authorships in the *European Journal of Communication*, only four authors have authored more than two critical articles. Kees Brants is the author of four critical articles with contributions to the critique of ideology, the social construction of information revolution and populism. Additionally, Wolfgang Hoffmann-Riem (3) critiques the European broadcasting policies, Karol Jakubowicz (3, same for all following) published

critical articles on Polish and Eastern European broadcasting policies, while Sonia Livingstone critiqued the (dis)engagement and the demise of democratic deliberation.

Critical authors in this journal are affiliated with 34 countries, the most prominent of which are the UK (104), the Netherlands (40), the US (28), Germany (18), Belgium (16), Norway (14, same for all following), Finland, Sweden and Ireland (13). Less prominent (national affiliations with count less than 10) are critical authors from Italy (9), Israel, Turkey (7), Spain (6), Canada (6), Denmark (5, same for all following), Austria, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Poland (4), Russia (4), Portugal (3, same for the following), Czech Republic, Australia, Serbia, Croatia (2, same for the following), Hungary, Greece, International, Cyprus, Slovenia (1, same for the following), Slovakia, Estonia, Switzerland and New Zealand.

Table 3.17: Ten most prominent institutional affiliations of critical authors in European Journal of Communication (n=351)

	Institution	Count/%/Cum. %
1.	University of Amsterdam	24/6.8/6.8
2.	Loughborough University	14/4.0/10.8
3.	LSE	11/3.1/14.0
4.	Tampere University	8/2.3/16.2
5.	Dublin City University	7/2.0/18.2
6.	Erasmus University Rotterdam	5/1.4/19.7
7.	Goldsmiths University of London	5/1.4/21.1
8.	University of Bergen	5/1.4/22.5
9.	University of Glasgow	5/1.4/23.9
10.	University of Hamburg	5/1.4/25.3

The top 10 universities to which critical authors are affiliated represent one-fourth (25.3 percent) of all institutional affiliations. The institution with the most critical authors (24) is University of Amsterdam.

3.2.2.5 Journal of Communication

Among the 678 authorships pertaining to critical articles, eleven authors (co-)authored more than two published articles. The most prominent authors are Lance W. Bennett (11) and his research on the critique of the news narratives and public engagement, Dhavan V. Shah (5) on

political participation, gender critique and critique of far-right movements, Douglas M. McLeod (4) and Jaeho Cho (3, same for the following) with a critique of political participation and framing of social protests, Lawrence Grosses critique of racism and LGBT discrimination, Thomas L. Jacobson on communicative action, Neil N. Malamuth research on gender critique and critique of sexism, Michael Morgan on cultivation, Vincent Mosco and Graham Murdock on a critique of the political economy of the media and Eike Mark Rinke's research on deliberation.

Table 3.18: Ten most prominent institutional affiliations of critical authors in Journal of Communication (n=678)

	Institution	Count/%/Cum. %
1.	University of Wisconsin	37/5.5/5.5
2.	Ohio State University	29/4.3/9.7
3.	University of Illinois	25/3.7/13.4
4.	University of Washington	23/3.4/16.8
5.	University of Pennsylvania	21/3.1/19.9
6.	University of California	19/2.8/22.7
7.	Indiana University	16/2.4/25.1
8.	Northwestern University	12/1.8/26.8
9.	Pennsylvania State University/	11/1.6/28.5
10.	University of Texas	10/1.5/29.9

Critical authors in Journal of Communication are affiliated with 29 countries, whereas 73.3 percent of authorships are affiliated with authors affiliated with institutions in the US, UK (5.6 percent), Germany (3.4), Israel (2.5), Canada (1.9), Australia (1.8), the Netherlands (1.3 percent), Singapore (1.2) and Switzerland (1.2). The country affiliations containing less than one percent of critical authors are the People's Republic of China, Spain, Austria, Denmark, Belgium, Sweden, Colombia, Hong Kong, Norway, Brazil, Slovenia, Uganda, Ethiopia, Mexico, Philippines, Egypt, Poland, Finland and South Africa.

All the 10 most prominent institutional affiliations within the journal pertain to US-based universities which count for almost one-third (29.9 percent) of institutional affiliations (Table 3.18).

3.2.2.6 Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly

The most prominent critical authors (among 324 authorships pertaining to critical articles) in *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* are Dustin Harp (4) predominantly focusing on gender critique and Dana E. Mastro (3) and Rodger Streitmatter (3) contributing to the critique of discrimination on the basis of gender, sexual orientation, race and ethnicity.

The critical authors were affiliated with 17 countries, whereas a national affiliation for one author could not be established. The majority of authorships, 283 (87.3 percent) were affiliated with institutions based in the US, 6 (1.9 percent) with the Peoples R. of China, 5 (1.5 percent) with South Korea, 4 (1.2 percent) with the Netherlands. The UK, Chile Australia, Israel, Switzerland, Taiwan and Japan obtained less than 2 percent of national affiliations, while authors from France, Canada, Denmark and Belgium were represented in less than 1 percent of critical articles.

Table 3.19: Ten most prominent institutional affiliations of critical authors in *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, (n=319)

	Institution	Count/%/Cum. %
1.	University of Wisconsin	18/5.6/5.6
2.	Indiana University	15/4.7/10.3
3.	University of Texas	14/4.4/14.7
4.	University of Alabama	9/2.8/17.6
5.	University of Georgia	9/2.8/20.4
6.	Washington State University	9/2.8/23.2
7.	University of Arizona	8/2.5/25.7
8.	University of Washington	8/2.5/28.2
9.	Ohio State University	7/2.2/30.4
10.	University of Kansas	7/2.2/32.6

The most prominent ten affiliated institutions count for almost one-third (32.6 percent) of all institutional affiliations of critical authors in the journal (Table 3.19).

3.2.2.7 Media, Culture & Society

Media, Culture & Society contained 1,086 authorships. Out of 1,976 authorships, 55 percent of the authors within this journal are considered critical, thereby containing the highest number of critical authors among all analysed journals. The most prominent authors are David Rowe ((co-)author of 5 articles), Philip Schlesinger (5), Simon Cottle (4, same for all following), James Curran, John Downey, Nicholas Garnham, Chin-Chuan Lee, Libby Lester

Pat O'Malley, Paddy Scannell Liesbet van Zoonen Enrique Bustamante (3 and all following) Kalyani Chadha, Lilie Chouliaraki, Peter A. Chow-White, Richard Collins, Nick Couldry, Paul Frosh, Christian Fuchs, David Hesmondhalgh, Brett Hutchins, Paul K. Jones, Michael Keane, Sonia Livingstone, Graham Murdock, Anna Reading, Kevin Robins, Karen Ross, Michael Schudson, Colin Sparks, Slavko Splichal, Larry N. Strelitz, Gerald Sussman, Lijun Tang, Jason Toynbee, Yong Z. Volz, Karin Wahl-Jorgensen and Dwayne Winseck.

Table 3.20: Ten most prominent institutional affiliations of critical authors in Media, Culture & Society, (n=1,059)

Institution	Count/%/Cum. %
University of Westminster	34/3.2/3.2
Cardiff University	20/1.9/5.1
Loughborough University	19/1.8/6.9
LSE	19/1.8/8.7
University of California	19/1.8/10.5
University of Leicester	16/1.5/12.0
Goldsmiths, London	15/1.4/13.4
University of Leeds	13/1.2/14.6
University of Pennsylvania	13/1.2/15.9
Ghent University	12/1.1/17.0

Critical authors in this journal are affiliated with 51 countries (national affiliations for 21 authorships could not be discerned). The highest number of authorships, 301 (27.7 percent), were affiliated with institutions based in the US, 288 (26.5 percent), the UK, 90 (8.3 percent) to Australia, 49 (4.5 percent) to Canada, 31 (2.9 percent each) to the Netherlands, the People's Republic of China and Israel, 23 (2.1 percent) to Sweden, 22 (2.2 percent) to Belgium, 15 (1.4 percent) to Germany and Ireland, 14 (1.3 percent each) to New Zealand and France, 13 (1.2 percent) to Denmark, 11 (1 percent each) to Norway and South Africa. Countries such as Singapore, South Korea, Finland, Spain, Switzerland, Italy, Poland, Mexico, Austria, Japan, Brazil, Slovenia, Turkey, Taiwan, Zimbabwe, Cyprus, Luxembourg, Colombia, Greece, Uganda, the Federal Republic of Germany, Guam, Zambia, Qatar, Hungary, Pakistan, Puerto Rico, Nigeria, Serbia, Argentina, Philippines, Peru, Yugoslavia, Czech Republic and Russia are represented with less than one percent.

The ten most prominent institutions to which critical authors are affiliated are based in the UK and US (with the exception of Ghent University, which is located in Belgium) (Table 3.20).

The ten most prominent institutions count for 17 percent of all institutional affiliations in this journal.

3.2.2.8 Public Opinion Quarterly

Among 236 authorships in Public Opinion Quarterly, only two of them (co-)authored more than two critical articles; Nicholas A. Valentino (5) and Mary R. Jackman (3).

The national affiliation of critical articles within the journal pertains to 13 countries. 209 (88.6 percent) authorships pertain to authors located in the US, 6 (2.5 percent) to Israel, 5 (2.1 percent) to Canada, 3 (1.2 percent) to The Netherlands. One authorship (0.4 percent each) pertains to Norway, France, the UK, South Korea, Japan, Mexico, Brazil, the Federal Republic of Germany and Spain. National Affiliations for four authorships could not be established.

The ten most prominent institutional affiliations account for 43.5 percent of all critical articles in the journal (Table 3.21). The ten most prominent affiliations are three representatives of the Ivy League (Columbia University, University of Pennsylvania and Princeton University).

Table 3.21: Ten most prominent institutional affiliations of critical authors in Public Opinion Quarterly, (n=230)

Institution	Count/%/Cum. %
University of Michigan	30/13.0/13.0
University of California	20/8.7/21.7
Columbia University	8/3.5/25.2
University of Pennsylvania	8/3.5/28.7
Stanford University	7/3.0/31.7
University of Chicago	7/3.0/34.8
State University of New York	6/2.6/37.4
Brigham Young University	5/2.2/39.6
Princeton University	5/2.2/41.7
City University of New York	4/1.7/43.5

3.2.3 Chapter Summary

Paradoxically, the youngest journals are the most nationally diverse when considering the affiliations of critical authors. Discourse & Society published critical articles from authors affiliated with 54 countries, while critical authors in Media, Culture & Society are affiliated

with institutions based in 51 countries. Critical authors who published in *European Journal of Communication* are affiliated with 34 countries and *Journal of Communication* with 29 countries. Other US journals are more ethnocentric: *Communication Research* represented 17 countries, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 17, *Public Opinion Quarterly* 13 and *Communication Monographs* 10.

However, even in journals with the highest national diversity, the most prominent institutional affiliations of the critical authors (when comparing the top ten represented institutions per journal) pertained to the universities based in anglophone countries. The *European Journal of Communication* is an exception, as six European countries (and no US-based institutions) are among the ten most prominent. However, the bias within this journal leans towards authors from the UK, as 4 out of 10 of the most prominent universities are based there.

No US university is present among the most prominent institutions in all analysed journals based in the US. However, the University of California appears among the ten most prominent institutions in US-based journals with the exception of *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*. Critical authors affiliated with the University of Wisconsin, Ohio State University, Indiana University and the University of Pennsylvania are among the most prominent in three of the US-based journals. The University of Loughborough is one of the most prominent institutions of critical author publishing in European journals, as it was present among the top 10 affiliations in all of the three European-based journals, while the London School of Economics is among the most prominent institutions in *Media, Culture & Society* and *European Journal of Communication*. Critical authors affiliated with the University of Amsterdam are the only European (and non-US-based) authors that are among the most prominent in US-based journals, namely in *Communication Research*.

The US, Israel and Canada are the national affiliations of the critical authors that are present in all of the analysed journals. Besides 22 US institutions, institutional affiliations of critical authors appearing in all of the analysed journals pertain to the University of Haifa and Hebrew University in Jerusalem in Israel.

3.3 Strands of Critical Scholarship

The analysis in the previous chapter identified the most prominent critical authors, institutions and countries that produce the critical content of the analysed journals. The following chapter investigates the main cleavages among different strands of critical scholarship by identifying clusters of co-occurrences among identified critical concepts and authors, cited in the sample of critical articles. At first, the analysis is conducted on the whole sample of articles, while later, the analysis discriminates among individual journals, periods (the period during the Cold War and the period after) and US or European-based journals.

The clustering is conducted in the software package Pajek and follows the VOS method, which in order to identify particular segments of the network (containing dense and strong links between the nodes and which are separated by sparse and weak links from other segments within the network), takes into account the number of links among the units and their weight (frequency of co-occurrences) (Waltman, van Eck, and Noyons, 2010). In order to adapt the community detection algorithm to different sizes and structures of the network, the size and the number of clusters is determined by manipulating the resolution parameter. Visualisation of the network is conducted with an energy mapping algorithm based on degree weight, Atlas Force 2 (Jacomy, Venturini, Heymann and Bastian, 2014) in the software package Gephi, which spatialises the nodes within the network according to their weights (strength of links among the nodes). Nodes with stronger links attract each other, while nodes with weaker link repel one another.

When the sample of articles considered critical is treated as a whole, six basic strands of critical scholarship can be discerned. The network of cited author and critical concepts was created by uniting two separate 2 – mode networks containing articles x cited authors, and articles x critical indicators into a 3-mode network. In the next procedure the network was transformed to citec authors x critical indicators.

The newly generated network out of all cited authors in the 2,421 critical articles contained 167 critical indicators and 7,310 cited authors connected with 928,394 edges. Due to a large sample, the analysis takes into account the number of occurrences of each critical indicator and cited author in an article, reflected in their edge weights. The conducted community detection

The group of central critical indicators, which is predominantly composed of terms from the Marxist vocabulary, namely *struggl_*, *critique*, *capitalis_*, *labor*, *exploit_*, *Marxism_*, *commod_* and *political econom_*, is (apart from the above-mentioned more prominent representatives of cultural media studies tradition) predominantly connected with a group of representatives of the political economy of the media tradition, with the more prominent authors such as Graham Murdock, Herbert I. Schiller, Roger Silverstone, Armand Mattelart, Nicholas Garnham, Peter Golding, Vincent Mosco, Jeremy Tunstall and David Hesmondhalgh.

Between the members of a European and US political-economic tradition (Edwards S. Herman, Robert W. McChesney), a group of critical indicators, e.g. »public service broadcasting«, »center-periphery«, »public space« and »ownership« is located close to predominantly European authors who are connected with the research interest in questions of public space, such as James Curran, Dennis McQuail, Sonia Livingstone, John B. Thompson, Everet M. Rogers, John Keane, John D. Peters, Yuezhu Zhao, Chin Chuan Lee, Slavko Splichal and Karol Jakubowitz.

Unlike the (mostly) European representatives of the political economy of media, a group of US political economists, such as Robert W. McChesney and Edward S. Herman along with more contemporary representatives of cultural approach in media research, for example Nick Couldry, Henry Jenkins and Colin Sparks, are less associated with the critical indicators stemming from the Marxist vocabulary and more with the critical terms indicating the issues of ownership and media policy, placing them closer to the indicators and authors pertaining to the public sphere tradition.

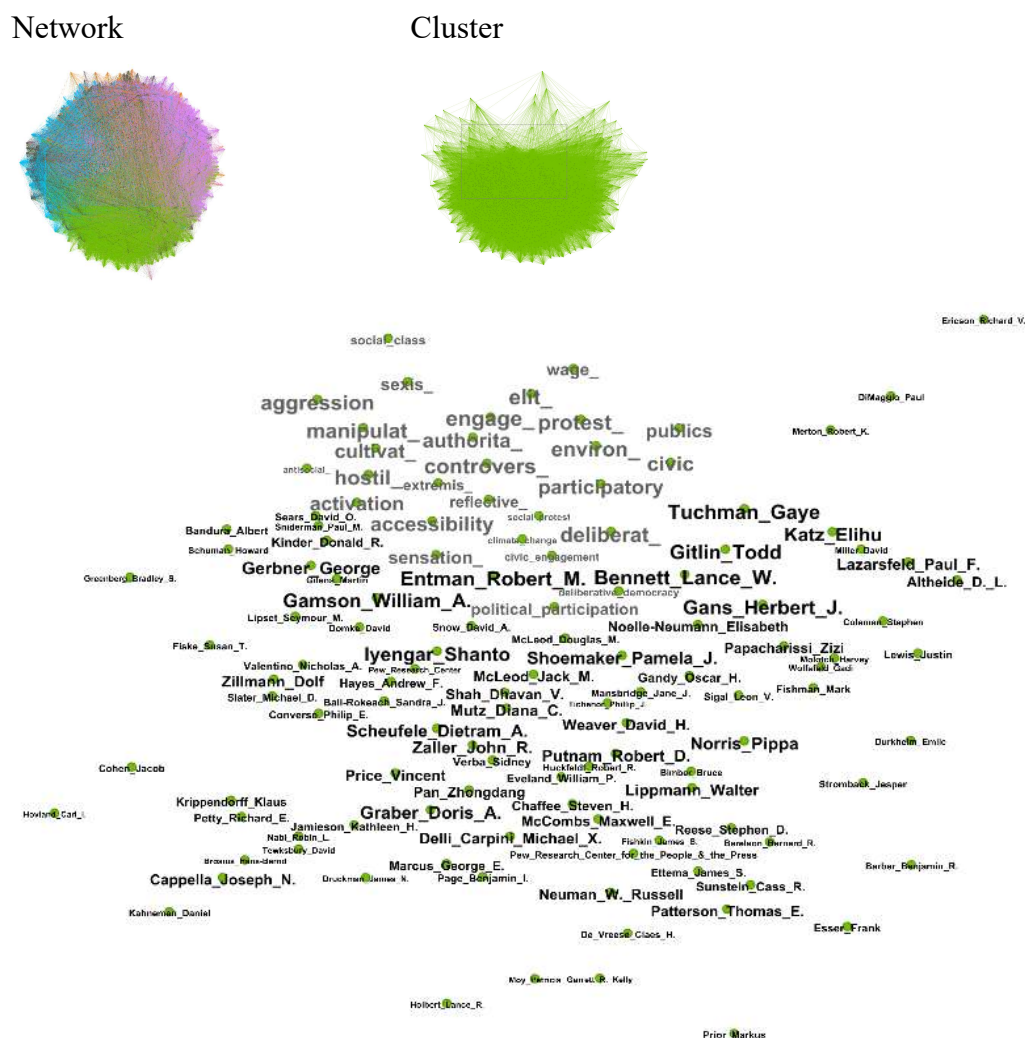
The representatives of the public sphere tradition, such as Jürgen Habermas, Peter Dahlgren, Dan C. Hallin and Manuel Castells are mostly associated with the critical indicators, such as the »public sphere«, »democratiz_«, »normativity« and »censor_«.

Nevertheless, the presence in the cluster not only reflects the paradigmatic affinity of the cited author, but can also point to the author as the object of a comprehensive critique. This is the case with the cluster membership of one of the most prominent representatives of the dominant paradigm, Wilbur Schram (to be found in proximity of James Curran).

3.3.2 US Critical Tradition

The cluster contains 1,752 nodes in the network (23.4 percent of all the nodes), where 40 represent critical indicators and 1,712 cited authors. Ten of the most prominent critical indicators (regarding their degree value) are »engage_« (6,668), »protest_« (5,133), »elite_« (5,008), »controvers_« (4,404), »manipulat_« (3,545), »aggression« (3,412), »environ_« (3,327), »deliberation« (3,316), »hostility« (3,129) and »civic« (3,021). Five of the most frequently co-occurring pairs of critical indicators are »engagement–protest« (33,135), »environment–protest« (29,293), »deliberation–engagement« (28,832), »climate change–hostility« (20,458) and »elite–protest« (13,540).

Figure 3.13: Reduced cluster of the most prominent nodes in the US critical cluster (min. degree 681)



The ten most prominently cited authors in the cluster are Lance W. Bennet (2,455), Gaye Tuchman (2,425), Robert M. Entman (2,379), Todd Gitlin (2,254), Herbert J. Gans (2,167),

William A. Gamson (1,992), Shanto Iyengar (1,937), Elihu Katz (1,836), Doris A. Graber (1,527) and Pamela J. Shoemaker (1,488)

The placement of the cited authors, located at the cleavage juncture of both clusters, suggests that although these authors are most frequently co-occurring with the authors and the indicators in their own cluster, e.g. Todd Gitlin, Gaye Tuchman, Lance W. Bennet, Herbert Gans and Elihu Katz, they also obtain relatively strong links with the cited authors/indicators of the European critical cluster.

The left side of the cluster associates cited authors, namely psychologist and political scientist David O. Sears, political scientist Donald R. Kinder, and the founder of cultivation theory and former editor of *Journal of Communication*, George Gerbner with critical indicators denoting activation, accessibility, hostility and cultivation. Robert M. Entman, the founder of framing theory and former president of American Sociological Association, William Gamson, known for his (engagement and) research work on political activism are the cited authors most strongly associated with indicators denoting civic engagement, deliberative democracy and political participation. On the right side of the cluster where critical indicators, such as “civic,” “deliberat_” and “participatory” are located, Lance W. Bennet, Todd Gitlin, Gaye Tuchman and Herbert J. Gans are the most prominent cited authors, in a relative proximity to Michael Schudson, Peter Dahlgren and Dan C. Halin from the European critical tradition cluster.

As mentioned earlier, a high number of co-occurrences does not necessarily indicate a paradigmatic proximity. It may, in fact, reflect a paradigmatic opposition – a systematic critique, as is the case with Paul F. Lazarsfeld (co-occurring most frequently with indicators, such as »ideolog_« 416, »engage_« 237, »dominan_« 232) and Elizabeth Noelle Neuman (»Nazi« 1,594, »Hitler« 667, »ideolog_« 660).

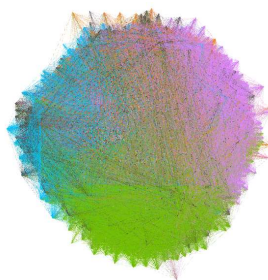
By moving from the center towards the periphery of the cluster, the most salient authors in the articles regarded as critical are most frequently co-occurring with the indicators designating democratic participation on the one side and the discrimination of groups based on racial and gender characteristics on the other. These authors in the majority belong to the tradition of political science, for example Shanto Iyengar (mostly co-occurring with »black« 2,557 (edge weight), »raci_« 1,707, »protest« 1,666), Pamela J. Shoemaker (»protest« 1,769, »black 591, »gender 461), Jack M. McLeod (»engage_« 1,527, »deliberat_« 1,467, »political participation«

709), Dhavan V. Shah (»engage_« 1,714, »consumpt_« 838, »protest« 528), Dietram A. Scheufele (»deliberat_« 1,581, »engage_« 810, »ideolog_« 810), John R. Zaller (»black« 1,336, »raci_« 1,244, »ideolog_« 498), Vincent Price (»deliberat_« 1,102, »protest« 644, »engage_« 505) and Doris A. Graber (»black« 935, »raci_« 298, »ideolog_« 363).

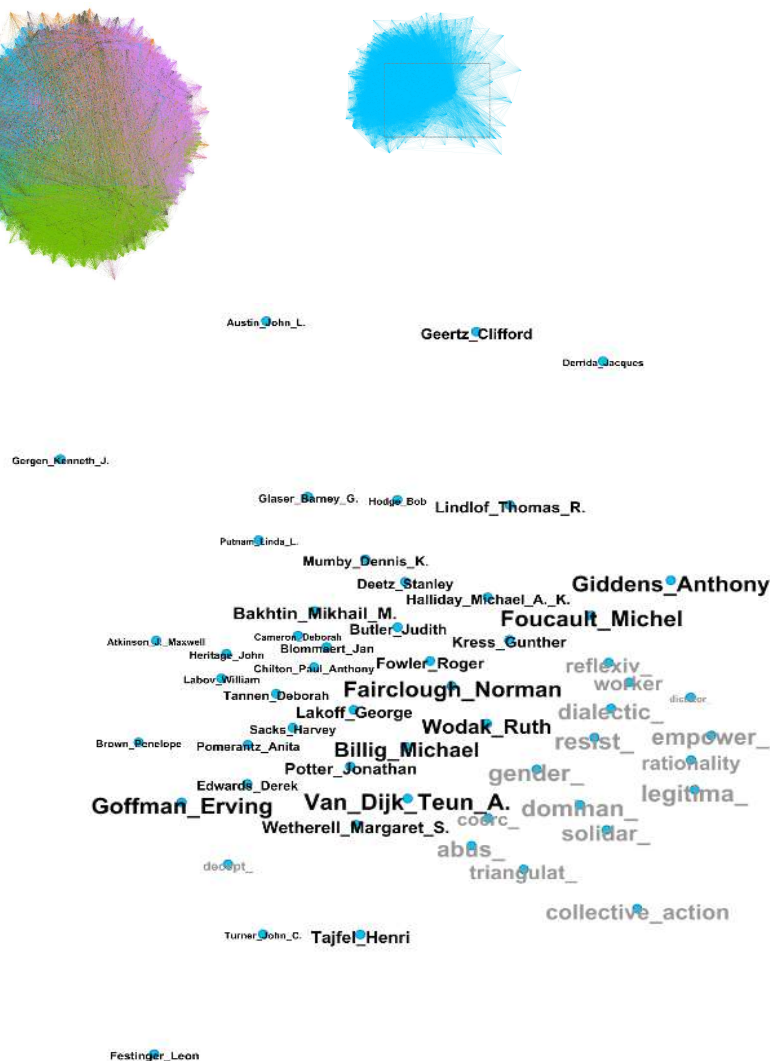
3.3.3 Critical Discourse Approach

Figure 3.14: Reduced cluster of the most prominent nodes in the critical discourse approach cluster (min. degree 681)

Network



Cluster



This cluster contains 1,190 nodes (15.9 percent of all the nodes in the network), of which 19 designate critical indicators and 1,171 cited authors. The location of the cluster in the whole network is between the representatives of the critical cultural studies of media and French

structuralism contained in the European critical tradition cluster and the representatives of the psychological tradition within the US critical tradition cluster. The most prominent scholars in the EU critical tradition, such as Stuart Hall, Pierre Bourdieu and Raymond Williams overlap in both clusters. The most prominent representatives of the overlap between the critical discourse approach cluster and the US critical tradition cluster are Charles R. Berger, Donald E. Rice, and Leon Festinger, while on the contrary, Albert Bandura, Paul Messaris and Carl I. Hovland overlap the critical discourse cluster from the US critical tradition cluster.

The ten most prominent critical indicators in the cluster are »dominan_« (6,540), legitim_« (5,635), »resist_« (5,220), »gender_« (5,051), »empower_« (3,063), »abus_« (2,829), »dialectic_« (2,508), »solidar_« (2,420), »collective action« (2,272) and »reflexiv_« (1,770).

Ten most prominent cited authors are Teun A. van Dijk (2,859), Erving Goffman (2,571), Michel Foucault (2,539), Norman Fairclough (2,451), Anthony Giddens (2,371), Michael Billig (1,879), Ruth Wodak (1,728), Mikhail M. Bakhtin (1,250), Margaret S. Wetherell (1,227) and Henri Tajfel (1,218).

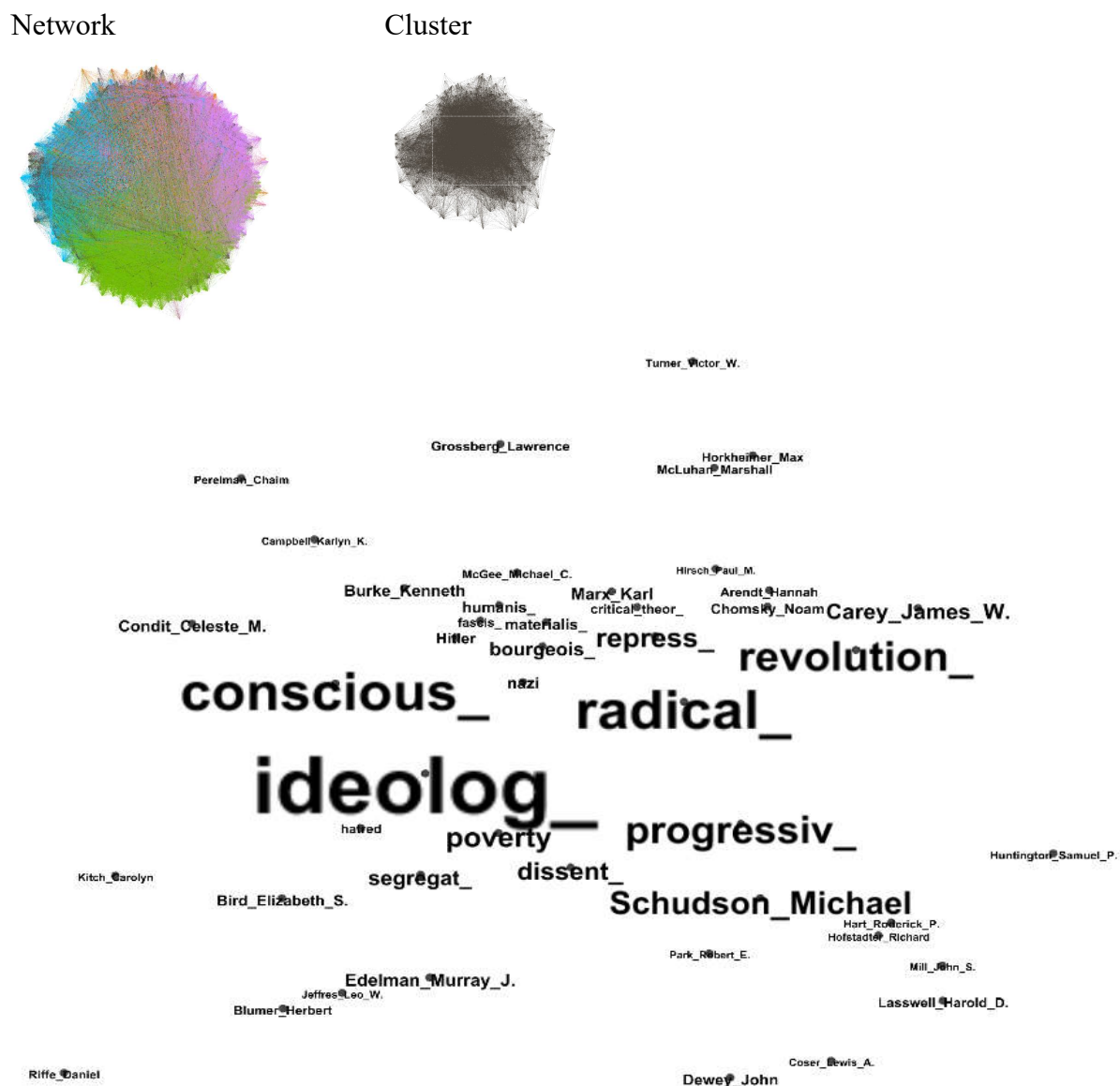
Among critical indicators within the cluster, the links with highest edge weight value exists between: »dominan_gender_« (27,803), »dominan_triangular_« (20,498), »dominan_legitim_« (19,999), »gender_resist_« (18,590), »dominan_resist_« (17,411), »legitim_triangular_« (13,022), »gender_triangular_« (12,051), »abus_resist_« (11,652), »gender_legitim_« (9,529) and »abus_dialectic_« (8,905).

The links with the highest edge value among the most cited authors in the cluster and the critical indicators within the whole network are Teun A. van Dijk (»raci_« 18,601, »ideolog_« 11,936, »immigra_« 11,398), Erving Goffman (»ideolog_« 1,332, »raci_« 1,327, »black_« 882), Michel Foucault (»ideolog_« 2,576, »gender_« 1,773, »femini_« 1,481), Norman Fairclough (»ideolog_« 6,291, »legitim_« 4,002, »raci_« 3,036), Anthony Giddens (»ideolog_« 1,560, »engage_« 1,067, »triangular_« 861), Michael Billig (»raci_« 6,059, »ideolog_« 2,594, »immigra_« 1,866), Ruth Wodak (»raci_« 4,225, »ideolog_« 2,944, »immigra_« 2,932), Mikhail M. Bakhtin (»raci_« 951, »ideolog_« 814, »engage_« 491), Margaret S. Wetherell (»raci_« 3,985, »ideolog_« 1,204, »immigra_« 1,011) and Henri Tajfel (»raci_« 1,953, »black_« 1,369, »ideolog_« 975).

3.3.4 Ideology Critique

The cluster titled critique of ideology contains 819 nodes (10.9 percent of all the nodes in the network), 20 of which designate critical indicators and 799 cited authors. It overlaps the center of the network, especially the discourse analysis approach cluster and European critical tradition cluster.

Figure 3.15: The most prominent nodes in the critique of ideology cluster (min. degree 526)



The cluster contains particular indicators/concepts pertaining to the Marxist vocabulary, as ten most prominent critical indicators (with the highest degree value) are »ideolog_« (6,781), »radical_« (4,493), »conscious_« (4,406), »revolution_« (3,336), »progressiv_« (3,096),

»poverty« (2,127), »repress_« (2,039), »dissent_« (1,845), »segregat_« (1,485) and »bourgeois_« (1,289).

Ten most prominent cited authors in the cluster are Michael Schudson (2,465), James W. Carey (1,530), Murray J. Edelman (1,156), Karl Marx (1,071), Celeste M. Condit (1,026), Kenneth Burke (1,016), John Dewey (949), Elizabeth S. Bird (943), Noam Chomsky (856) and Harold L. Lasswell (793).

The strongest links among the pairs of critical indicators within the cluster exist between »ideolog_radical_« (19,128), »ideolog_revolution_« (18,930), »conscious_ideolog_« (16,432), »ideolog_poverty_« (9,152), »bourgeois_ideolog_« (8,691), »ideolog_progressiv_« (6,562), »Hitler-Nazi« (5,748), »ideolog_repress_« (5,045), »radical_revolution_« (4,606) and »conscious_repress_« (4,417).

The critique of ideology could be categorised into four different conceptualisations according to the links with the highest edge value among the most cited authors in the cluster and the critical indicators within the whole network: a critique of racist ideology (Murray J. Edelman, Celeste M. Condit, Elizabeth S. Bird), elite ideology (Michael Schudson, James W. Carey, Edmund Burke and John Dewey), capitalistic ideology (Karl Marx) and authoritarian ideology (Harold L. Lasswell). The most prominently cited authors in the cluster and their strongest links with the critical concepts within the network are the following: Michael Schudson (»ideolog_« 850, »deliberat_« 796, »engage_« 718), James W. Carey (»ideolog_« 500, »dominan_« 335, »mainstream_« 280), Murray J. Edelman (»ideolog_« 431, »black_« 304, »raci_« 296), Karl Marx (»labor_« 1,917, »capitalis_« 1,711, »ideolog_« 1,554), Celeste M. Condit (»black_« 1,198, »raci_« 837, »ideolog_« 629), Kenneth Burke (»black_« 1,075, »ideolog_« 750, »public sphere_« 561), John Dewey (»deliberat_« 358, »engage_« 329, »ideolog_« 235), Elizabeth S. Bird (»raci_« 755, »black_« 478, »migra_« 354), Noam Chomsky (»ideolog_« 1,505, »dominan_« 979, »elit_« 879) and Harold Lasswell (»black_« 160, »Nazi_« 114, »ideolog_« 100).

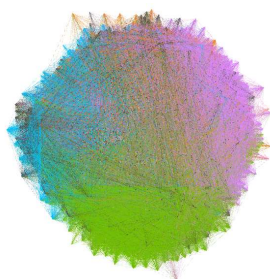
3.3.5 Critique of Nationalism

The cluster titled critique of nationalism contains 668 nodes (8.9 percent of all the nodes in the network), 17 of which represent critical indicators, while the remaining 651 of which designate cited authors. This cluster overlaps with the three larger clusters, namely the

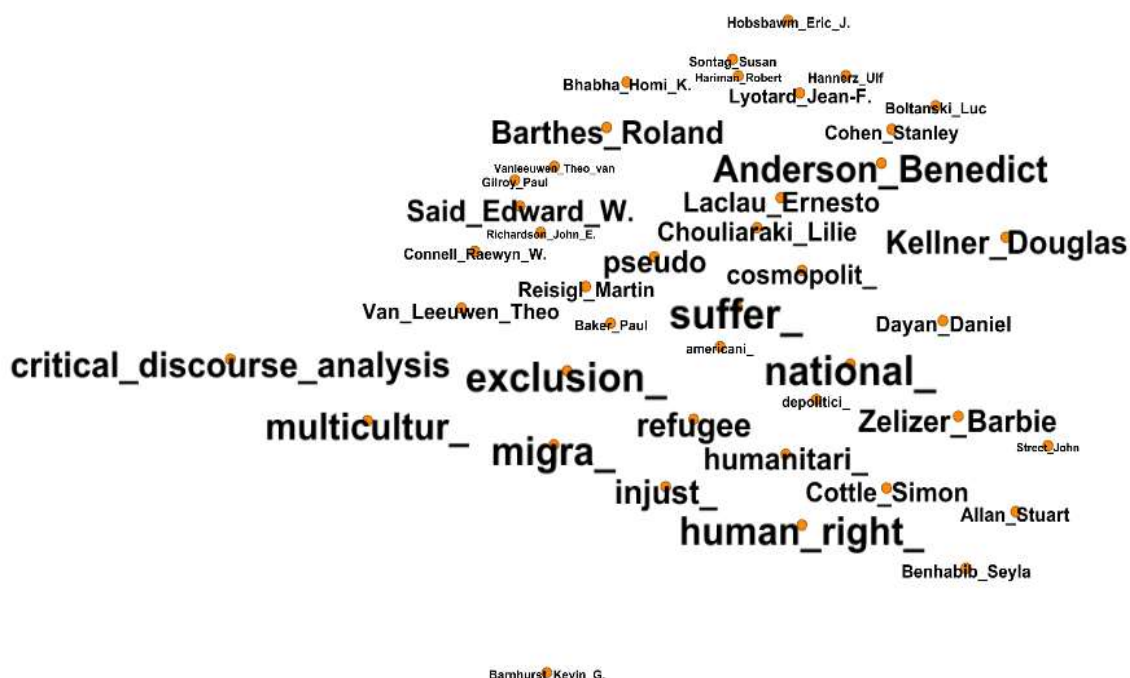
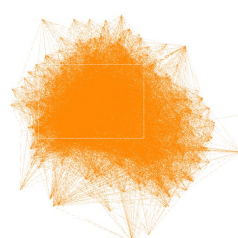
“European critical tradition cluster, the critique of ideology cluster and to a significant extent the critical discourse analysis cluster.

Figure 3.16: The most prominent nodes in the critique of nationalism cluster (min. degree 465)

Network



Cluster



The most prominent critical indicators in the cluster are »suffer_« (3,516), »national_« (2,880), »exclusion_« (2,729), »migra_« (2,329), »human right_« (2,082), »multicultur_« (1,795), »critical discourse analysis« (1,580), »injust_« (1,415), »refugee« (1,410) and »pseudo« (1,251).

The ten most prominently cited authors in the cluster are Benedict Anderson (1,772), Douglas Kellner (1,334), Roland Barthes (1,316), Barbie Zelizer (1,241), Edward W. Said (1,205), Ernesto Laclau (1,122), Simon Cottle (1,077), Lilie Chouliaraki (1,062), Daniel Dayan and Theo van Leeuwen (884). The cited authors contained in the cluster do not suggest a coherent

tradition within media and mass communication research. Rather, the various sociological theoretical perspectives stemming, for example, from political science (Benedict Anderson), Marxism (Eric Hobsbawm), semiotics (Roland Barthes), journalism (Barbie Zelizer) and postcolonialism (Edward W. Said), indicate a broad critique of nationalism.

The critique of nationalism is predominantly approached from the issues bounded to migration, as the most significant links among the critical indicators within the cluster suggest: »migra_refugee« (13,739), »humanitari_refugee« (8,764), »refugee_suffer_« (5,976), »cosmopolit_migra_« (5,952), »humanitari_migra_« (4,341), »migra_multicultur« (4,112), »humanitari_suffer_« (3,980), »exclusion_refugee« (3,944), »human right_humanitari_« (3,295), and »migra_suffer_« (3,194).

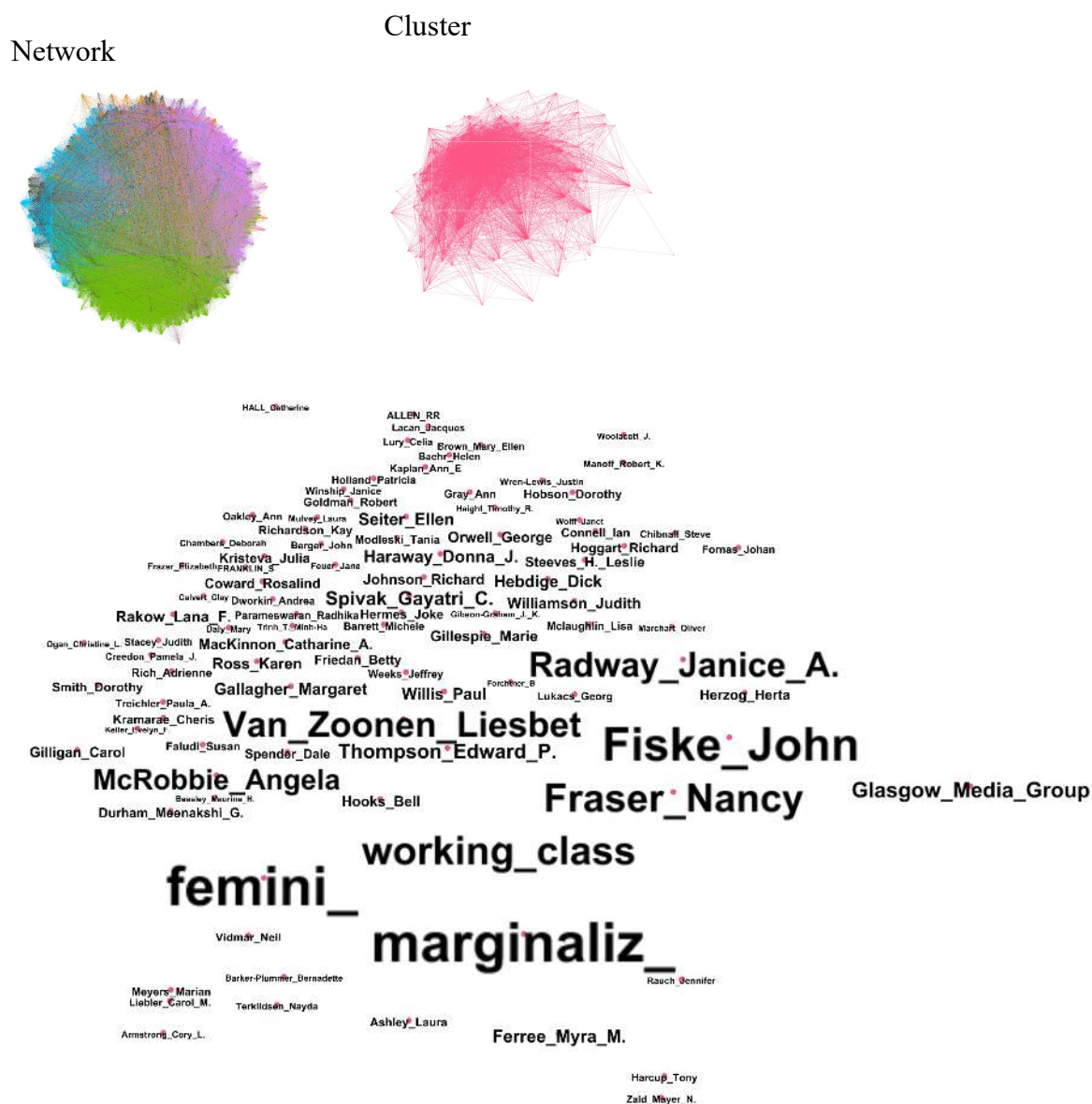
The critique of nationalism cluster is tightly associated with the critique of ideology cluster as eight of the most prominently cited authors in the cluster are very strongly associated with the indicator designating ideology, including Benedict Anderson (»national_« 793, »immigra_« 572, »ideolog_« 560), Douglas Kellner (»protest_« 643, »ideolog_« 601, »dominan_« 417), Roland Barthes (»ideolog_« 860, »black_« 323, »migra_« 309), Barbie Zelizer (»triangulat_« 472, »africa_« 313, »ideolog_« 313), Edward W. Said (»ideolog_« 807, »raci_ 694«, »africa_« 463), Ernesto Laclau (»populis_« 1,324, »ideolog_« 1,098, »critique« 590), Simon Cottle (»protest_« 2,400, »environ_« 1,108, »mainstream« 535), Lilie Chourliaki (»migra_« 720, »refugee 665, »legitim_ 653), Daniel Dayan (»publics« 350, »protest_« 320, »ideolog_« 271) and Theo Van Leeuwen (»legitim_« 2,975, »ideolog_« 1,107, »gender_ 491«).

3.3.6 The Feminist Critique

This cluster contains 374 nodes (5 percent of all the nodes in the network), 5 of which represent critical indicators, while the remaining nodes represent 369 cited authors. This cluster overlaps all other clusters, with the exception of the larger part of the US critical tradition cluster (light green).

The most prominent critical indicators in the cluster are »marginaliz_« (4,408), »femini_« (3,746), »working class« (1,251), »criticality« (199) and »power abuse« (163). The ten most prominently cited authors in the cluster are John Fiske (1,633), Nancy Fraser (1,233), Liesbet van Zoonen (1,109), Janice A. Radway (1,077), Angela McRobbie (903), *Glasgow Media

Group (689), Edward P. Thompson (51), Gayatri C. Spivak (614), Myra M. Ferree (559) and Donna J. Haraway (536).



The strongest links among the most prominent cited authors in the cluster and critical indicators in the whole network are John Fiske (»ideolog_« 1,197, »black_« 857, »dominant_« 724), Nancy Fraser (»public sphere« 879, »welfare« 720, »femini_« 693), Liesbet van Zoonen (»femini_« 1,603, »gender_« 1,501, »engage_« 308), Janice A. Radway (»femini_« 928, »gay« 656, »gender_« 632), Angela McRobbie (»femini_« 2,309, »black_« 693, »gender_« 686), *Glasgow Media Group (»labor« 873, »ideolog_« 410, »dominan_« 304), Edward P. Thompson (»ideolog_« 421, »protest_« 373, »femini_« 337), Gayatri C.

Spivak (»femini_« 490, »black_« 247, »raci_« 170), Myra M. Ferree (»femini_« 458, »deliberat_« 266, »gender_« 214) and Donna J. Haraway (»femini_« 325, »gender_« 296, »critique« 158).

3.3.7 Summary and Conclusion

The European critical cluster contains indicators and authors pertaining to critical cultural studies, political economy and theories of the public sphere associated with the Marxist vocabulary, among others. While the prominent traditions within the critical paradigm are discernible in the cluster, the cited authors in the US critical tradition cluster pertain to predominantly cited authors from political science and social psychology and are associated with the critical indicators pointing to problems of disengagement, e.g., political process, participation, deliberation, protest and engagement.

The feminist critique seems to be dichotomous. The major current refers to feminist scholars within the critical cultural tradition, who are usually associated with the indicators marginalisation, feminism, working class, criticality and abuse of power. The other current stems from critical discourse analysis and is associated primarily with the indicator gender and the concepts of dominance, coercion, resistance and empowerment.

The cluster critique of ideology contains indicators that point to a significant connection between four conceptualisations of ideology, besides Marxism and Nazism/Fascism, the critique of racist dominant ideology and elite ideology. Rich Marxist vocabulary, which is reflected in strong associations of critical indicators, including ideology, radicalism, consciousness, bourgeoisie, revolution and materialism with Karl Marx as cited author, suggests the extensive use of Marxist ideas in the critique of the dominant ideology. On the other hand, associations with the indicators of the critique of authoritarianism, such as Hitler, Nazi and fascist, suggest that Marxism and Nazism often appeared together. Indicator capitalism is missing in the cluster (and is rather associated with the indicators in the first cluster), which suggests that the indicator is more associated with other critical indicators and cited authors and that the critique of capitalism is (to a certain extent) conceptualised wider than Marxism.

Likewise, the critique of nationalism is approached through various traditions in critical research, where the most prominent is critical discourse analysis and is largely associated with

the discrimination of migrants and refugees, but not with the issues of e.g. capitalism or fascism.

3.4 Strands of Criticality in the US and European Communication Journals – An Overview

The following chapter expands the study of the main contours of critical communities by distinguishing between journals published in the US and in Europe. Again, using the VOS technique, the clusters of critical science are identified based on the population of critical articles published in the two cultural contexts. Additional cross-examination is performed by determining the placements of critical authors included in the control group, indicating the areas of concentration of critical authors, but also the areas of their absence. The latter are subjected to a more detailed investigation to examine the reasons for the discrepancy between the two methods.

Ten most prominent cited authors in US population of critical articles according to the highest degree values are Robert M. Entman (1,829), Lance W. Bennett (1,783), Jürgen Habermas (1,770), Michael Schudson (1,704), Gaye Tuchman (1,600), Todd Gitlin (1,580), Shanto Iyengar (1,575), Stuart Hall (1,561), Herbert J. Gans (1,499) and Erving Goffman (1,447). The most prominent cited authors in European population of critical articles are Stuart Hall (2,671), Teun A. van Dijk (2,424), Norman Fairclough (2,290), Pierre Bourdieu (2,163), Michel Foucault (1,904), Jürgen Habermas (1,891), Anthony Giddens (1,705), Michael Billig (1,670), Erving Goffman (1,649) and Ruth Wodak (1,602). Three cited authors are contained among the ten most prominent cited authors in both populations, Jürgen Habermas, Stuart Hall and Erving Goffman.

Ten most prominent critical indicators in the US population according to the highest degree values are ideolog_ (4,495), engage_ (4,428), dominan_ (4,146), black_ (4,132), gender_ (3,404), protest_ (3,244), legitim_ (3,121), resist_ (3,114), mainstream (3,108) and raci_ (3,045). The most prominent critical indicators in EU population of critical articles are ideolog_ (5,091), dominan_ (4,971), engage_ (4,865), black_ (4,295), legitim_ (4,283), struggl_ (4,201), critique (3,658), contradict_ (3,653), labour_ (3,636) and elit_ (3,567). With same four critical indicators appearing as the most prominent in both populations and most prominent cited authors differing more, the more contextual inspection into the relations between critical indicators and cited authors is conducted.

The size and number of clusters were determined by manipulating the resolution parameter. The VOS community detection algorithm was implemented on 946 identified critical articles published in US journals and 1,475 in European journals, however, the numbers of nodes in both populations were roughly at odds and the resolution parameter remained identical in both analyses. The "less important" cited authors - who occurred only once in the entire population - were not included in order to obtain more meaningful clusters. Thus, the VOS algorithm identified 24 clusters (res.=0.8, VOS=0.879, n=5,651) among the critical articles in the USA and 33 clusters (res.=0.8, VOS=0.662, n=5,951) within the critical articles published in Europe.

Out of 24 identified clusters in five US journals, six largest clusters represented 95.8% of all the nodes in the network. The most prominent clusters illustrating the main critical countours are “critique of ideology” (35.9 percent), “critique of (dis-)engagement” (32.1 percent), “critique of the dominant discourse” (19.1 percent), “critique of racial segregation” (4.9 percent), “critique of discrimination” (2.1 percent) and “LGBT critique” (1.7 percent).

Within the 33 clusters identified in the “critical” articles published in the three European journals, ten largest clusters contain 92.3% of all the nodes in the network. The most prominent contours of critical scholarship in the European journals are summarised by the following clusters: “the critique of domination” (43.2% of all the nodes within the network), “critique of ideology” (16.5 percent), “critique of hegemony” (8.2 percent), “critique of information revolution” (5.5 percent), “critique of legitimation,” (4.6 percent), “critique of discrimination” (3.8 percent), “poverty critique” (3.4 percent), “critique of racial segragation” (2.6 percent), “environmentalist critique” (2.5 percent) and “critique of homelessness” (2 percent).

Figure 3.18: Critical clusters in US and European journals (left) and the placement of critical authors (blue) from the control group (right)

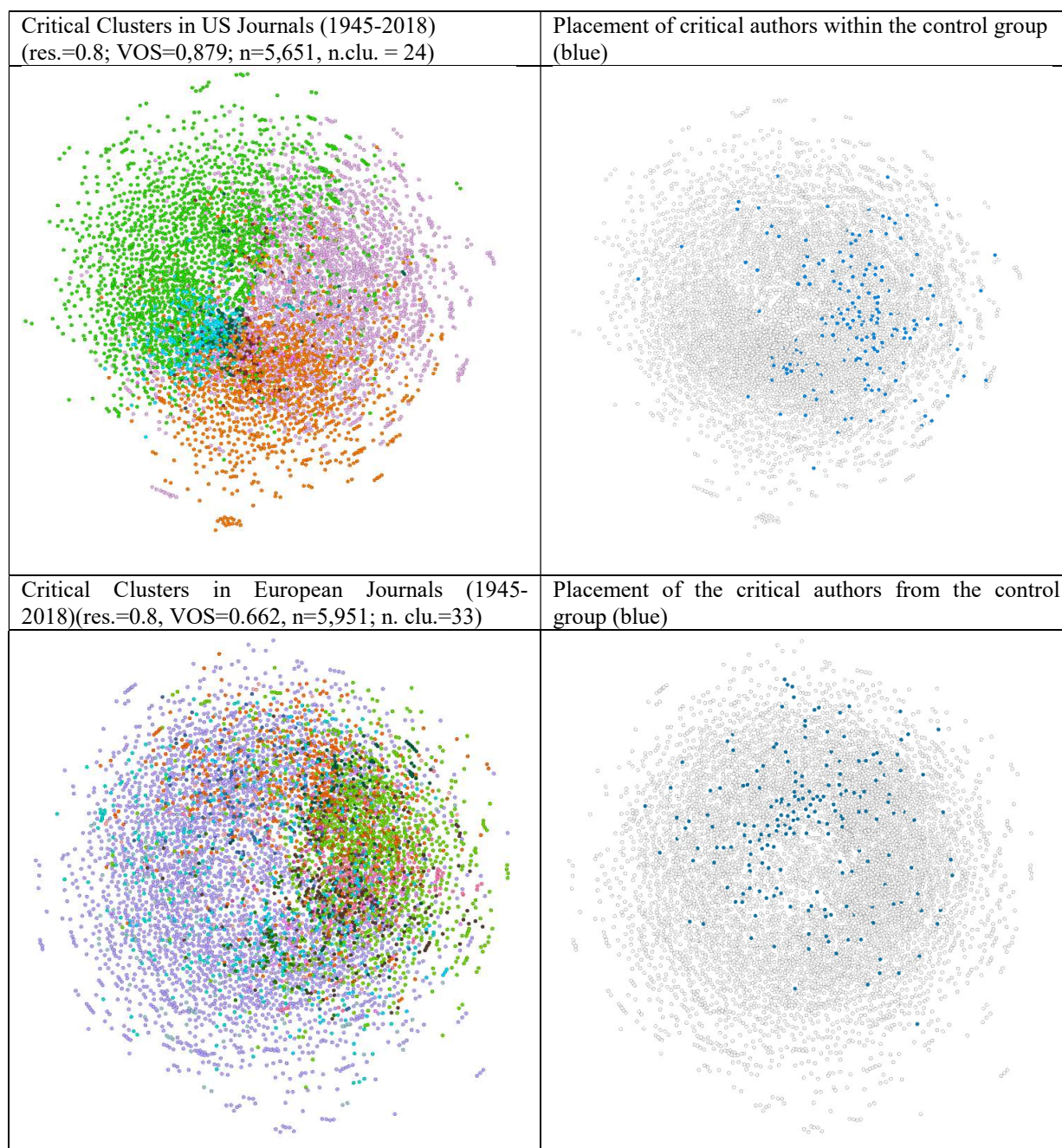


Table 3.22: Clusters of critical indicators and cited authors in critical articles published in the analysed US journals

Cluster (*ACA/**CCA/**%CCA) % of critical authors from the control group	Five most prominent cited authors (degree value)	Five most prominent critical indicators within the cluster (degree value and the cited author with the strongest link)
#1 Critique of ideology (purple) 1,947/113/5.8%	Michael Schudson (1,704), Gaye Tuchman (1,600), Todd Gitlin (1,580), Stuart Hall (1,561), Herbert J. Gans (1,499)	ideolog_ (4,495/M. C. McGee), dominan_ (4,146/J. K. Burgoon), gender_ (3,404/G. Tuchman), legitimlegitima_ (3,121/J. Habermas), struggl_ (3,018/S. Hall)
#2 Critique of (dis-)engagement (light green) 1,766/15/0.8%	Robert M. Entman (1,829), Lance W. Bennett (1,783), Jürgen Habermas (1,770), Shanto Iyengar (1,575), William A. Gamson (1,389)	engage_ (4,428/D. V. Shah), protest_ (3,244/ L. W. Bennet), mainstream (3,108/L. W. Bennet), elit_ (2,890/ R. M. Entman), controvers_ (2,724/ R. M. Entman)
#3 Critique of the dominant discourse (light blue) 1,056/42/4%	Erving Goffman (1,447), Michel Foucault (1,167), Anthony Giddens (1,151), Stanley Deetz (951), Dennis K. Mumby (904).	resist_ (3,114/M. Foucault), marginaliz_ (2,615/M. J. Dutta), environ_ (2,356/W. A. Gamson), empower_ (1,854/S. Deetz), abus_ (1,422/T. C. Sabourin)
#4 Critique of discrimination (orange) 266/0/0%	Henri Tajfel (921), Albert Bandura (883), Travis L. Dixon (696), Mary B. Oliver (580), Franklin D. Gilliam (544)	africa_ (3,010/T. L. Dixon), aggression (1,984/A. Bandura), activation (1,747/. L. Dixon), discriminat_ (1,725/D. R. Kinder), populis_ (850/L. Bos)
#5 Critique of racial segregation (dark blue) 114/1/0.9%	Donald R. Kinder (866), David O. Sears (811), Paul M. Sniderman (704), Lawrence Bobo (503), Edward G. Carmines (403)	black_ (4,132/R. M. Entman), raci_ (3,045/D. O. Sears), segregat_ (930/M. C. McGee)
#6 LGBT critique (brown) 92/3/3.3%	Larry Gross (406), Gregory M. Herek (290), David S. Meyer (265), Kevin M. DeLuca (209), Thomas C. Wilson (201)	gay (1,423/), lesbian (721) both G. M. Herek, queer (364), homophob_ (281/) both Larry Gross, habitus (125/B. Johnson)

*ACA – Number of all cited authors in the cluster

**CCA – Number of critical cited authors from the control group within the cluster

***% CCA – Percent of CCA within ACA

The sample of US articles contained 5,651 nodes (179 critical indicators and 5,471 cited authors). Out of all cited authors in the sample, 178 (3.2 percent) were identified as critical in regard to the control sample informed by the basic literature. The sample of European critical articles contained 5,950 nodes (5,764 cited authors and 186 critical concepts). Among all cited authors, 195 were identified as critical in the control sample (Figure 3.17).

Table 3.23: Clusters of critical indicators and cited authors in critical articles published in the analysed European Journals

Cluster (n of all authors/ n of critical authors / % of critical authors)	Five most prominent cited authors in the cluster (degree value)	Five most prominent critical indicators in the cluster (degree value and the cited author with the strongest link)
#1 (purple) critique of the domination (2,481/99/4 %)	S. Hall (2,671), P. Bourdieu (2,163), J. Habermas (1,891), A. Giddens (1,705), D. C. Hallin (1,429)	dominan_ (4,971), engage_ (4,865), struggl_ (4,201) contradict_ (3,653) (all T. A. van Dijk), critique (3,658/Stuart Hall),
#2 critique of ideology (light green) (954/33/3.5%)	T. A. van Dijk (2,424), N. Fairclough (2,290), M. Foucault (1,904), E. Goffman (1,649), R. Wodak (1,602)	ideolog_ (5,091/S. Hall), resist_ (3,554), gender_ (3,203), national_ (2,308), aggression (2,036/all T. A. van Dijk)
#3 critique of hegemony (light blue) (478/26/5.4%)	J. Fiske (1,101), I. Ang (1,062), J. A. Radway (775), M. Featherstone (713), H. I. Schiller (687)	hegemon_ (2,825/N. Fairclough), femini_ (2,509/A. McRobbie), marxism_ (1,589/K. Marx), repress_ (1,493/ T. A. van Dijk), imperialis_ (1,314/H. I. Schiller)
#4 critique of information revolution (black) (320/6/1.9%)	C. Chuan Lee (602), C. Atton (536), Y. Zhao (518), O. Boyd-Barret (464), J. S. Ettema (420)	revolution (2,212/R. Williams), alternative media (901/C. Atton), habitus (456/P. Bourdieu), marketi_ (390/N. Fairclough), cultural industry (171/Y. Zhao)
#5 critique of legitimization (orange) (258/1/0.4%)	T. van Leeuwen (883), M. Reisigl (867), P. Baker (554), J. R. Martin (495), F. H. van Eemeren (463)	legitimlegitima_ (4,283/), inequal_ (2,637/), equalit_ (2,325), migra_ (1,752), critical discourse analysis (1,480) all T. A. van Dijk
#6 critique of discrimination (pink) (216/3/1.4%)	M. Billig (1,670), M. Wetherell (1,134), J. Potter (1,039), M. Barker (716), M. Augoustinos (594)	discriminat_ (2,113), refugee (1,165), aborigi_ (668), all T. A. van Dijk, gay (1,198/C. Kitzinger), lesbian (667/H. Motschenbacher)
#7 critique of xenophobia (dark green) (199/13/6.5%)	Nancy Fraser (984), Karl Marx (837), Clifford Geertz (726), Klaus Bruhn Jensen (638), Walter Lippman (520), Paul Hartmann (375)	welfare (2,032), poverty (1,254), bourgeois_ (1,107/J. Habermas), xenopho_ (521/), critical theor_ (506/J. Habermas)
#8 critique of racial segregation (not coloured) 151/2/1.3%	Mary Bucholtz (503), Ana O. Santa (393), Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (373), Peter Teo (352), F. Fanon (339)	black_ (4,295), raci_ (2,991), immigra_ (2,313), multicultural_ (1,309), segregat_ (747) all T. A. van Dijk
#9 environmentalist critique (not coloured) 143/1/0.7%	Michael Stubbs (454), A. Hansen (399), D. Haraway (373), M. Krzyzanowski (359), C. M. Condit (357)	environ_ (1,667/M. Castells), public discourse (1,266/T. A. van Dijk), climate change (363/M. T. Boykoff), empiricis_ (363/M. Billig), praxis (295/K. Marx)
#10 critique of homelessness (not coloured) 118/0/0%	Karen Ross (417), Margaret Gallagher (365), Kathleen Woodward (360), Bethan Benwell (345), Francesca Polletta (308)	homeless_ (474/T. A. van Dijk)

The comparison of both populations is limited due to difference in the periods journals cover, the US journals publish longer than the European. Journals also differentiate in the numbers of published articles, while articles differ in the number of cited authors. Nevertheless, three European journals, younger in age, contain roughly one third more critical articles than five US journals.

Although the presence of critical authors from the control sample is similar in both populations; the critical articles published in the US journals contain 3.2%, while the

European population of critical articles contains 3.3% of the units from the control sample. Critical authors are distributed across the network with evident clusters indicated in both populations (Figure 3.18).

Likewise, the absence of critical scholars is indicated in particular segments of the network, especially within the second largest US cluster, namely critique of (dis-)engagement (containing only 0.8% of critical authors from the control group) and an area within the largest European cluster, namely critique of domination (containing 4% of the critical authors from the control group) (Figure 3.18).

Summary of Findings

Co-optation of the Public Sphere Theory by Political Communication Tradition?

The absence of critical authors from the control group or the presence of only a few of them in the cluster of US critique of (dis-)engagement, namely the prominent representatives of the public tradition, such as Jürgen Habermas, and Peter Dahlgren alongside the most prominent representatives of the political communication tradition, such as William A. Gamson, Dietram A. Scheufele, John R. Zaller, Diana C. Mutz, Doris A. Graber, Vincent Price, Michael X. Delli Carpini, Dhavan Shah and Joseph N. Cappella (among others), indicate the critique and/or co-optation of critical ideas by the representatives of the political communication tradition. Especially the concept of deliberation (see Mutz and Young, 2011; Lee, 2009) or its effects (see Zhang, 2015 for a detailed summary).

Likewise, the area allocated within the largest, critique of domination cluster in European journals, from which critical authors are absent, indicates the presence of cited authors not pertaining to critical traditions but associated with the critical indicators. The most prominent cited authors allocated in the “critical vacuum” are (again) the representatives of the US strand in political communication tradition, such as Shanto Iyengar, David L. Altheide, Doris A. Graber, Maxwell McCombs, Thomas E. Patterson, John R. Zaller and their European counterparts, among others Frank Esser, Jesper Stömbäck, Claes De Vreese and Holli A. Semetko.

By observing the weight values of the strongest links associated with critical indicators in US population, the representatives of the dominant paradigm are associated with the concepts often adopted within the public sphere tradition, such as deliberation (24,920), protest

(18,198), activism (17,558) and collective action (12,068) in the context of racial discrimination (black_ 15,141, raci_ 10,754, africa_ 7,170), gender equality (gender_ 10,446, femini_ 7,343), and to a lesser extent to the environmental issues (environ_ 6,428, climate change 3,508).

Critical indicator “deliberat_” in US critical articles is (besides Jürgen Habermas) (2,735), most strongly associated with Diana C. Mutz (2,883), Jane J. Mansbridge (1,930), John D. Dryzek (1,760), Dietram A. Scheufele (1,581), Jack M. McLeod (1,465), Magdalena Wojcieszak (1,402), James S. Fishkin (1,401), Simone Chambers (1,264), Robert R. Huckfeldt (1,225) and James Bohman (1,171). Among them relevant number of representatives of political science and political communication tradition, such as Mutz, Dryzek, Scheufele, McCleod and Wojcieszak.

The presence of the representatives of the political communication tradition in the analysed population of critical articles can be ascribed to their critical response to the ideas of critical traditions, as the following example suggest.

Political scientists and sociologists have long debated how social affiliations and experiences intersect to produce community involvement and civic engagement (Almond & Verba, 1963,1980; Coleman, 1990; Habermas, 1979; Inglehart, 1997; Taylor, 1989; Tönnies, 1940). These efforts typically provide an account of how individuals* social situations and social orientations generate involvement in the public sphere and then detail the obstacles to this normatively appealing goal. Among the factors found to enhance community participation are age and education, /.../

These findings, although provocative, must be questioned by any communication scholar who is attentive to the varied functions media serve (see McLeod & Becker, 1981; McQuail, 1987; Shah, 1998). That is, **these simplistic critiques of the media** [note of the author] are grounded on the assumption that there is one mass communication experience (rather than multiple motives and uses) and one audience (rather than different types of users) (Shah, McLeod and Yoon, 2001, pp. 464–5).

Critique of ideology is among the largest clusters identified in both populations. While ideology in US critical articles is mostly associated, other than Stuart Hall, with the US critical scholars, such as Michael Schudson, Gaye Tuchman, Todd Gitlin and Herbert J. Gans, the concept in the European journals is to a greater extent associated with non-US scholars, among others Michel Foucault, Erving Goffman, Ruth Wodak, Roger Fowler and Edward W.

Said. Erving Goffman and Michel Foucault, on the other hand, are among the most prominent cited authors forming the critical discourse cluster within the US sample of critical articles, while Stuart Hall is among the most prominent in the group of scholars critically addressing issues of domination in the European context.

Besides the critique of ideology, the cleavages forming the US critical clusters suggest the liberal conceptualisation of criticality – formed around group identity characteristics, such as critique of discrimination on racial, gender or sexual basis, but not associated with the basis of economic and political system generating inequalities and remaining within the boundaries of the status quo. On the contrary, in the European case the stemm femini_, designating the concept “feminism” and its derivatives such as “feminist,” “feminisation,” etc., is contained within the cluster “critique of hegemony” together from the critical indicators “hegemon_” and “marxis_”, indicating, that the European tradition of feminist critique is associated to marxism. However, clusters named “the critique of racial segregation” and “the critique of discrimination” contain no indicators of marxist origin, but obtain strongest links with the representatives of the tradition of the critical discourse analysis.

Moreover, a high number of the most prominent critical indicators within the European critical clusters obtain the strongest links with Teun A. van Dijk, indicating his authority over a large part of the critical vocabulary. The example furthermore illustrates the need for conducting the analysis on the level of individual journals.

3.5 Critical theory and research in the eight communication journals

An investigation into the patterns of critical scholarship nourished by the individual journals is offered in the following chapter. In order to compare the patterns of criticality in the era of the polarised world and in the succeeding period of the dominance of capitalism, the analysis is divided into two periods.

The analysis is performed on each journal for the both corresponding periods (except for *Discourse & Society* which began publishing in 1990 – the beginning of the second period) resulting in 17 analysed populations. In order to make the clustering meaningful and taking into consideration that particular populations are containing relatively small number of articles, the frequency value of critical concepts and cited authors within a particular article was dichotomised. Analytical emphasis was thus devoted to repetitive patterns of co-appearance. The analysis commences with the US journals: *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *Journalism (& Mass Communication) Quarterly*, *Communication Monographs*, *Journal of Communication* and *Communication Research*, holding the longest tradition of publishing, playing an important role in the fields' constitution.

3.5.1 U.S. Journals during the Cold War

3.5.1.1 *Public Opinion Quarterly*: Between Marx Critique and the Critique of Marxism

The population of critical articles represents only 3% (46 articles; 0.07 articles per year) of the total of all published articles (1,520) in the first period of analysis. Out of 192 identified critical indicators in the analysed corpus of articles, 105 (52.2 percent) were identified in the sample. Network thus consists of 549 nodes, where apart from those assigned to critical indicators, 444 pertain to cited authors. Nodes in the network are connected with 15,471 edges.

The sample of articles contains references to 25 (11.1 percent) of the 225 critical authors from the control group. These are, however, not among the most prominent cited authors. According to the highest degree values which are taken as a measure of importance, the most prominent cited authors are representatives of the dominant paradigm, among others Robert K. Merton (185), Elihu Katz (178), Paul F. Lazarsfeld (170), Philip E. Converse (162), Karl Marx (142), Seymour M. Lipset (134), Robin M. Williams (133), Bernard R. Berelson (132),

Angus Campbell (130) and Herbert H. Hyman (129). Four representatives of the critical paradigm are located among the 30 most prominent cited authors: Karl Marx, Todd Gitlin, Stuart Hall and George Gerbner (Table 3.24).

Table 3.24: Most prominent cited authors, links between most prominent critical indicators and cited authors and critical authors and critical indicators in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 1945-1989

Most Prominent Cited Authors (ordered by degree value)		The strongest link between most prominent critical indicator and cited author	The strongest link between most prominent cited critical author and critical indicator
1.	Merton Robert K. (228)	ideolog_ - Dean G. Acheson (655)	5. Karl Marx (142)-ideolog_, contradict_, black
2.	Converse Philip E. (224)	black_ - Mary R. Jackman (539)	12.-20. Todd Gitlin (123)-critical theor_, critique_, dominan-, elit_, hegemon_
3.	Katz Elihu (215)	protest_ - Charles S. Macfarland (495)	Stuart Hall (123) - critical theor_, critique_, dominan_, elit_, hegemon_, ideolog_, legitimlegitima_
4.	Lazarsfeld Paul F. (201)	elit_ - Firdus Džinić (472)	24.-25. George Gerbner (115), critique
5.	Campbell Angus (180)	raci_ -P. E. Converse (947)	32. Max Horkheimer (98)-revolution

Ideology (degree value 405) is a critical indicator associated with the largest number of other prominent critical indicators, appearing in almost half (22) of the population of critical articles in *Public Opinion Quarterly*. The most prominent critical indicators in the decreasing order of degree value are black_ (316), elit_ (310), dominan_ (285), legitim_ (284), protest_ (284), raci_ (272), conscious_ (237), contradict_ (228) and aggression (333).

The strongest links between different critical indicators are those designating the critique of racism associated with ideology: black_-protest_ (14), black_-raci_ (14), black_-ideolog_ (13), hostile_-ideolog_ (11), protest_-raci_ (10), elit_-ideolog_ (10) and ideolog_-protest_ (10).

By applying VOS community detection technique to the cited authors and critical indicators, 6 distinctive clusters¹⁹ were identified (Figure 6.1). Namely, “critique of ideology cluster” (31.6% of all the nodes), “critique of the dominance cluster” (24.7 percent), “critique of racial discrimination cluster” (20.4 percent), “activism cluster” (13.4 percent), “working class cluster” (7.5 percent) and “critique of xenophobia cluster” (2.4 percent).

1.) Critique of ideology (purple) is the largest cluster formed by 174 nodes (31.6% of nodes in the whole network), 64 of which designate critical indicators and 110 cited authors. The most prominent critical indicators contained in the cluster are *ideolog_* (405), *elit_* (310), *protest_* (284), *conscious_* (237), *contradict_* (228), *aggression* (220), *controvers_* (205), *resist_* (205) and *hostil_* (200). The cluster contains the most prominent representatives of the dominant and the critical paradigm, Paul F. Lazarsfeld (170) and Max Weber (47), reknown for the development of the theory of social stratification. Due to a small population the interpretation of the results is limited – as indicated in the Figure 6.1, a large number of nodes posses same degree values, indicating that they were cited only in a single article. 23 cited authors share same degree values (39) out of which the critical representatives are cited authors most frequently associated with marxism, among others Friedrich Engels, Vladimir I. Lenin, Joseph V. Stalin, Vyacheslav M. Molotov, Andrey Vyshinsky, and their opponents, such as Harry S. Truman, John F. Dulles and G. C. Marshall.

2.) Critique of dominance (light green) is the second largest cluster containing 136 nodes (24.7% off all the nodes in the network), where 14 represent critical indicators and 122 cited authors. The critical indicators with the highest degree values are *dominan_* (285), *legitimlegitima_* (284), *dissent_* (170), *critique* (154), *accessibility* (141), *critical theor_* (123), *hegemon_* (123), *africa* (109), *dialectic* (105) and *humanis_* (92), while the cited authors obtaining the highest degree values are Robert K. Merton (185), Elihu Katz (178), Karl Marx (142), Bernard Berelson (132), Morris Janowitz (129), Jay G. Blumler (132, same value for all following), Herbert J. Gans, Todd Gitlin, Stuart Hall and Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann.

3.) Critique of racial discrimination (blue) is the third largest cluster, containing 112 nodes, where 11 represent critical indicators and 101 cited authors. The critical indicators with the highest degree values are *black_* (316), *raci_* (272), *equalit_* (167), *discriminat_* (161),

¹⁹ Resolution:1; VOS=0.701

inequalit_ (130), segregat_ (119), social class (104), gender_ (90), femini_ (43) and political participation (43). The cited authors with the highest degree values are Robin M. Williams (133), Angus Campbell (130), Mary R. Jackman (100), G. W. Allport (94), Robert W. Hodge (83), Thomas Pettygrew (839), Theodor W. Adorno (9), Arthur H. Miller (74), Henri Tajfel (67) and Karl Manheim (64).

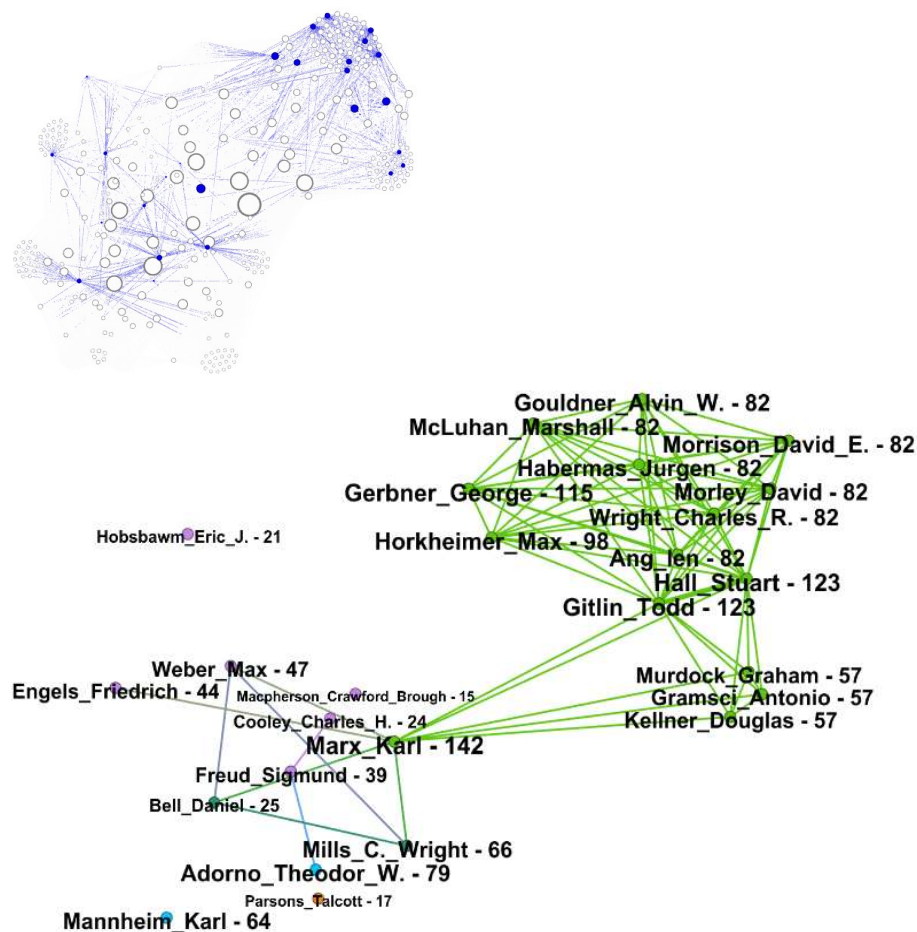
4.) Activism cluster (orange) is fourth in size and containing 73 nodes, where 10 nodes pertain to critical indicator and 63 to cited authors. The critical indicators with the highest degree values are activis_ (104), national_ (97), welfare (83), hatred (48), ownership (40), powerlessness (17), rationality (17), reflective (14) and extremism (10). The cited authors with the highest degree values are Philip E. Converse (162), Seymour Lipset (134), Herbert H. Hyman (129), Samuel S. Stouffer (122), Howard Schuman (112), Nathan Glazer (102), Kent M. Jennings (97), Tom W. Smith (79), Hadley Cantril (72) and Garth D. Taylor (65).

5.) Working class is the second smallest cluster in size, as it contains a single critical indicator – working class (47) and 40 nodes designating cited authors. The most prominent cited scholars in the cluster (considering the highest degree values) are critical sociologists Otis D. Duncan (66), C. Wright Mills (66), Leo Bogart (59), but also prominent social psychologists Morris Rosenberg (66), Carl I. Hovland (63), Leon Festinger (56) and authors affiliated with US Army, such as Samuel Lyman Atwood Marshall (57)

6.) Critique of xenophobia is the smallest of analysed clusters containing 3 critical indicators and 10 cited authors. Three of the critical indicators are xenopho_ (30), americani_ (30) and cosmopolit_ (30), while the authors with the highest degree values are Roper Center for Public Opinion Research affiliated Samuel Lubell (42), Richard Christie (39), Raymond A. Bauer (30, all following), Leo Lowenthal, David Riesman, Charles Herbert Stember, James G. March, Ithiel de Solla Pool, Lloyd W. Warner and Evon Z. Vogt.

Sigmund Freud, Charles H. Cooley and Brough Crawford Macpherson), critique of racial discrimination (Theodor W. Adorno and Karl Manheim), activism cluster (Talcott Parsons) and working class cluster (C. Wright Mills).

Figure 3.20: Reduced network of critical cited authors in Public Opinion Quarterly, 1945–1989



Karl Marx is situated in the central position among all representatives of different critical traditions in the network. Although the clustering algorithm places him in the critique of dominance cluster, the spatialisation algorithm which places the nodes merely on the basis of their edge weights, positions him in the centre of the network, indicating significantly repetitive co-citation patterns with the critical concepts and cited authors from the largest cluster, such as contradiction (3), ideology (3), marxism (2) and critical indicators from the critique of racial discrimination cluster, i.e. black (3), racism (2).

In the early period of Public Opinion Quarterly, Karl Marx appears as the central critical author as his co-citation pattern contains strong links with the indicators of “ideology” and

“dominance.” However, he is not strongly associated with other critical authors but rather with the leading authors of the dominant paradigm, which indicates that he has been referred to as an object of critique. When taking the context of the article into consideration, the prominence of Karl Marx among all other critical authors is not entirely based in subjecting Marxism to critique. Indeed, in the early period of analysis, references to Marx in the critical articles of the *Public Opinion Quarterly* were adopted, for example, in order to criticise the (critical) concept of hegemony (Altheide, 1984) or to exemplify the disharmony of the official Soviet ideology with the basic Marxist principles in order to “improve America’s effectiveness in the propaganda war” (Glaser, 1956, p. 691).

In contrast to Marx himself, who realized that the proximate causes of political behavior are numerous and varied, and who identified economics only as the exclusive ultimate cause, Soviet leaders are quick to identify immediate pecuniary interest as the outstanding motive of men generally. Soviet periodicals are filled with lurid descriptions of how the capitalist opponents of the U.S.S.R. manipulate all the domestic and foreign policies of their states to ensure the maximum pecuniary income for themselves and to gain security for their property (ibid.)

3.5.1.2 Communication Monographs: Critical Rhetoric and Argumentation

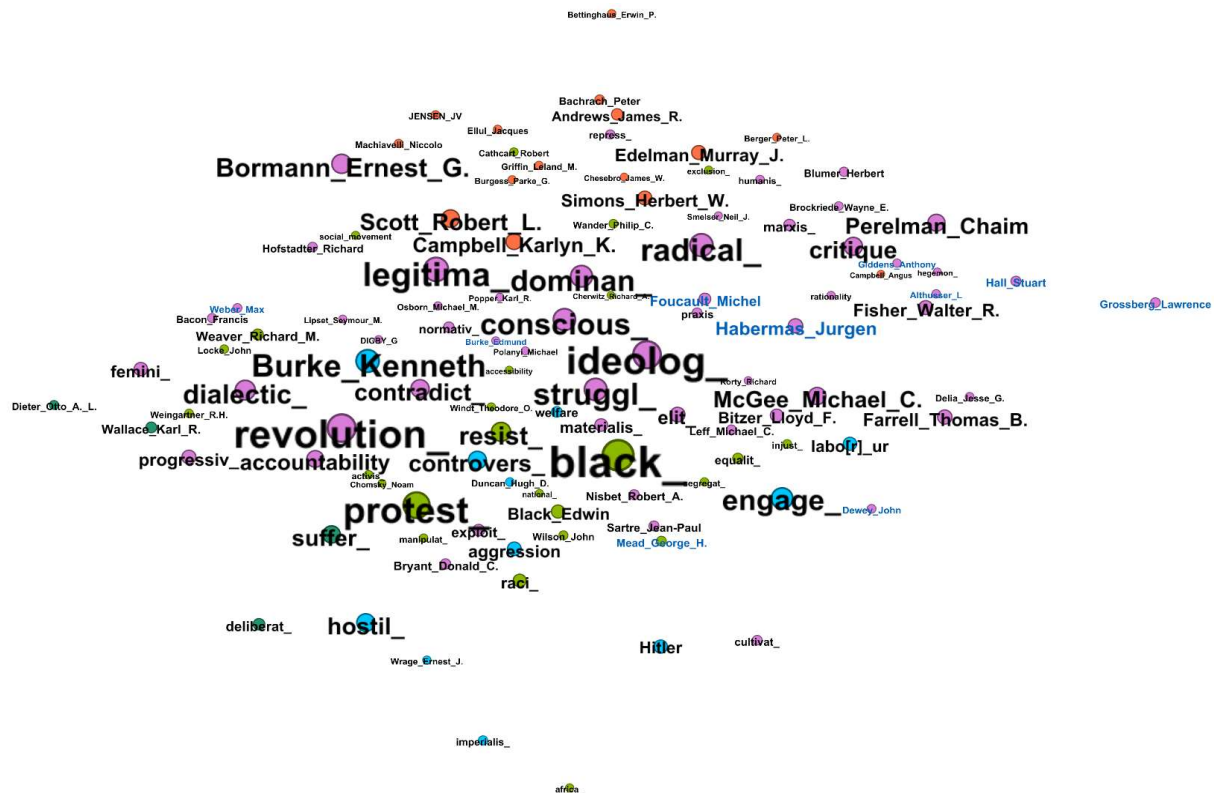
Of the population of 1,535 articles published in Communication Monographs between 1945 and 1989, 37 articles were considered to be critical (2.4% in the sample during the period; averaging at 0.8 per year). The sample contains 99 (51.6% of all critical indicators identified). The network consists of 1,357 nodes, of which 1,258 denote cited authors. All vertices are connected with 62,775 edges, resulting in a density index of 0.068.

The most prominent critical indicators by their degree value are black_ (890), revolution_ (802), ideolog_ (788), protest_ (745), legitimlegitima_ (681), radical_ (643), struggl_ (627), conscious_ (614), dominan_ (604) and engage_ (590). According to the cited authors with the highest degree values, the journal’s criticality in the journal is based in on a strong (American) tradition of critical rhetorics rhetoric and argumentation, with the authors Kenneth Burke (639), Ernest G. Borman (530), Robert L. Scott (477), Michael C. McGee (467), Chaïm Perelman (458), Karlyn K. Campbell (424), Jürgen Habermas (376), Thomas B. Farrell (372), Walter Fisher (365) and Murray J. Edelman (364).

By applying a VOS community detection algorithm with a resolution of 0.2, 5 clusters were identified (VOS=0.883) (Figure 6.3), namely “critique of ideology” (purple, containing 35.3% of nodes in the network), “critique of racial discrimination” (light green, 25.9%), “critique of

(dis-)engagement” (blue, 17.2%), “critique of coercion” (orange, 12.9%) and “deliberation cluster” (dark green, 8.8 percent). An additional spatialisation algorithm was applied to the network, to reduce the overlap among the network’s most central nodes in the network.

Figure 3.21: Reduced network of the most prominent critical indicators and cited authors in Communication Monographs, 1945–1989, colours of nodes correspond to cluster membership and critical authors indicated with blue labels (8.1% of the network visible; n=110; min. degree = 160)



1.) **Critique of ideology** is the largest cluster and contained 47 critical indicators and 432 cited authors. The critical concepts with the greatest links to other nodes are revolution_ (802), ideolog_ (788), legitmlegitima_ (681), radical_ (643), struggl_ (627), conscious_ (614), dominan_ (604), dialectic_ (548), critique (493) and contradict_ (489). The ten most prominent authors in the cluster are Ernest G. Bormann (530), Michael C. McGee (467), Chaim Perelman (458), Jürgen Habermas (376), Thomas B. Farrell (372), Walter R. Fisher (365), Lloyd F. Bitzer (324), Michel Foucault (290), Donald C. Bryant (324) and Robert A. Nisbet (239).

2.) **Critique of racial discrimination** contains 26 critical indicators and 324 cited authors. The most prominent critical indicators according to their degree value are black_

(890), protest_ (745), resist_ (523), raci_ (327), equalit_ (248), injust_ (198), manipul_ (190), activis_ (189), segregat_ (186) and africa_ (183). The highest degree values of cited authors pertain to Edwin Black (338), Richard M. Weaver (267), George H. Mead (229), John Wilson (206), Philip C. Wander (197), John Locke (192), R. H. Weingartner (192), Robert Cathcart (187), Theodore O. Windt (181) and Noam Chomsky (170).

3.) **Critique of (dis-)engagement** contains 19 critical indicators and 215 cited authors. The ten most prominent indicators according to their degree value are engage_ (590), hostil_ (485), controvers_ (482), aggression (353), Hitler (342), labor_ (339), welfare (257), imperialis_ (213), nazi (148) and worker (128). The most prominent authors in degree values are Kenneth Burke (639), Hugh D. Duncan (194), Ernest J. Wrage (186), Robert L. Ivie (156), Lyndon B. Johnson (138), Harold D. Lasswell (138), Charles A. Beard (127), Arthur M. Schlesinger (124), William J. Fullbright (119) and Kathleen H. Jamieson (117).

4.) **The critique of coercion** cluster contains 3 critical indicators and 172 cited authors. The critical indicators are coerc_ (131), totalitar_ (91) and civic (64). The most prominent cited authors in this cluster are Robert L. Scott (477), Karlyn K. Campbell (424), Murray J. Edelman (364), Herbert W. Simons (360), James R. Andrews (283), Peter Bachrach (221), Jacques Ellul (191), J. V. Jensen (191), Niccolo Machiavelli (191) and Leland M. Griffin (187).

5.) **Deliberation** is the smallest cluster as it contains 4 critical indicators and 115 cited authors. The most prominent indicators according to their degree value are suffer_ (471), deliberat_ (285), empire (131) and refugee (31). Among the most prominent cited authors are Karl R. Wallace (262), Otto A. L. Dieter (208), George A. Kennedy (148), J. Q. Adams (103), J. Alsted (103) and Thomas E. Ameringer (103).

The sample of critical articles in Communication Monographs contains references to 50 (out of 225) critical authors identified in the control sample, the majority of whom (40) appear in the critique of ideology cluster. Their pertinence to the clusters does not correspond to their membership to various schools of thought within the critical paradigm.

complemented by 264 cited authors. All vertices are connected by 5,785 edges, resulting in a density index of 0.095.

The central critical indicator in the network according to degree value is protest_ (223), followed by ideolog_ (186), struggl_ (185), revolution_ (183), radical_ (172), black_ (161), labour_ (150), suffer_ (128), hostil_ (126) and conscious_ (118). The most frequent pairs of co-occurrences between critical indicators are revolution_–struggl_ (11), ideolog_–revolution_ (11), labour_–struggl_ (10), radical_–revolution_ (10) and black_–protest_ (10) (see Figure 6.6). Authors with the highest degree values are Frederick S. Siebert (91), Richard Hofstadter (87), Donald L. Shaw (76), Paul F. Lazarsfeld (65), Morris Janowitz (52), Wilbur L. Schramm (49), Arthur M. Schlesinger (47) and Bruce H. Westley (47). Only 10 pairs of authors are co-cited twice; all pairs within the triangle of two law scientists, Walter Berns and Thomas I. Emerson, and a scholar in journalism, Frederick S. Siebert. The highest edge weight values are obtained by three members forming a triangle, namely Stanley Nider Katz–Leonard W. Levy–Harold L. Nelson, and the pairs between Vladimir I. Lenin–Merle Fainsod, Wilbur L. Schram–Walter W. Rostow, August Meier–Irvine Garland Penn and Arthur M. Schlesinger–Isaiah Thomas.

Figure 3.24: Network of co-occurrences (with edge weights) among the 11 most prominent critical indicators (colours correspond to their cluster membership)

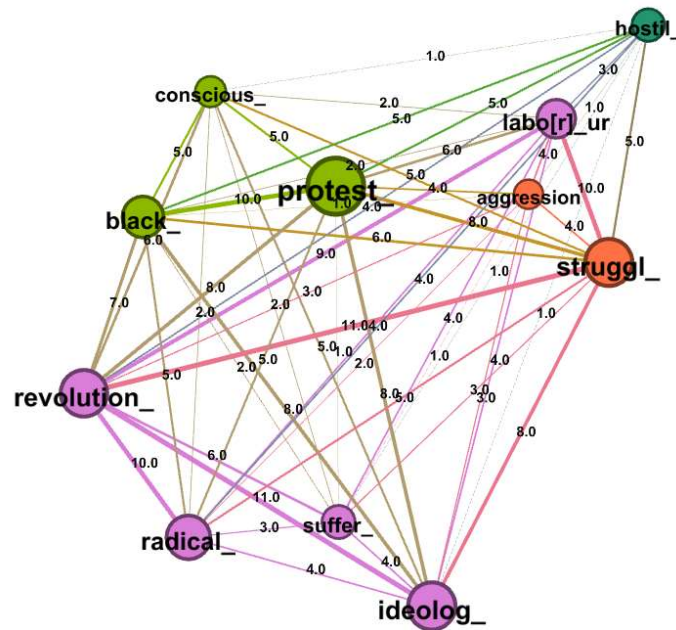
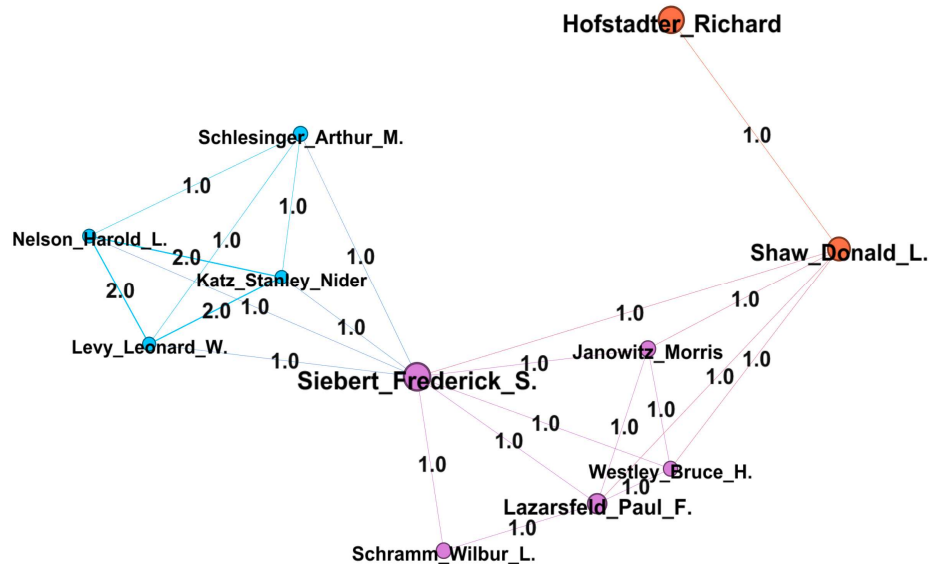


Figure 3.25: Co-citation network (with edge weights) among the ten most prominent cited authors (colours correspond to their cluster membership)



The network contains 5 different clusters of critical indicators and cited authors (VOS = 0.790, res. = 0.3), namely “critique of ideology” (purple, containing 36.6 % of all nodes in the

network), “critique of racial discrimination” (green, 20 %), “critic of tyranny cluster” (blue, 18.3%), “civic struggle cluster” (orange, 17.1 %) and “critique of imperialism cluster” (dark green, 8%).

The largest cluster, **critique of ideology** (129 nodes), contains critical indicators with the highest degree values in the network, such as *ideolog_* (188), *revolution_* (185), *radical_* (174), *labor_* (152) and *suffer* (130). Among the 87 cited authors contained in the cluster, the most prominent are Frederick S. Siebert (91), Paul F. Lazarsfeld (65), Morris Janowitz (65), Bruce H. Westley (48) and Wilbur L. Schramm (50).

1.) The **critique of racial discrimination** cluster (70 nodes) is formed by 16 critical indicators and 54 referenced authors. The most prominent critical indicators are *protest_* (225), *black_* (163), *monopol_* (102), *conscious_* (120), and *raci_* (103). The referenced authors with the highest degree values are Stephen T. Early (39), Lee Finkle (36), Rayford W. Logan (33), August Meier (25) and Irvine Garland Penn (25).

2.) The **critique of tyranny** cluster (64 nodes) is formed by 12 critical indicators and 52 cited authors. The most prominent critical indicators are *abus_* (103), *controvers_* (97), *tyrann_* (55/0.345), *common_* (41) and *pseudo_* (39). The most prominent cited authors are Arthur M. Schlesinger (48), Stanley Nider Katz (44), Leonard W. Levy (44), Harold L. Nelson (44) and Carl F. Wittke (41).

3.) The **civic struggle** cluster (60 nodes) is created by 11 critical indicators and 49 cited authors. The most prominent critical indicators are *struggl_* (187), *aggression* (114), *civic* (101), *progressiv_* (96) and *elit_* (92). The most central referenced authors are Richard Hofstadter (87), Donald L. Shaw (76), Thomas L. Haskell, Frederic C. Howe (42) and Lee B. Becker (42).

4.) The **critique of imperialism** cluster (28 nodes) is formed by 6 critical indicators and 22 referenced authors. The most central critical indicators in the cluster are *hostil_* (128), *repress_* (75), *imperialis_* (69), *dictator_* (50) and *empower* (19). The most prominent cited authors are Christopher Lasch (22, same values for all following), Eugene Lyons, Bruce Bilven, Oswald G. Villard, Elizabeth Wilson and Max Eastman.

The analysed population of critical articles contains contained citations to 8 out of 225 critical authors identified in the control sample,; Robert E. Park (42), Theodor W. Adorno (35 all

tradition or school of thought. For example, authors like Leonard W. Levy, Harold L. Nelson and Frederick S. Siebert may well be considered critical since their research work was devoted to a critique of the administrative obstacles to press freedom, research work on press regulation, together with Carl F. Witkes' research work on US immigrants and Richard Hofstadters' work on the critique of capitalism.

3.5.1.4 Journal of Communication: Ideological Struggles

Of a population of 1,226 articles in Journal of Communication between 1951²⁰ and 1989, 50 (4.1 %) were considered critical. The sample contains 111 among 192 (57.8 %) identified critical indicators. The network consists of 1,223 nodes, in which critical indicators are supplemented with 1,112 cited authors. All nodes are connected by 42,573 edges, resulting in a density index of 0.057.

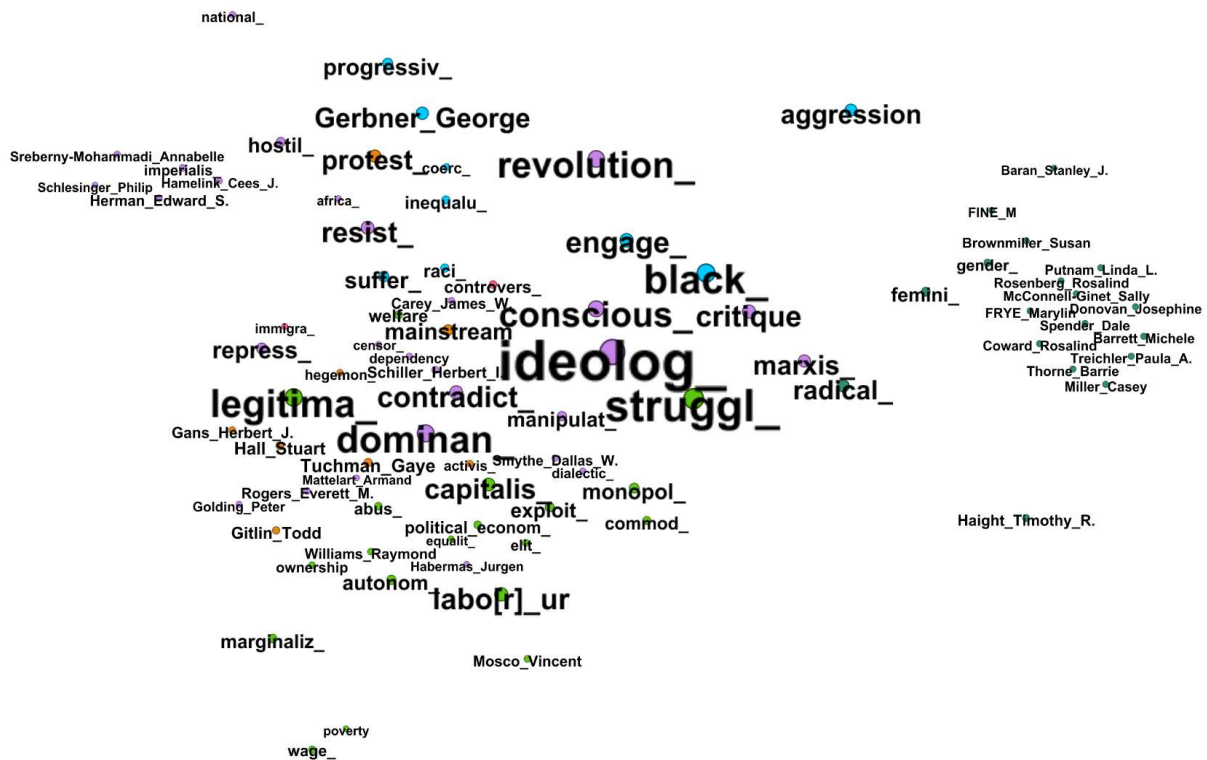
The most prominent critical indicators with the highest degree value in the network are ideolog_ (851), struggl_ (666), black_ (595), dominan_ (558), revolution_ (541), conscious_ (517), engage_ (427), critique (421), labour_ (421) and contradict_ (417). On the other hand, the most prominent cited authors are George Gerbner (385), Gaye Tuchman (237), Stuart Hall (223), Todd Gitlin (206), Herbert I. Schiller (193), Herbert J. Gans (189), Timothy R. Haight (187), Edward S. Herman (182), Vincent Mosco (182) and James W. Carey (181). The most frequent pairs of co-occurrences between critical indicators are dominan_–ideolog_ (21), ideolog_–struggl_ (16), ideolog_–conscious_ (15), contradict_–ideolog_ (15), ideolog_–legitima_ (15), dominan_–struggl_ (14), conscious_–dominan_ (12), dominan_–legitima_ (12), ideolog_–black (11) and ideolog_–critique_ (11). The most frequent pairs of co-citations among the authors are Herbert J. Gans–Gaye Tuchman (5), Herbert I. Schiller–Dallas W. Smythe (4), Armand Mattelart–Herbert I. Schiller (4), Todd Gitlin–Stuart Hall (4), George Gerbner–Cees J. Hamelink (3), George Gerbner–Dallas W. Smythe (3), Stuart Hall–Everett M. Rogers (3), Stuart Hall–Raymond Williams (3), Elihu Katz–Everett M. Rogers (3) and Armand Mattelart–Everett M. Rogers (3), among others.

The network is divided into 6 different clusters of critical indicators and cited authors (VOS=0.883, res.=0.2), named “critique of ideology” (purple, 25.9% of all the nodes in the network), “critique of capitalism” (light green, 23.1%), “critique of racial inequality” (blue,

²⁰ *Journal of Communication* began publishing in 1952.

15.5%), “critique of hegemony” (orange, 14.3%), “feminist critique” (dark green, 12.2%) and “critique of Americanisation” (pink, 9%).

Figure 3.27: Reduced network of the most prominent critical indicators and cited authors in Journal of Communication, 1951–1989 (min. degree = 135)



1.) The largest cluster, **critique of ideology** (317 nodes) contains 35 critical indicators, among them the most prominent within the network: ideolog_ (851), dominan_ (558), revolution_ (541), conscious_ (517) and critique_ (421). The critique of ideology is most salient in the ideas of political economists of media since, among the 282 cited authors belonging to the cluster, the most prominent are Herbert I. Schiller (193), Edward S. Herman (182), James W. Carey (181), Everett M. Rogers (179), Dallas W. Smythe (171), Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi (161), Peter Golding (161), Cees J. Hamelink (158), Jürgen Habermas (152) and Armand Mattelart (150).

2.) The **critique of capitalism** cluster (282; 23.1%) contains 31 critical indicators and 21 referenced authors. The most prominent indicators are struggl_ (666), legitimlegitima_ (571), labor_ (421), capitalis_ (398), monopol_ (295) autonom_ (48), exploit_ (273), marginalis_ (249), commod_ (230) and welfare (222). The most prominent among the 251 cited authors are Vincent Mosco (182), Raymond Williams (175), Graham Murdock (117), Erik Barnouw

(106), Roger G. Noll (100), Daniel Bell (99), Alwin W. Gouldner (99), Claus Offe (99), Kevin Robins (99) and Nicos Poulantzas (87).

3.) The **critique of racial inequality** cluster is created by 18 critical indicators and 172 cited authors. The most prominent critical indicators include black_ (595), engage_ (427), aggression (373), suffer_ (316), progressiv_ (312), raci_ (238), inequal_ (227), coerc_ (18), consumpti_ (112), cultivat_ (103), deliberat_ (95) and segregat_ (81). The most prominent cited authors are George Gerbner (385), Paul M. Hirsch (121), Albert Bandura (96), Stuart Ewen (85), John P. Robinson (80), Joseph T. Klapper (77), David Pearl (77), Richard R. Cole (75), Dick Hebdige (74) and Paul Willis (74).

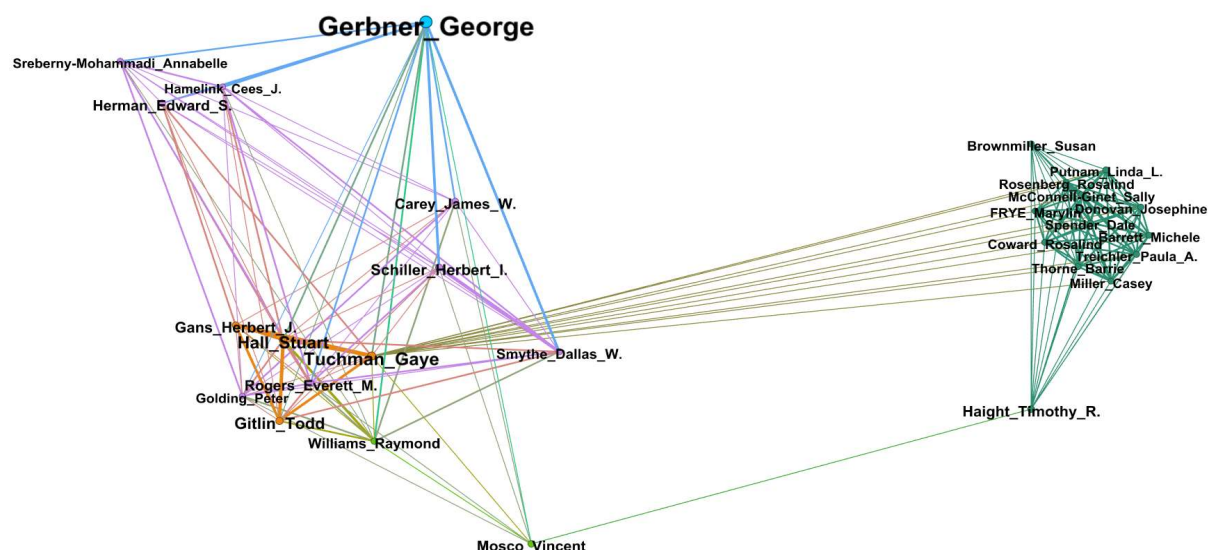
4.) The **critique of hegemony** cluster is formed by 17 critical indicators and 158 cited authors. The most prominent critical indicators are protest_ (381), mainstream (314), hegemon_ (171), activis_ (170), dissent_ (107), empower_ (68), normativ_ (67) and environ_ (55). The critique of hegemony is approached in the journal from different traditions within critical scholarship, with the most prominent cited authors in the cluster being Gaye Tuchman (237), Stuart Hall (223), Todd Gitlin (206), Herbert J. Gans (189), Antonio Gramsci (116), David Morley (115), Roland Barthes (102), Murray J. Edelman (100), Dan Schiller (96) and Harvey Molotch (94).

5.) The **feminist critique** cluster contains 149 nodes, of which 4 represent critical indicators and 145 cited authors. The most prominent critical indicators are radical_ (372), femini_ (258), gender_ (197) and sexis_ (53), while the most prominent cited authors in the cluster are Timothy R. Height (187), Susan Brownmiller (165), Michèle Barrett (161, same for all others), Rosalind Coward, Josephine Donovan, Marilyn Frye, Sally McConnell-Ginet, Casey Miller, Linda L. Putnam and Rosalind Rosenberg, among others. The strong associations with the neighbouring critical indicators, such as marxis_ and ideolog_ that are indicated suggest Marxist feminist critique.

6.) The **critique of Americanisation** cluster contains 110 linked to 6 critical indicators and 104 cited authors. The most prominent cited authors associated with critical indicators controvers_ (217), immigra_ (159), exclusion_ (121), discriminat_ (98), americani_ (83) and migra_ (71) are George N. Gordon (88), Willard G. Bleyer (48, same for all following),

Martin E. Dann, John Dewey, Edwin Emery, Michael Emery, Jean Folkerts, Carl C. Grabo, and Grant Madison, among others.

Figure 3.28: Co-citation network of the most prominent cited authors (colours correspond to their cluster membership) (min. edge value = 158).)



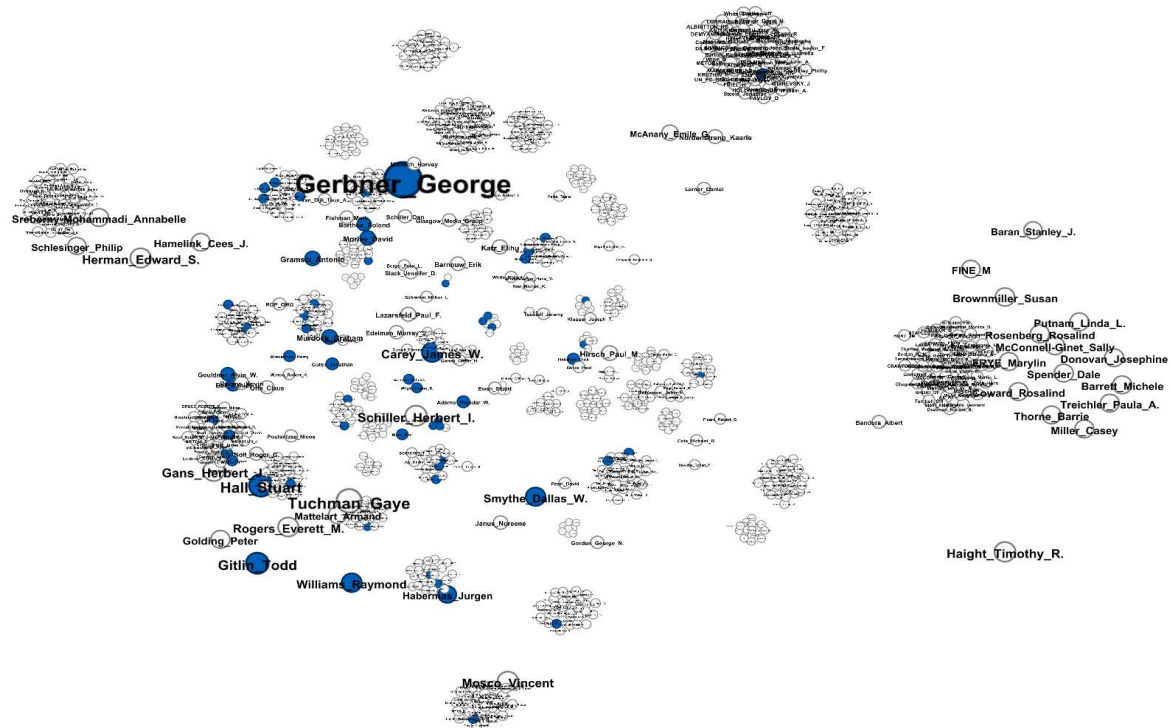
The analysed sample contains 66 of the 225 critical authors identified in the control sample. The most prominent of these (according to their degree value) are George Gerbner (385), Stuart Hall (223), Todd Gitlin (206), James W. Carey (181), Raymond Williams (175), Dallas W. Smythe, Jürgen Habermas, Julia Kristeva (126), Angela McRobbie (126), Adrienne Rich (126), Mary Wollstonecraft (126), Graham Murdock (117), Antonio Gramsci (116) and David Morley (115).

The patterns of co-citation of the critical cited authors show that the distribution of critical authors from the control sample is relatively equal across the network. The clusters in the network within which the control sample authors are absent still contain critical representatives, like authors from the feminist critique cluster.

The co-citation patterns also indicate the minor role of the most prominent representatives of the dominant paradigm, which appeared to be the objects of critique, such as Paul F. Lazarsfeld (110), Willbur L. Schramm (72), Harold D. Laswell (49) and Bernard L. Berelson (54), among others.

The lack of co-citation patterns among the identified critical scholars and referenced authors in the “feminist critique” cluster suggest a relative degree of autonomy of the latter are relatively autonomous of the other prominent (especially Marxist) critical traditions.

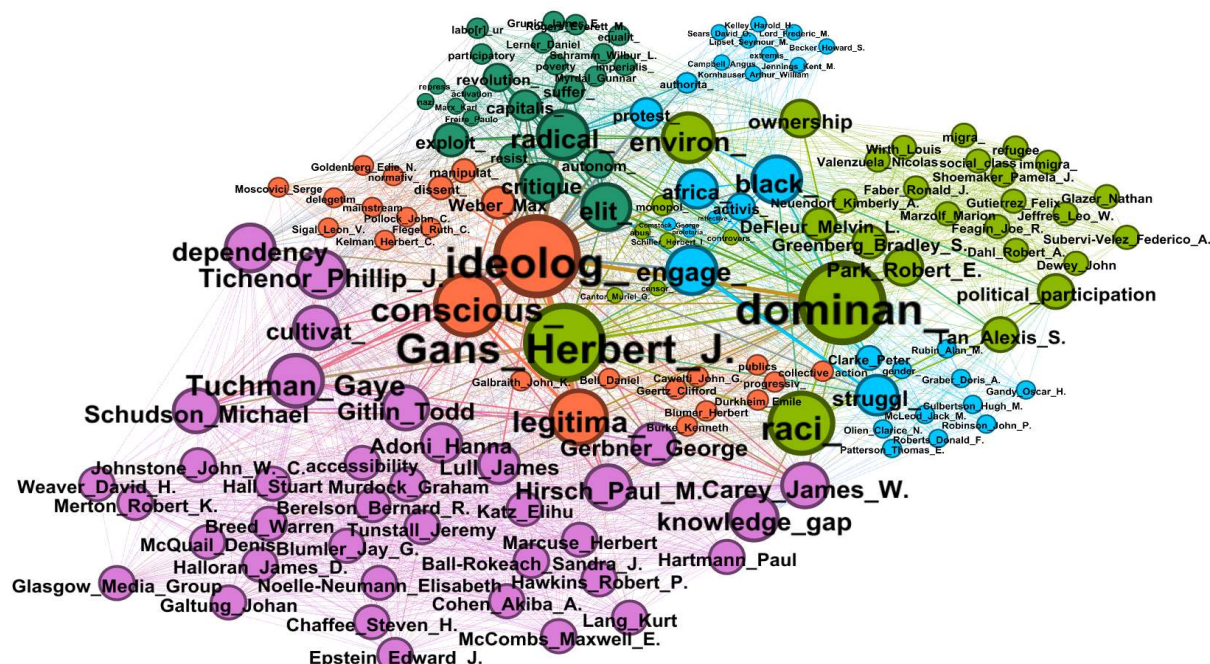
Figure 3.29: Network of critical indicators and cited authors in Journal of Communication, 1952–1989, with the critical authors indicated (blue)



3.5.1.5 Communication Research: Dependency and Dominance

Out of 386 articles published in the period 1974 to 1989, 11 articles (2.9 %) were considered critical. In order to obtain meaningful clusters despite the small population of critical articles, cited authors which who are only cited in a single article are excluded from the analysis. The sample thus contains 149 nodes, where 55 pertain to critical indicators and 93 to cited authors. The nodes are connected with 2,553 edges, resulting in a density index of 0.23.

Figure 3.30: Network among the most prominent critical indicators and cited authors in Communication Research, 1974 – 1989



The most prominent cited authors regarding their degree value are Herbert J. Gans (102), Gaye Tuchman (69), Philip J. Tichenor (62), James W. Carey (58), Paul M. Hirsch (58), Todd Gitlin (57), Michael Schudson (57), George Gerbner (54), Hanna Adoni (50) and James Lull (50). The most prominent critical indicators are *dominan_* (109), *ideolog_* (108), *conscious_* (83), *raci_* (82), *legitim_* (72), *environ_* (65), *radical* (64), *engage_* (63), *black_* (62), *elit_* (61) and *dependency* (62).

Five clusters were discerned from the fairly small population ($res.=0.5$, $VOS=0.702$), namely the dependency cluster (purple, 24.8% of nodes in the network), dominance critique (light green, 22.2%), critique of (dis-)engagement, (blue, 20.1%) critique of ideology (orange, 16.8%), and modernisation critique cluster (dark green, 16.1%).

1.) **Dependency cluster**, the largest of all (37 nodes), associates 4 critical indicators: *dependency* (62), *knowledge gap* (60), *cultivat_* (56) and *accessibility* (42) with 33 cited authors. The most prominent cited authors (in the network and) in the cluster are Gaye Tuchman, Philip J. Tichenor, Michael Schudson, Todd Gitlin, James W. Carey, Paul M. Hirsch (58) and George Gerbner. Seven of all the cited authors in this cluster are identified as critical, representing different traditions within the critical paradigm, that is, George Gerbner's cultivation theory, Stuart Hall's cultural media studies, James W. Carey

representing the US tradition of cultural media studies, Graham Murdock's political economy of the media, Herbert Marcuse's critical theory, with Todd Gitlin, Denis McQuail, Johan Galtung, and James D. Halloran, among others.

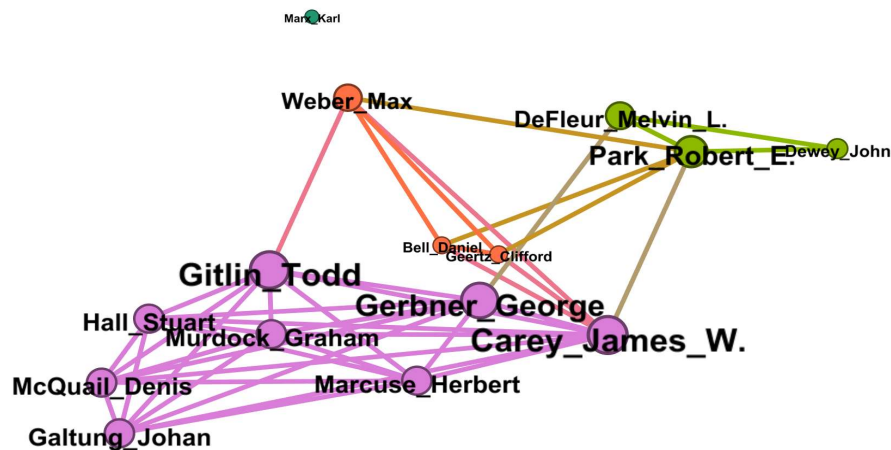
2.) The **dominance critique** cluster (33 nodes) is the second largest one, consisting of 13 critical indicators and 20 cited authors. The most prominent critical indicators in the cluster are *dominan_* (109), *raci_* (82), *environ_* (65), *ownership* (47) and *political participation* (43). The most prominent cited authors in the cluster are Herbert J. Gans (102), Robert E. Park (47), Alexis S. Tan (43), Bradley Greenberg (40) and Melvin L. deFleur (40). The dominance is associated with two different dimensions of criticality; the first dimension designates the issues of racial and ethnic minorities, containing critical indicators such as *raci_* (im)migra_ and *refugee* (all 27), while the second dimension indicates the issues of political economy (associating dominance with the indicators of ownership and monopoly). These dimensions are contained within two smaller clusters of more intensively connected indicators; the first consists of the indicators *monopol_* (22), *abus_* (15), *censor_* (15) and *controvers_* (15) and cited author Herbert I. Schiller (15), while the second associates indicators, such as like *immigra*, *migra_* (27), *refugee* (27) and *social class* (27) with Pamela J. Shoemaker (27). The latter two, together with John Dewey (27), are among the identified critical authors contained in the control group.

3.) The dominance cluster is strongly connected with the **critique of (dis-)engagement** cluster, (30 nodes) containing 11 critical indicators and 19 cited authors among which the most prominent indicators are *engage_* (63), *black_* (62), *struggl_* (51), *africa_* (49) and *protest* (37). The most prominent cited author is Peter Clarke (28). The cluster does not contain any identified critical author, although Arthur William Kornhauser and Oscar H. Gandy may be considered as such and are found among the cited ones.

4.) The **critique of ideology** cluster (25 nodes) contains 11 critical indicators and 14 cited authors. The most prominent indicators are *ideolog_* (108), *conscious_* (83), *legitimlegitima_* (72), *dissent_* (27) and "manipulat_" (27). The most prominent cited authors are Max Weber (39), Daniel Bell (22, same for all following), Herbert Blumer, Kenneth Burke and John G. Cawelti. Clifford Geertz is a member of the cluster and among the cited authors contained within the cluster but, apart from Weber and Bell, not identified in the control sample.

5.) The **modernisation critique** cluster (24 nodes) contains 7 cited authors and 17 critical indicators. The most prominent critical indicators are “radical_” (64), “elit_” (61), “critique” (51), exploit_ (41) and capitalis_ (37). The most cited authors within the cluster are the public relations scholar James E. Grunig (22, same for all following), Daniel Lerner, Gunnar Myrdal, Everett M. Rogers and Wilbur L. Schramm, but Karl Marx and Paulo Freire (16 both) (for example, see Whiting 1976).

Figure 3.31: Sub-network of critical authors from the control sample in Communication Research, 1974–1989 (edge weight: 1)



Among 93 cited authors in the population, 15 are identified in the critical sample. The most prominent of these by their degree values are James W. Carey (58), Todd Gitlin (57), George Gerbner (54), Robert E. Park (47), Johan Galtung (42), Stuart Hall (42), Herbert Marcuse (42), Denis McQuail (42), Graham Murdock (42) and Melvin L. De Fleur (40).

3.5.1.6 Summary: Contours of Critical Scholarship in the US Journals during the Cold War

Table 3.25: Summary of clusters identified in US journals, 1945–1989

	Clusters	Most Prominent Critical Indicators	Most Prominent Authors	Most Prominent Critical Authors
POQ	critique of ideology critique of dominance critique of r. discrimination activism cluster working class cluster critique of xenophobia	ideolog_ (405) black_ (316) elit_ (310) dominan_ (285) legitim_ (284)	R. K. Merton (185), E. Katz (178), P. F. Lazarsfeld (170), P. E. Converse (162), K. Marx (142)	K. Marx (142) T. Gitlin (123) S. Hall (123) G. Gerbner (115) M. Horkheimer (98)
CM	critique of ideology critique of racial discrimination critique of (dis-)engagement critique of coercion deliberation cluster	black_ (890) revolution_ (802) ideolog_ (788) protest_ (745) legitim_ (681)	K. Burke (639), E. G. Borman (530), R. L. Scott (477), M. C. McGee (467), C. Perelman (458)	J. Habermas (376), M. Foucault (235), S. Hall (235), G. H. Mead (229), L. Grossberg (225)
JMCQ	critique of ideology critique of r. discrimination critique of tyranny civic struggle critique of imperialism	protest_ (223) ideolog_ (186) struggl_ (185) revolution_ (183) radical_ (172)	F. S. Siebert (91), R. Hofstadter (87), D. L. Shaw (76), P. F. Lazarsfeld (65), M. Janowitz (52)	R. E. Park (42), T. W. Adorno (35), D. McQuail (35), G. Murdock (35), S. Hall (35)
JOC	critique of ideology critique of capitalism critique of racial inequality critique of hegemony feminist critique critique of americanisation Americanisation	ideolog_ (851) struggl_ (666) black_ (595) dominan_ (558) revolution_ (541)	G. Gerbner (385), G. Tuchman (237), S. Hall (223), T. Gitlin (206), H. I. Schiller (193)	G. Gerbner (385), S. Hall (223), T. Gitlin (206), J. W. Carey (181), R. Williams (175)
CR	dependency cluster dominance critique (dis-)engagement critique critique of ideology modernisation cluster	dominan_ (109) ideolog_ (108) conscious_ (83) raci_ (82) legitim_ (72)	H. J. Gans (102), G. Tuchman (69), P. J. Tichenor (62), J. W. Carey (58), P. M. Hirsch (58)	J. W. Carey (58), T. Gitlin (57), G. Gerbner (54), R. E. Park (47), J. Galtung/S. Hall/H. Marcuse/D. McQuail/G. Murdock (42)

The comparison of the most prominent critical indicators within the five US journals (Table 3.24) in the earlier period of the analysis reveals that the concept of ideology is the most central critical concept found in critical articles in all journals. Of almost equal prominence are indicators pertaining to the issues of racial discrimination, such as black_ and raci_.

The most prominent cited authors in the critical articles of the earlier period are almost unique to each journal, suggesting that the journals indeed helped to establish particular and diverse scholarly communities. Gaye Tuchman is the most prominent cited author in articles considered critical in Journal of Communication and Communication Research. However, both journals do not cover the whole period of the analysis and are biased towards the end of

the early period. On the other hand, four out of five of the most prominent cited authors in Public Opinion Quarterly are established representatives of the dominant paradigm, with Paul F. Lazarsfeld also appearing among the most prominent cited authors in Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly (Table 3.24)

Representatives of different traditions within the critical scholarship obtain varying prominence in each journal when compared with the most prominent critical authors from the control group. Stuart Hall appears as the most prominent critical scholar in all five US journals, suggesting that European critical thought, especially the tradition of cultural studies of media had a significant impact on critical ideas within US critical scholarship. American critical authors such as George Gerbner, Todd Gitlin and James W. Carey are also significantly prominent, but not to the same extent as Hall.

3.5.2 European Journals during the Cold War

3.5.2.1 European Journal of Communication: Ideology and Dominance Critique

Since European Journal of Communication started publishing in 1986, that is, towards the very end of the analysed period, only 14 articles (17.5%) out of 80 contained in the sample were regarded as critical. The network contains 81 critical indicators and 270 cited authors, connected with 10, 975 edges, resulting in a network density index of 0.178.

The critical indicators obtaining the highest degree values are “dominan_” (327), “ideolog_” (324), “contradict_” (242), “legitima” (226) and “struggl_” (189). The most prominent cited authors are Dennis McQuail (228), Elihu Katz (219), Stuart Hall (217), George Gerbner (172) and Tapio Varis (138).

By applying the VOS community detection algorithm to the network, six clusters were obtained (res.=0.5, VOS=0.741), namely “critique of ideology,” “dependency critique cluster,” “critique of dominance cluster,” “democratization of communication cluster,” “audience research cluster” and “international regulation of broadcasting cluster” (Figure 6.14).

1.) The **critique of ideology** cluster (22.2% of all of nodes in the network) contains 19 critical indicators and 59 cited authors designating critical research on media portrayals of issues of race, immigration and gender from the critique of ideology and the theories of “moral panic” (57) conceptual framework. The most central critical indicators are ideolog_ (324), resist_(167), black_(133), suffer_(122) and immigra_(78). The indicators contained, such as discrimination (57), suffer_ (122) and abus_ (57), co-occur with indicators of race (black_, raci_(46), gender (57) and persons’ native status, such as immigra_(78) and refugee (46). The most central cited authors in the cluster are Stuart Hall (217), Peter Golding (134), James D. Halloran (130), Philip Schlesinger (91) and Paul Hartmann (93).

2.) The **dependency theory** cluster (19.9% of all nodes in the network) contains 15 critical indicators and 55 cited authors. The cluster designates the critical research work of the prominent political economists of media, originating from dependency theory, the centre–periphery dichotomy and critique of imperialism in combination with Katz’s (and Lazarsfeld’s) “two-step” model of communication, especially in debates over theories of development (Servaes 1986) and dependency theory (especially Katz’s work »Broadcasting in

the Third World», see Kivikuru 1988). The most central critical indicators are political econom_ (124), dependency (115), radical_ (111), centre-periphery (100) and imperilis_ (97). The most prominent cited authors are Elihu Katz (219) and the representatives of the political economy of the media tradition, Armand Mattelart (129), Cees J. Hamelink (100, same for all following), Harold A. Innis and Herbert I. Schiller. Armand Mattelart appears as the second key political economist in the cluster, binding together theories of development and dependency theory.

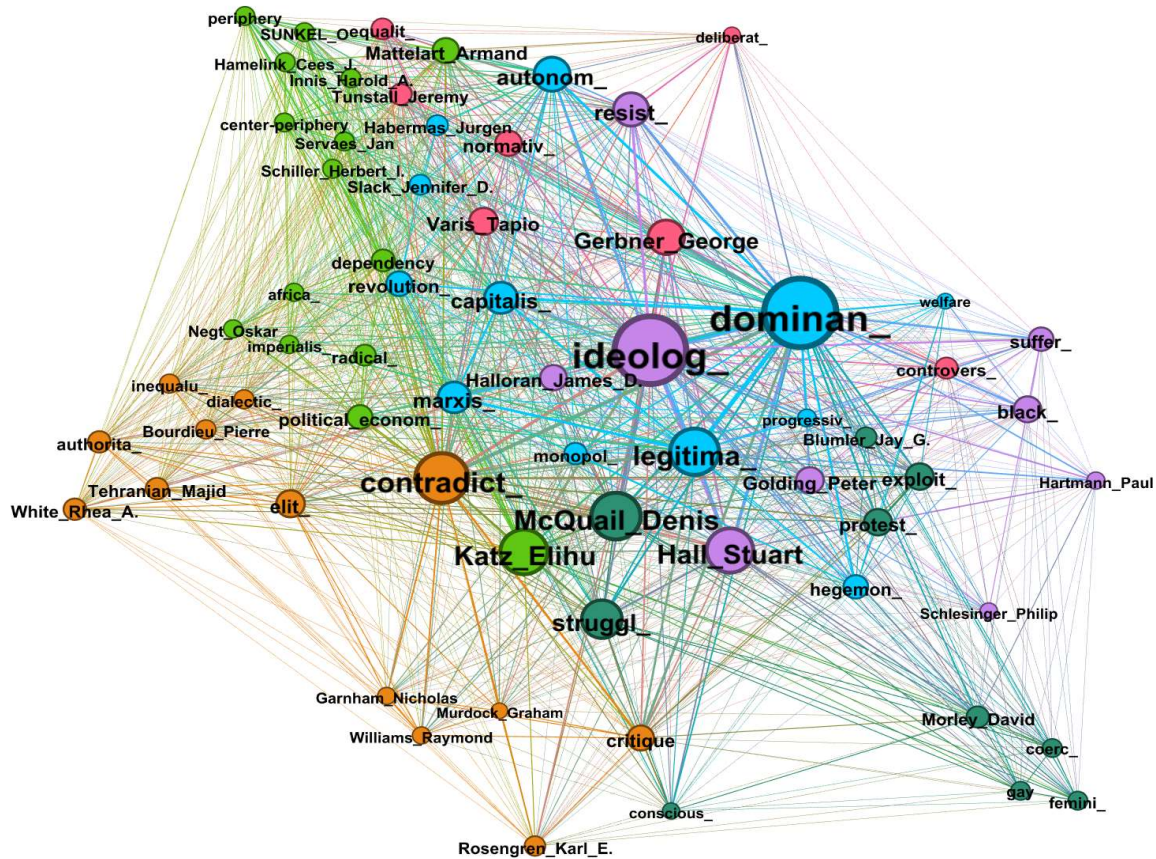
3.) The **critique of dominance** cluster contains 18% of all the nodes in the network and consists of 17 critical indicators and 47 cited authors. The associations among the nodes are based on the critique of concepts such as like dominance, hegemony (122) and privatisation (64), the legitimisation role of the media and a comparison of alternative social systems to capitalism, especially ideas stemming from Marxism, revolution (127), progressiv_ (95) and welfare (86) (see Brants 1989; Mancini 1986). The most central critical indicators are dominan_ (327), legitimlegitima_ (226), capitalis_ (158), autonom_ (170) and marxis_ (156). The most prominent authors in the cluster are Jürgen Habermas (107), Jennifer D. Slack (107), Louis Althusser (43), Hans M. Enzensberger (52) and Horst Holzer (38).

4.) The **democratization of communication** cluster contains 63 nodes (18%) in the network, of which 15 designate critical indicators and 48 cited authors. The most central critical indicators are contradict_ (242), elit_ (138), authorita_ (113), dialectic_ (101) and inequal_ (101). The cluster is formed by two groups of authors and critical indicators, roughly reflecting two critical traditions; first, neighbouring to the political economy cluster is the critique of undemocratic global communication, where the most central cited authors are Majid Tehranian (113), Rhea A. White (113), Pierre Bourdieu (101) and Hamid Mowlana (70), while the second cluster comprises of British Marxist and indicators suggesting the critique of commercialisation as the central cited authors like Nicholas Garnham (93), Raymond Williams (93) and Graham Murdock (86) are associated with critique (129), engage (79) and commercial_ (71).

5.) The most prominent critical indicators in the fifth cluster in size (12.6%) entitled **audience research**, are struggl_ (189), exploit_ (135), protest_ (135), coerc_ (99) and femini_ (99). The most central authors, besides Dennis McQuail (228), are representatives of the cultural media studies tradition, such as David Morley (112), Jay G. Blumler (106), Ian

Connell (82), Ien Ang (51) and James W. Carey (5). The cluster is located between the international regulation of broadcasting and the democratisation of communication cluster (see Schroeder 1987).

Figure 3.32: Reduced Network of co-occurrences of critical indicators and cited authors in European Journal of Communication, 1986–1989, nodes coloured according to the cluster membership (min. degree = 83, 18.8% of nodes visible)



6.) The smallest cluster in the network, **international regulation of broadcasting**, contains 5 critical indicators and 27 cited authors who represent 9.1% of all nodes in the network. The most prominent critical indicators are *normativ_* (130), *equalit_* (111), *controvers_* (112), *deliberat_* (89) and *MacBride/UNESCO* (41). The most prominent cited authors are George Gerbner (172), Tapio Varis (138), Jeremy Tunstall (111), Wolfgang Hoffmann-Riem (74) and Hans J. Kleinsteuber (69) (see Hoffmann-Riem 1988).

Among the 27 cited authors contained in the population, 35 (13%) are identified as being critical in the control sample. The most prominent critical cited authors from the control group are Denis McQuail (228), Stuart Hall (217), George Gerbner (172), David Morley

1.) The **critique of ideology** cluster (purple) contains 61 critical indicators and 362 cited authors. The critical indicators obtaining the highest degrees values are *ideolog_* (940), *dominan_* (883), *capitalist_* (814), *labor_* (793) and *struggl_* (717), while the most prominent cited authors are: Raymond Williams (348), Stuart Hall (343), Karl Marx (277), Graham Murdock (276), Pierre Bourdieu (273), Gaye Tuchman (272), Daniel Bell (271) and Herbert I. Schiller (253). The cluster contains critical indicators and cited authors pertaining to different traditions within the critical paradigm, such as critique of the (dominant) ideology, Stuart Hall, Daniel Bell (271), approached from cultural media studies with Gaye Tuchman (272); political economy with Graham Murdock, Dallas W. Smythe (201), Vincent Mosco (155), Peter Golding (0.297), marxism with Karl Marx, Ralph Miliband (212); theories of the public sphere with Jürgen Habermas and Oskar Negt (125), critical theory with Theodor W. Adorno (243), Max Horkheimer (158), Herbert Marcuse (141), and critique of hegemony with Nicos Poulantzas (194) and Antonio Gramsci (111).

2.) The **critique of discrimination** cluster contains 31 critical indicators and 227 cited authors. The most prominent critical indicators are *struggl_* (717), *black_* (555), *marxis_* (534), *elit* (460), *working class* (409). The most central cited authors in the cluster are Raymond Williams (348), Pierre Bourdieu (273), Edward P. Thompson (234), Nicholas Garnham (191) and Max Weber (159).

3.) The **critique of dependency** cluster contains 31 critical indicators and 176 cited authors. The critical indicators with the highest degree values are *revolution_* (492), *bourgeois* (453), *exploit_* (403), *resist_* (399), *imperialis_* (259), while the cited authors are Herbert I. Schiller (253), Armand Mattelart (196), Richard Hoggart (134), Elihu Katz (131) and Asa Briggs (0.286). The most prominent theoretical currents in the cluster are political economy of media, besides Schiller and Mattelart, other prominent representatives are Fred Fejes (93), William H. Mellody (104), Tapio Varis (82) and political actors active in international decision-making like Simon Nora (126) and UNESCO (67). The mentioned are associated to a greater extent with the critical indicators *imperialis_*, *democratis_*, *centre-periphery*, *periphery*. The second group of nodes pertains to the tradition of cultural media studies since the most prominent associations are between indicators such as *bourgeois_*, *exploit_*, *resist*, *marginaliz_* and cited authors like Richard Hoggart, Asa Briggs and Richard Collins, (see Garnham 1979; Flichy 1980).

4.) The **critique of news narratives** cluster contains 6 critical indicators and 75 cited authors. The most prominent critical indicators are *deliberat_* (98), *intrus_* (83), *human right_* (82), *totalitar_* (76) and *activation* (57). The most prominent cited authors are Philip Elliott (189), Louis Althusser (174), Philip Schlesinger (121), John L. Austin (0.164), George Gerbner (71, all following), Roger Silverstone and Jim Richstad (for an illustration of the critique of news narratives, see Elliot 1983 or Silverstone 1984).

5.) The relatively dispersed **critique of news narratives** cluster, located between two of the biggest clusters, contains 5 critical indicators and 62 cited authors. The most central critical indicators are *censor_* (244), *coerc_* (120), *aborigi_* (27), *empower_* (22) and *injust_* (21), while the most central cited authors are James Curran (190), Jeremy Tunstall (161), Glasgow Media Group (125), Jane Woolacott (82) and Neal Ascherson (81).

6.) The **solidarity** cluster contains a single critical indicator, *solidar_* (100) and 27 cited authors, of whom the most prominent are Perry Anderson (72), Vladimir I. Lenin (59), Tony Cliff (45) Alex Callinicos (37) and C. Harman (37).

7.) The **critique of commercialisation** cluster contains 4 critical indicators, *sensation* (176), *dissent* (123), *commerci_* (96) and *media policy* (22) along with 17 cited authors, of whom the most prominent are Brian McNair, Anthony Barnett, Neal Gross, B. Kagarlitsky, Roy Medvedev, Zhores A. Medvedev, Donald R. Shanor and Dina R. Spechler (all 22).

Among the 225 critical authors identified with the help of the basic literature, 80 (35.6%) appear within articles regarded as critical and published in *Media, Culture & Society* in the 11-year period under study. The most prominent regarding their degree values are Raymond Williams (348), Stuart Hall (343), Karl Marx (277), Graham Murdock (276), Pierre Bourdieu (273), Daniel Bell (271), Jürgen Habermas (249), Theodor W. Adorno (243), Todd Gitlin (212) and Alwin W. Gouldner (210).

The greatest diversity of authors pertaining to a single tradition is evident in the case of representatives of the political economy tradition. At one end, representatives of this tradition, like Graham Murdock, Jeremy Tunstall, Hans M. Enzesberger and Thomas Guback (among others) are closer to terms indicating problems of media autonomy intertwined with aspects of the monopolisation of ownership. At the other end, cited scholars, such as Nicholas Garnham, Armand Mattelart, Herbert I. Schiller, Dallas W. Smythe and Vincent Mosco are positioned in

Among all analysed journals, one of the central critical concepts, namely – ideology – is most broadly adopted and elaborated in Media, Culture & Society since it is associated with authors and concepts related to diverse traditions of critical scholarship, but especially dominance, capitalism and labour, suggesting the strong presence of a radical Marxist critique of the capitalism as the dominant ideology related to labour, but also to issues of concerned with the monopolisation of media ownership, and hegemonic relations. However, the period of analysis of Media, Culture & Society corresponds to a time when critical scholarship enjoyed considerable prominence, namely from the rise of the critical scholarship in the 1970's until the bipolar cleavage disintegrated.

3.5.2.3 Summary: Contours of Critical Scholarship in European Journals during the Cold War

The differences seen in the journals included in the analysis, namely the different publishing periods and varying numbers of published articles, hinder any direct comparison. Taking these limits into consideration, Stuart Hall and the concept of ideology appear to be the most prominent in the critical articles in all of the journals under study (except for Hall's absence in Public Opinion Quarterly, see Table 3.26).

The five most prominent cited authors in the critical articles published in Media, Culture & Society are all identified as critical in the control sample, indicating the considerable presence of critical scholarship in the journal.

The most intriguing is the case of Karl Marx, who appears among the most prominent in the two very divergent journals: Public Opinion Quarterly and Media, Culture & Society. Equally intriguing is the relatively lower prominence of Jürgen Habermas among the most prominent critical authors in the analysed period of Media, Culture & Society, since he was already one of the most prominent not only in European Journal of Communication, but also in US -based journals, such as Communication Research and Communication Monographs.

Table 3.26: Summary table of clusters, top critical indicators and the most prominent (critical) authors, 1945–1989

	Clusters	Most Prominent Critical Indicators	Most Prominent Authors	Most Prominent Critical Authors
POQ	critique of ideology critique of dominance critique of r. discrimination activism cluster working class cluster critique of xenophobia	ideolog_ (405) black_ (316) elit_ (310) dominan_ (285) legitim_ (284)	R. K. Merton (185), E. Katz (178), P. F. Lazarsfeld (170), P. E. Converse (162), K. Marx (142)	K. Marx (142) T. Gitlin (123) S. Hall (123) G. Gerbner (115) M. Horkheimer (98)
CM	critique of ideology critique of racial discrimination critique of (dis-)engagement critique of coercion deliberation cluster	black_ (890) revolution_ (802) ideolog_ (788) protest_ (745) legitim_ (681)	K. Burke (639), E. G. Borman (530), R. L. Scott (477), M. C. McGee (467), C. Perelman (458)	J. Habermas (376), M. Foucault (235), S. Hall (235), G. H. Mead (229), L. Grossberg (225)
JMCQ	critique of ideology critique of r. discrimination critique of tyranny civic struggle critique of imperialism	protest_ (223) ideolog_ (186) struggl_ (185) revolution_ (183) radical_ (172)	F. S. Siebert (91), R. Hofstadter (87), D. L. Shaw (76), P. F. Lazarsfeld (65), M. Janowitz (52)	R. E. Park (42), T. W. Adorno (35), D. McQuail (35), G. Murdock (35), S. Hall (35)
JOC	critique of ideology critique of capitalism critique of racial inequality critique of hegemony feminist critique critique of Americanisation	ideolog_ (851) struggl_ (666) black_ (595) dominan_ (558) revolution_ (541)	G. Gerbner (385), G. Tuchman (237), S. Hall (223), T. Gitlin (206), H. I. Schiller (193)	G. Gerbner (385), S. Hall (223), T. Gitlin (206), J. W. Carey (181), R. Williams (175)
CR	dependency cluster dominance critique (dis-) engagement critique critique of ideology modernisation cluster	dominan_ (109) ideolog_ (108) conscious_ (83) raci_ (82) legitim_ (72)	H. J. Gans (102), G. Tuchman (69), P. J. Tichenor (62), J. W. Carey (58), P. M. Hirsch (58)	J. W. Carey (58), T. Gitlin (57), G. Gerbner (54), R. E. Park (47), J. Galtung/S. Hall/H. Marcuse/D. McQuail/G. Murdock (42)
EJC	critique of ideology dependency critique critique of dominance democratisation of communication audience research critique of int. regulation of broadcasting	dominan_ (327), ideolog_ (324), contradict_ (242), legitim_ (226) struggl_ (189)	D. McQuail (228), E. Katz (219), S. Hall (217), G. Gerbner (172) T. Varis (138)	D. McQuail (228), S. Hall (217), G. Gerbner (172), D. Morley (112) J. Habermas (107)
MCS	critique of ideology critique of discrimination critique of dependency deliberation cluster critique of news narratives solidarity cluster critique of commercialisation	ideolog_ (940), dominan_ (883), capitalis_ (814), labour_ (793), struggl_ (717)	R. Williams (348), S. Hall (343), K. Marx (277), G. Murdock (276), P. Bourdieu (273)	R. Williams (348), S. Hall (343), K. Marx (277), G. Murdock (276), P. Bourdieu (273)

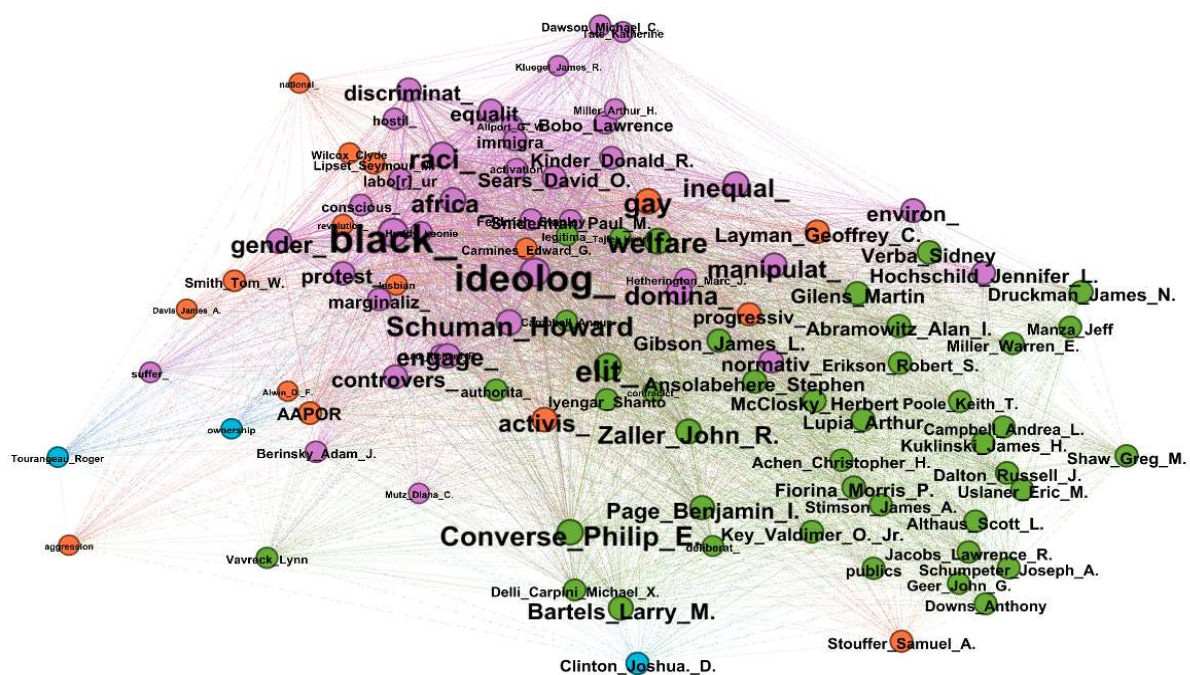
3.5.3 U.S. Journals in the Post-1989 Period

3.5.3.1 Public Opinion Quarterly

Among all 979 sampled articles in Public Opinion Quarterly between 1990 and 2018, 71 articles were considered critical (7.3% within the sample in the analysed period; 0.25/year). The population contained 99 (51%) of the 192 identified critical indicators, while cited authors are represented by 2,101 nodes. All nodes are connected by 121,541 edges, resulting in a density index of 0.05.

The most prominent critical indicators in the network according to their degree value are black_ (1,730), ideolog_ (1,631), raci_ (1,319), africa_ (1,133) and gender_ (1,091), while the most prominent authors are Howard Schuman (916), Philip E. Converse (826), David O. Sears (75), John R. Zaller (711) and Donald R. Kinder (684).

Figure 3.36: Reduced network of the 100 most prominent critical indicators and cited authors in Public Opinion Quarterly, 1990–2018 (min. degree = 295)



The strongest links among the critical indicators and cited authors are Howard Schuman – ideolog_ (20), Howard Schuman – raci_ (20), Bobo Lawrence – raci_ (19), Donald R. Kinder – black_ (19), Donald R. Kinder – raci_ (19).

The applied VOS community detection algorithm with a resolution of 0.2 identified four clusters (VOS=0.857) (Figure 6.17), namely critique of discrimination (39.5% of all nodes in the network), critique of legitimation (28.4%), »LGBT critique« (25.4 %) and critique of media accountability (6.7%).

1.) **Critique of discrimination** (purple) is the largest cluster by the number of nodes contained in the network; 868 nodes represent 46 critical indicators and 822 cited authors. The critical indicators with the highest degree values in the cluster are black_ (1,730), ideolog_ (1,631), raci_ (1,319), africa_ (1,133) and gender_ (1,091). Although the most prominent critical indicators point to the critique of racial discrimination, the cluster contains indicators which refer to the discrimination and exploitation of other marginal groups, for example women (gender_ (1,091), femini_ (229), sexis_ (237)), immigrants (immigra_ (653), anti-immigra_ (74), migra_ (31), workers (labor_ (159), wage_ (173), while critical indicators referring to issues of LGBT discrimination are located in a separate cluster. The most prominent cited authors in the cluster are quantitative sociologists, including Howard Schuman (916) and political scientists, such as David O. Sears (765), Donald R. Kinder (684), Lawrence Bobo (618), and Paul M. Sniderman (572). The cluster contains eight cited authors considered to be representatives of the critical paradigm: Pippa Norris (147), Theodor W. Adorno (140), Max Weber (68), Ulrich Beck (82), C. Wright Mills (50), Henry L. Gates, Jr. (46) and Stuart Hall (39).

2.) **Critique of legitimation** (light green) is the second-largest cluster containing 625 nodes, of which 20 designate critical indicators and 605 cited authors. The most prominent within the cluster are elit_ (1,086), welfare (969), authorita_ (516), legitimlegitima_ (405), deliberat_ (378), while the most prominent cited authors in the cluster are Philip E. Converse (826), John R. Zaller (711), Larry M. Bartels (610), Benjamin I. Page (598) and Shanto Iyengar (567). The cluster includes eight representatives of the critical paradigm (0.36% of all nodes), namely Robert D. Putnam (259), John Stuart Mill (216), Jürgen Habermas (172), Todd Gitlin (127), John Dewey (106), Henry Jenkins (76), Charles H. Cooley (54) and Erving Goffman (54).

3.) The **LGBT critique** cluster (orange) is third in size and contains 559 nodes, where 28 denote critical indicators and 531 cited authors. The most prominent critical indicators within the cluster are gay (928), activis_ (754), progressiv_ (483), lesbian (380), revolution_ (375),

while the most prominent cited authors in the cluster are *AAPOR (613), Geoffrey C. Layman (491), Tom W. Smith (478), Seymour M. Lipset (440) and Clyde Wilcox (390). Seven authors among the cited are considered to be representatives of the critical paradigm: Michel Foucault (151), Karl Manheim (139), Hannah Arendt (106), Benedict Anderson (64), Eric J. Hobsbawm (64), Edmund Burke (63) and Michael Walzer (48).

4.) **Critique of media accountability** (blue) is the smallest cluster since it contains 147 nodes, of which 5 represent critical indicators and 142 cited authors. The critical indicators with the highest degree values are ownership (303), exclusion_ (277), accountability (224), surveill_ (142) and sensation_ (35). The most prominent cited authors in the cluster are Joshua D. Clinton (347), Roger Tourangeau (311), R. Michael Alvarez (265), Scott Keeter (239) and Richard G. Niemi (223). The cluster contains only one cited author who is considered to be a representative of the critical paradigm, Joshua Meyrowitz (35).

The cited authors only contain 1.1% (24) of authors from the critical control group. They are found in all four clusters, but mostly in the three largest clusters, namely “critique of discrimination” (purple), “critique of legitimation” and “LGBT critique”. Analysis of their co-citation patterns (Figure 3.37) reveals their relatively scattered positions within the network, indicating their sporadic rather than systemic use as a source of reference. Indeed, a more elaborated co-citation analysis (Figure 3.38) suggests isolated citations of critical scholars, i.e. Theodor W. Adorno, Stuart Hall, Max Weber, C. Wright Mills etc. A relatively distinctive co-citation pattern occurs among members of different critical traditions within the “critique of legitimation” cluster, namely between Robert D. Putnam, John Stuart Mill, Todd Gitlin, Jürgen Habermas, Henry Jenkins, John Dewey, Erving Goffman, Charles H. Cooley. However, except for Todd Gitlin and Jürgen Habermas, Jürgen Habermas and John S. Mill with an edge value 2, other edge values (designating the number of co-occurrences) between critical scholars reveal a single case of co-citation.

Figure 3.37: Network of co-cited authors and critical indicators with indicated positions of critical cited authors in Public Opinion Quarterly, (1990–2018)

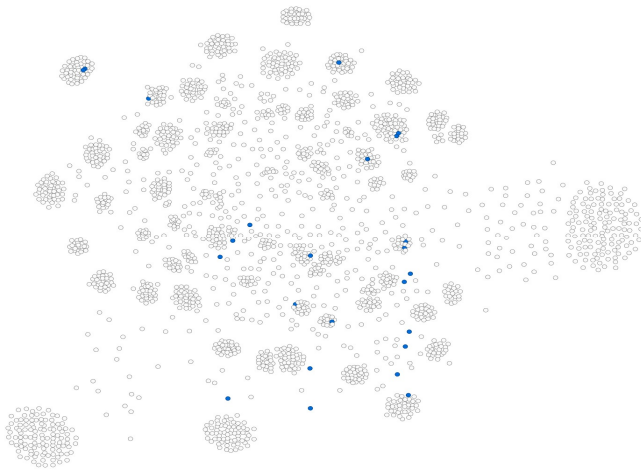
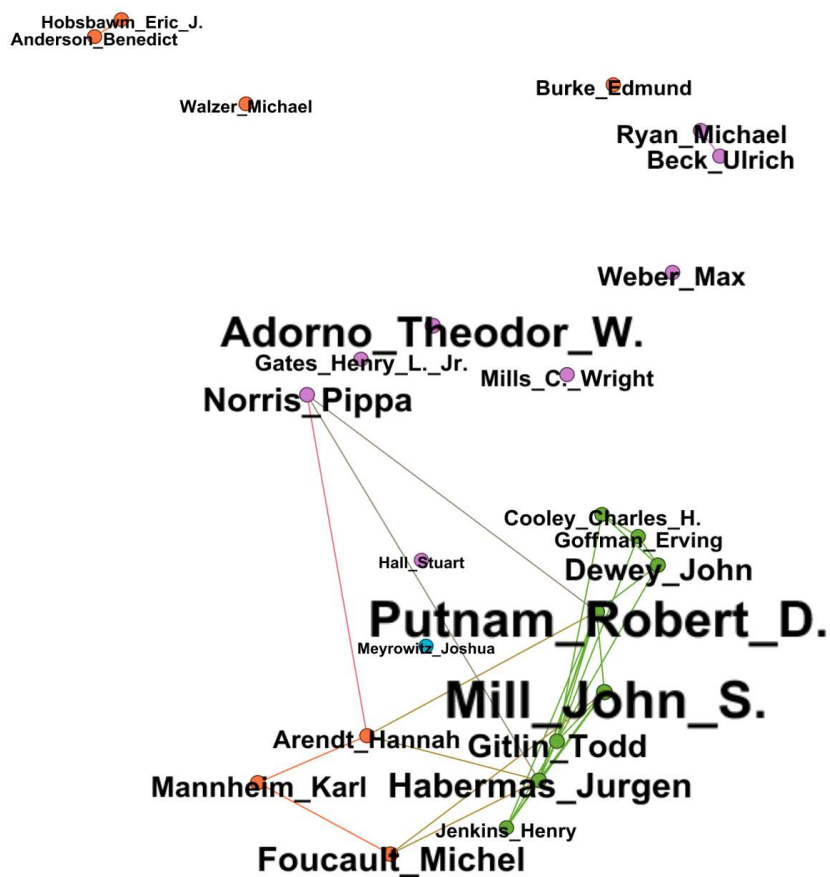


Figure 3.38: Sub-Network of Critical Cited Authors in Public Opinion Quarterly (1990–2018)



3.5.3.2 Communication Monographs: The Rise of Engagement

Of the total of 653 articles in Communication Monographs between 1990 and 2018, 115 articles were considered critical (17.6% of the population during the period; in averaging at 4 articles per year). The sample contains 92 (47.4 %) of the 192 identified critical indicators. The network consists of 329 nodes of which critical indicators represent 92 and cited authors an additional 237 nodes. All vertices are connected by 1,681 edges, resulting in a density index of 0.060.

The most prominent cited authors by degree value are Erving Goffman (108), Henri Tajfel (107), Robert M. Entman (103), Michel Foucault (100) and John C. Turner (95). The most prominent critical indicators are engage_ (271), ideolog_ (243), black_ (233), dominan_ (231) and resist_ (218).

The central critical indicator is engage_ and is frequently used with other critical indicators such as ones designating relations of power and oppression but also resistance, for example dominan_, struggl_ (172) and resist. The most frequent pairs of co-occurrences between critical indicators are dominan_–engage_ (50), engage_–struggl_ (45), engage_–resist_ (43), engage_–ideolog_ (41), critique–engage_ (39), engage_–legitim_ (39), engage_–gender_ (38), dominan_–ideolog_ (38), dominan_–struggl_ (38) and black_–engage_ (37) (see Figure 6.21).

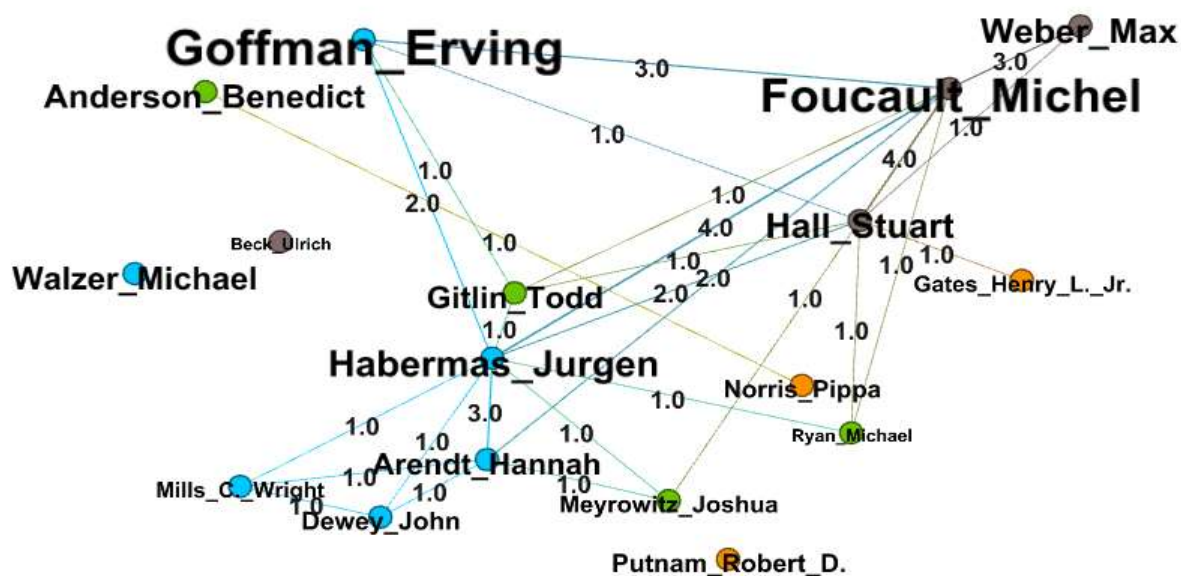
By applying the community detection algorithm to the data, 7 clusters were identified (VOS=0.680, res.=0.5), where the smallest 2 contain less than 3 nodes and were disregarded. The most explanatory value was contained within the 5 remaining 5 clusters of approximately the same size, where the largest is “critique of racial discrimination (purple, 79 nodes, 24% of nodes in the network), “critique of ideology” (green, 68, 20.7%), “critique of legitimacy” (blue, 62, 18.8%), “social action” (orange, 60, 18.2 %) and “feminist critique” (brown, 57, 17.3%).

1.) Among 17 critical indicators contained in the **critique of racial discrimination** cluster, the most prominent are: black_ (234), raci_ (209), conscious_ (186), africa_ (179), manipul_ (144), hostil_ (135), controvers_ (119), aggression (118), accessibility (115) and discriminat_ (110). Among the 62 cited authors, the most prominent are the social-psychologist and political scientists Henri Tajfel (107), Robert M. Entman (104), John C.

(102), solidar_ (98) and suffer_ (87). The most prominent cited authors in the cluster are Barry Schwartz (52), Arthur Lupia (51), Mark S. Granovetter (50), Ronald E. Rice (46), Candace West (46), Joseph B. Walther (39), Robert D. Putnam (38), Pippa Norris (36), Paul Ekman (35) and Ronald S. Burt (32). The cluster contains one critical author identified in the control sample, apart from Putnam and Norris, namely Henry L. Gates, Jr. (30).

5.) The **feminist critique** cluster contains 20 critical indicators and 37 cited authors. The most prominent critical indicators are accountability (79), coerc_ (34), dialectic_ (96), empower_ (117), engage_ (272), femini_ (155), gender_ (187), inequal_ (95), labor_ (135) and ownership (21). The most prominent cited authors in the cluster are Michel Foucault (101), Joan Acker (73), Stuart Hall (65), Max Weber (64), Jacob Cohen (55), Julia T. Wood (49), Matthew B. Miles (48), Herbert A. Simon (43), Robert K. Merton (37) and Daniel Katz (36). Four authors within the cluster are identified in the control sample; besides Foucault, there are Hall, Weber and Ulrich Beck (14).

Figure 3.41: Network of critical cited authors in Communication Monographs, (1990–2018)



The strongest co-citation links are found among the most prominent representatives, despite the diverse traditions, in the critical paradigm, including Michel Foucault–Jürgen Habermas (4), Michel Foucault–Stuart Hall (4), Max Weber–Michel Foucault (3), Erving Goffman–Erving Goffman (3) (Figure: 6.23). The fact that only the most prominent representatives of the critical tradition are cited, while more elaborated citation patterns which would indicate

The most prominent cited authors by their degree value are Lance W. Bennett (372), Robert M. Entman (364), Shanto Iyengar (326), Jürgen Habermas (313) and John R. Zaller (293). The most prominent critical indicators are engage_ (547), ideolog_ (524), dominan_ (455), black_ (450) and mainstream (442).

The applied VOS community detection algorithm divided the network into 6 clusters (VOS=0.631, res.=0.5): “critique of (dis-)engagement” (purple), “critique of racial discrimination” (green), “critique of ideology” (blue), “critique of dogmatisation” (orange) and “critique of despotism” (dark green). The 6th cluster contained only a single node²² and was excluded from further analysis.

1.) The 319 nodes (48.3% of all nodes in the network) in the largest, **critique of (dis-)engagement** cluster, contained 33 critical indicators that represent the most prominent nodes in the network according to their degree value. Indicators with the highest degree values relate to (the absence of) public participation in political decision-making, for example engage_ (547), elit_ (440), protest_ (395), controvers_ (371) and deliberat_ (366). Apart from Jürgen Habermas (313), the most prominent cited authors of the 286 belonging to the cluster are representatives of the dominant paradigm, such as Lance W. Bennett (372), Shanto Iyengar (326), John R. Zaller (293) and Diana C. Mutz (292).

2.) The most prominent among the 14 critical indicators of the second largest **critique of racial discrimination** cluster, containing 130 (19.7% of nodes in the network), are black_ (450), raci_ (386), africa_ (349), manipul_ (325) and activation (331). The most prominent cited authors out of the 116 within the cluster are Robert M. Entman (364), Martin Gilens (180), Kathleen H. Jamieson (161), Dixon Travis (161) and the political economist of media, Oscar H. Gandy (133).

3.) The **critique of ideology** cluster contained 129 nodes (19.6% of all nodes in the network). Among the 44 critical indicators forming the cluster, indicators obtaining the highest degree values are ideolog_ (524), mainstream_ (442), dominan_ (455), gender_ (389) and legitimlegitima_ (327). Besides the critical indicators designating core critical concepts of the Marxist vocabulary, such as dominan_ (455), hegemon_ (236), conscious_ (299), consumpti_ (285) and unequal_ (276), the cluster contains indicators from the critical feminist

²² A cited author Andrew Hacker.

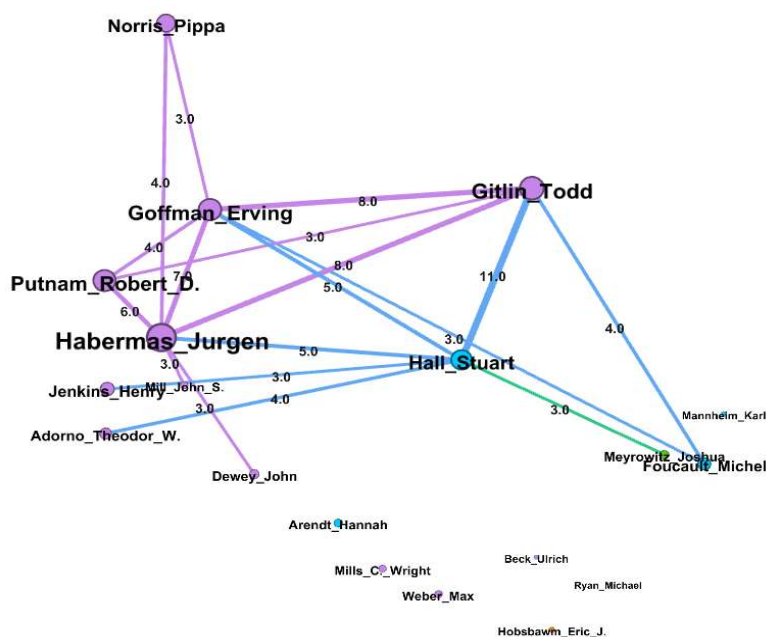
and LGBT traditions, such as gender, femini_ (230), gay (160) and lesbian (104). The most prominent cited authors in this cluster are Stuart Hall (220), Michel Foucault (132), Hannah Arendt (80), Kenneth A. Bollen (86) and Peter L. Berger (74).

4.) The **critique of dogmatisation** cluster is one of the smallest, containing 44 (6.7%) of all nodes in the network. Two critical indicators Hitler (46) and dogmati_ (39) complement the cluster of 42 cited authors, where the most central are Gaye Tuchman (258), Tamar Liebes (121), Benedict Anderson (135), Celeste M. Condit (118) and Anthony Smith (78).

5.) The smallest cluster of identified, namely **critique of despotism**, contains 37 nodes (5.6% of all nodes in the network). The most prominent are James G. Webster (113), Anthony Downs (95) and Seth K. Goldman (53), while the most prominent critical indicators include abus_ (161), occupied (120), democratiz_ (113) and dictator_ (62).

Among the 660 nodes contained in the network, 19 (2.9 %) pertain to critical scholars identified in the control group. The majority (12) of the critical authors found in the control group are located in the » critique of (dis-)engagement cluster« (purple), 4 in “the critique of ideology” cluster (blue), 2 each in the “critique of dogmatisation” (orange) and “critique of racial discrimination” clusters (green) (Figure 3.24).

Figure 3.43: Reduced network of co-cited critical authors with co-citation links, min. weight =3 (node colours correspond to cluster membership)



3.5.3.4 Journalism (and Mass Communication) Quarterly

Out of 1,422 articles published in the analysed period, 160 (11.3 percent) were considered critical. The sample contains 152 (79.2 percent) critical indicators among 192 identified. Network consists of 2,888 vertices, in which critical indicators are complemented with 2,736 cited authors. All nodes are connected by 132,556 edges, resulting in an 0.032 density index.

The most prominent critical indicators according to degree value are black_ (1,799), mainstream (1,631), engage_ (1,728), domina_ (1,622) ideolog_ (1,579), gender_ (1,400), protest_ (1,371), raci_ (1,349), africa_ (1,305) and controvers_ (1,086).

The most prominent cited authors are Robert M. Entman (951), Gaye Tuchman (980), Herbert J. Gans (894), Pamela J. Shoemaker (764), Michael Schudson (780), Todd Gitlin (708), Lance W. Bennet (681), Shanto Iyengar (672), David H. Weaver (653) and Dietram Scheufele (650).

The most frequent pairs of co-occurrences of critical indicators are black_–raci_ (48), africa_–black_ (43), africa_–raci_ (35), black_–gender_ (35), dominan_–ideolog_ (35), black_–engage_ (34), engage_–ideolog_ (33), black_–mainstream (33), ideolog_–mainstream (31), dominan_–mainstream (31).

By applying the VOS algorithm of community detection to the network, 6 clusters were identified (res.=0.3, VOS=0.797), namely “the critique of minority framing,” (purple, 25.9 percent of the nodes within the network), “the critique of mainstream reporting” (light green, 24.3 percent), “the critique of (dis-)engagement” (blue, 19 percent), “the normative critique of the media” (orange, 14 percent), “the social resistance” cluster (dark green, 10.8 percent) and “the alternative media” cluster (pink, 6 percent).

1.) The largest cluster – **critique of minority framing** – contains 28 critical indicators and 721 cited authors associating elites, media framing and agenda setting in relation to race (for example see Dixon, 2006; Frush and Holt, 2013), immigrants (Grimm and Andsager, 2011, Lecheler, Bos and Vliegenhart, 2015) and environmental issues (Burch and Harry, 2004). Five of the most prominent critical indicators are raci_ (1,349), elit (936), environ_ (758), hegemon_ (703) and manipul_ (679). Five most prominent authors are Robert M. Entman (951), Shanto Iyengar (672), Dietram A. Scheufele (650), Daniel Riffe (512) and Walter Lippman (471).

prominent are the representatives of the cultural media studies, such as Stuart Hall, John Fiske (371), James W. Carey (340), Hanno Hardt (162) and John Hartley (98).

3.) **Critique of (dis-)engagement** is the third cluster in size, assembled by 19 percent of the nodes in the network, containing 26 critical indicators and 522 cited authors. The most prominent critical indicators in the cluster are “engage_” (1,728), “consumpti_” (752), “civic” (572), “inequal_” (512) and “deliberat_” (469). When the strongest links among the indicators are observed, the critique of (dis-)engagement is approached through various traditions in media research. The strongest links exist between “engage_”–“consumpti_” (15) and indicate critique of consumerism, salient research problem of the representatives of critical media studies. However, numerous among the strongest links, such as “engage_”–“deliberat_” (10), “engage_”– “participatory” (10), “engage_”– “civic” (9) indicate the presence of ideas pertaining to the tradition of the public sphere. The most prominent cited authors indicate that the critique of citizens’ (dis-)engagement is based in quantitative research, such as survey data produced by *Pew Research Centre (491) as the most prominent reference. Remaining prominent authors in the cluster indicate, that the issues of engagement and political participation are approached through other perspectives, such as journalism, George A. Donohue (360), Philip J. Tichenor (304), Thomas J. Johnson (324), political economy, Oscar H. Gandy (309) and tradition of mass media effects, with Leo W. Jeffres (340). Among identified 12 critical cited authors, the most central are Robert D. Putnam (283), Pierre Bourdieu (288), Denis McQuail (195), Henry Jenkins (161) and Jürgen Habermas (157). The degree values of the representatives of the critical media studies and the theory of the public sphere suggest that these two traditions represent a minor contribution to the critique of (dis-)engagement in *Journalism & (Mass) Communication Quarterly*.

4.) **Normative critique of the media** (containing 14 percent of the nodes in the network) assembles 30 critical indicators and 375 cited authors. The most prominent critical indicators are “normativ_” (839), “marginaliz_” (724), “ownership” (499), “accountability” (492) and “empower_” (440). The most prominently cited authors in the cluster suggest that the normative critique is approached through the ideas of gatekeeping theory with the authors such as Herbert J. Gans (894) and Pamela J. Shoemaker (764), but also through the ideas conceptualised by the representatives of the political (communication) tradition, David H. Weaver (653), Pippa Norris (410) and Thomas E. Patterson (379). The cluster contains 10

critical authors from the control sample, where the most prominent are Pippa Norris, John B. Thompson (124), Johan Galtung (106), Nancy Fraser (77) and Jean Baudrillard (69).

5.) **Social resistance cluster** contains 10.8 percent of all the units in the network, out of which 7 designate critical indicators and 305 cited authors. Among the latter, 11 are identified in the control sample of critical authors. The most prominent critical indicators are “social movement” (385), “social protest” (324), “national_” (142), “delegitim_” (87), antiglobali_ (59) and “imperialis_” (51). The most prominent cited authors are Todd Gitlin (708), Lance W. Bennett (681), William A. Gamson (600), Dan C. Hallin (572) and Stephen D. Reese (456). Besides Todd Gitlin, the most prominent of 11 identified critical authors are Antonio Gramsci (243), the representatives of the critical theory tradition, Douglas Kellner (202), Max Horkheimer (72) and Walter Benjamin (55), a representative of American pragmatism, John Dewey (131) and the representatives of the political economy tradition, Dallas W. Smythe (61) and Graham Murdock (36).

6.) **Alternative media** cluster is the smallest cluster in size, containing 6 percent of the nodes in the network, consisting of 4 critical indicators and 170 cited authors. Among the latter, 8 are identified as critical. The most central indicators are “alternative media” (180), “homophob_” (98), “political_econom_” (60) and “newswork_”(55). The most prominent authors are representatives of the dominant paradigm, especially representatives of the media effect tradition, such as Bradley S. Greenberg (241), Jane D. Brown (239) and Dominic L. Lasorsa (215), but also representatives of cultural media studies, Angela McRobbie and Seth C. Lewis (both 167), a scholar with the research focus on technological transformations of media. Eight of the critical scholars contained in the cluster pertain to the tradition of cultural media studies, represented by scholars, such as Angela McRobbie, Ien Ang and David Morley (both 52), Raymond Williams (35), but also French philosophers, such as Michel de Certeau (60), Jacques Derrida (35), literary theorist Stanley Fish (53) and critical globalist, Arjun Appadurai.

The placement of critical scholars from the control group within the analysed network assists in identification of distinctive patterns of critical scholarship. A weak pattern of critical scholarship is discernible in the right side of the network, which contains scholars not selected in the control sample. Neighboring the representatives of cultural media studies, among others Stuart Hall, James W. Carey, but most of all John Fiske (Figure 6.28) and femini_ indicator is

a feminist and a researcher Liesbet Van Zoonen, prominent within the research on relations between the publicness and the privacy and problems of democratic legitimacy. Furthermore, the representatives of political economy tradition, among others Robert W. McChesney, Edward S. Herman and Douglas Kellner are in the close proximity of US critical scholars including Michael Schudson, Todd Gitlin and William A. Gamson.

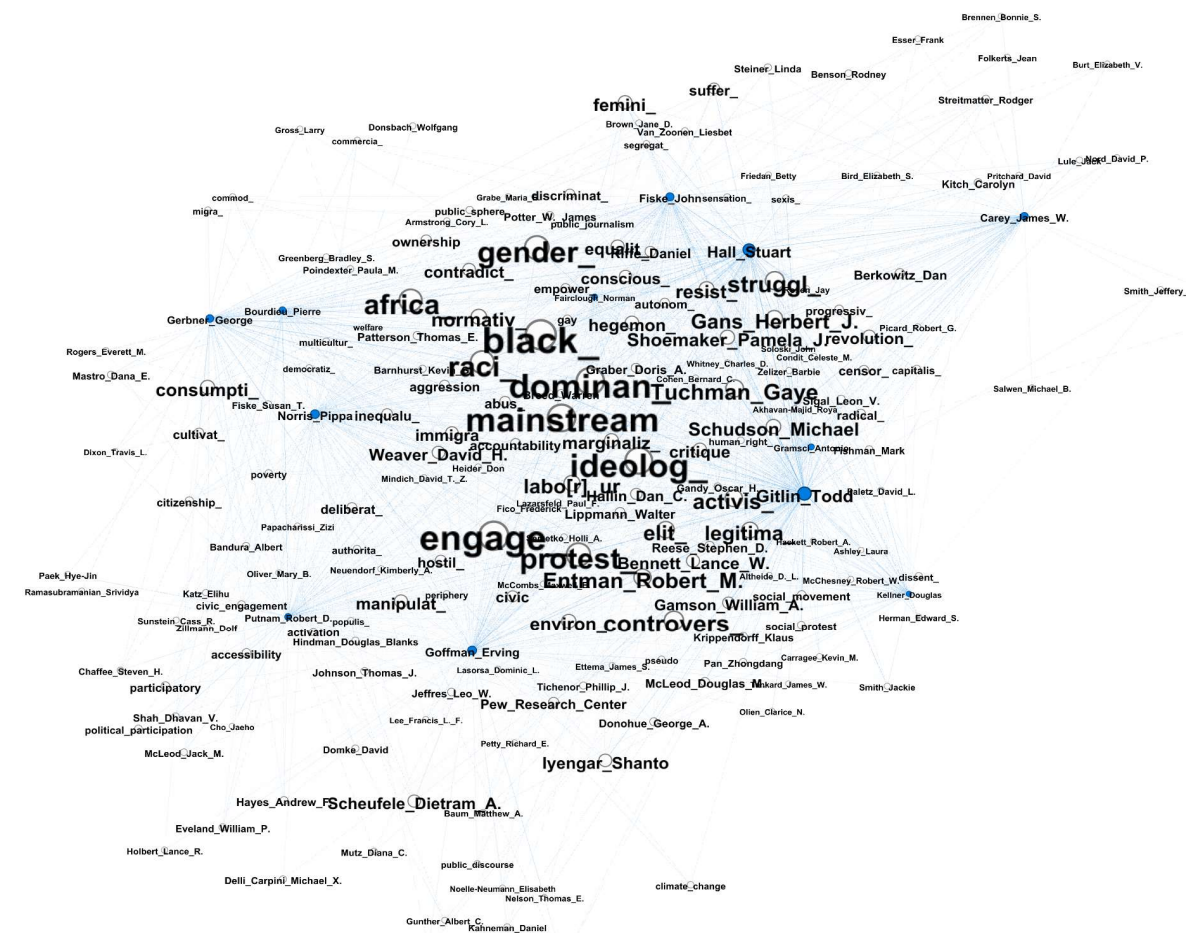
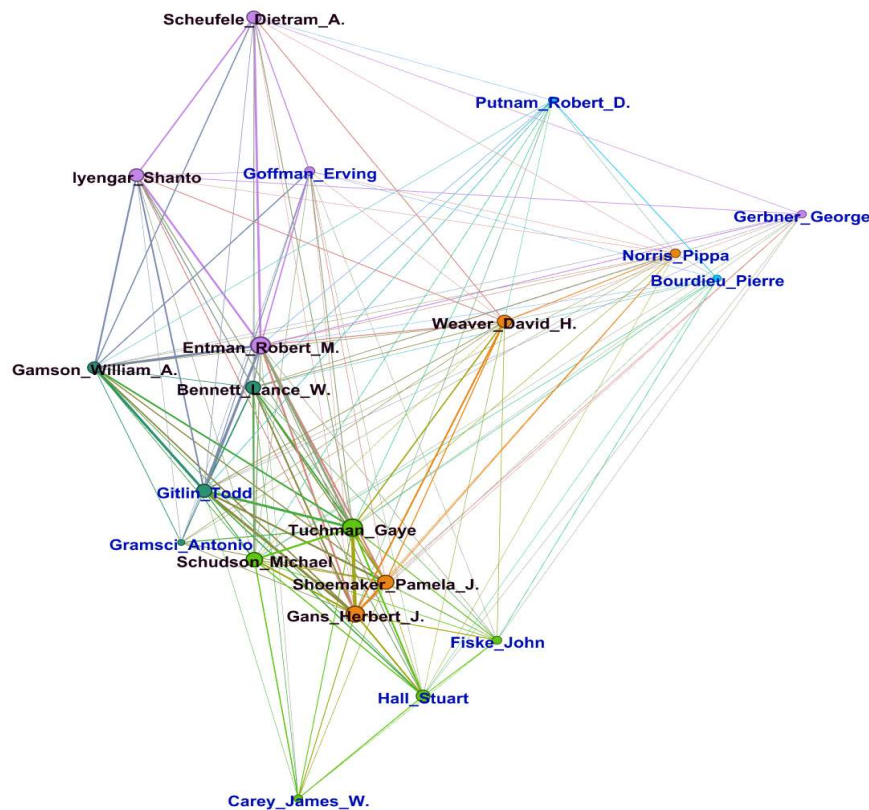


Figure 3.47: Network of ten most prominent cited and critical authors in Journalism & Communication Quarterly, 1990–2018, with critical authors indicated (blue)



Co-citation patterns among cited and critical authors are investigated in order to inspect to what an extent critical and non-critical ideas are integrating. Ten of the most prominent from each category are selected for the analysis. Critical cited authors are most strongly co-cited with the most prominent cited authors in the network, representing the administrative paradigm (Figure 3.47). US based Todd Gitlin, as the most prominent critical author obtains the strongest co-citation links with authors not contained in the control sample of critical authors, but which nevertheless could be considered as such, as their research work offers a critique of media practices. For example, William A. Gamsons' (15), Herbert J. Ganses (15) Robert M. Entmans' (14) critique of role of the media in the reproduction of relations of power, Gaye Tuchmans' (15) critique of media construction of reality, Pamela J. Shoemakers' (11) critique of gatekeeping and Dan C. Hallins' critique of cultural imperialism. Even in prominent links associating Todd Gitlin with the representatives of the political communication tradition, Shanto Iyengar and Douglas M. McCleod (8 both), who conducted studies of media framing and its impoverishing impact on the democratic discourse could not be considered of administrative provenience, but indeed critical.

The most prominent cited authors in the remaining part of the network, among others Robert M. Entman, Shanto Iyengar, Dietram A. Scheufele and David H. Weaver are affiliated with the tradition of political communication. The main research focus of this tradition is a research of news effect on citizens' voting intentions of the political candidates.

3.5.3.5 Communication Research

Out of 960 sampled articles published from 1990 to 2018, 113 (11.8 %) were regarded as critical. The network consists of 971 nodes, where 124 (63.9 %) represent critical indicators and 847 cited authors. The nodes are connected with 24,641 links, resulting in a 0.069 density index.

Ten most prominent cited authors are Jack M. McCleod (457), Dhavan V. Shah (443), Vincent Price (442), Dolf Zillmann (400), Andrew F. Hayes (398), Shanto Iyengar (383), Diana C. Mutz (377), Dietram A. Scheufele (364), Steven H. Chafee (357), and Robert M. Entman (345). Ten most central critical indicators are engage_ (805), black (641), africa_ (565), ideolog_ (565), gender_ (561), activation (564), accessibility (498), raci_ (495), manipul_ (475), normativ_ (475) and consumpti_ (468).

By applying the VOS community detection algorithm to the network (res.=0.5, VOS =0.647), 4 clusters were identified, namely “critique of (dis-)engagement” (purple, 27.8 percent of all the nodes in the network), “critique of racial and ethnic framing” (green, 24.6 percent), “critique of ideology” (orange, 24.4 percent) and “consumerism critique” (blue, 23.2 percent).

I.) Critique of (dis-)engagement is the largest cluster containing 11 critical indicators and 242 cited authors. The most prominent critical indicators in the cluster designate the issues related to the process of democratic decision making, such as engage_ (805), deliberat_ (434), civic (393), protest_ (399), political participation (345), participatory (312), surveill_ (293), empower_ (274) and citizenship_ (243). The most cited authors in the cluster are the most central authors in the whole network – the representatives of the dominant paradigm based in the political science, among others Jack M. McLeod, Dhavan V. Shah, Vincent Price, Diana C. Mutz and Andrew F. Hayes. Out of 12 of the critical authors identified among the cited, the most prominent are Robert D. Putnam (317), Pippa Norris (233), John Dewey (208), Denis McQuail (189) and Manuel Castells (186). Although identified critical scholars

inequal_ (259), struggl_ (192), capitalis_ (187), commod_ (148), exploit_ (86), revolution (74) pertain to a wider Marxist vocabulary; public sphere (132), publics (109), public discourse (89), public journalism (75) pertain to the theories of the public sphere. The cluster contains 31 critical cited authors from 50 contained in the whole network. Spatialisation of the cited authors in the cluster indicates dispersion of the representatives of different traditions within the critical paradigm. The most central scholar, Jürgen Habermas is in a close proximity with Michael Schudson and to a lesser extent Lincoln Dahlberg, while the concept of public sphere is largely associated with the critical authors, such as Talcott Parson, Zygmunt Bauman, Max Weber and Robert E. Park.

Leftwards of the representatives of the public sphere theory, the contours of political economy group are constituted around Herbert I Schiller (106) containing Jeremy Tunstall (59), Robert W. McChesney (57), Vincent Mosco (40), Oliver Boyd-Barrett (43) and Graham Murdock (31). The group appears between the already mentioned representatives of the public sphere theory and the representatives of the cultural studies of media tradition. The most prominent representatives in the cluster are James W. Carey (128), David Morley (110), Ien Ang (82), John Fiske (67) and Raymond Williams (58), but also the representatives of French structuralism, such as Michel Foucault (87), Jacques Derrida (41) and Roland Barthes (36). The authors are most strongly associated with the indicators, such as “dominance” (437), “struggl_” (192) and “knowledge_gap” (146), which indicate the critique of knowledge inequalities in relations of power. However, the cited critical authors and corresponding indicators are located at the networks’ edge, suggesting their relatively lower significance.

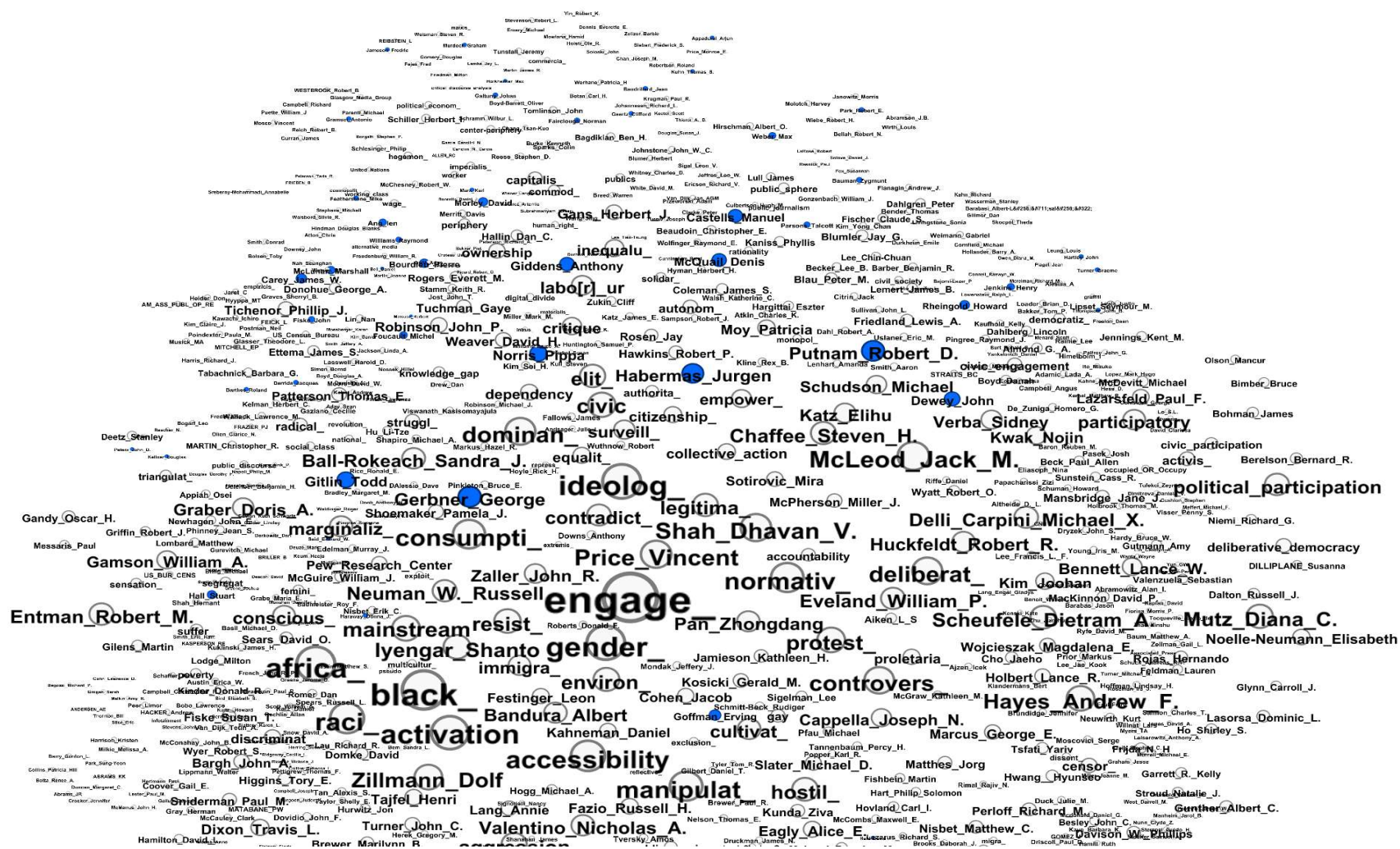
4.) Consumerism critique cluster, contains 19 critical indicators and 206 cited authors. The most critical indicators within the cluster are consumpti_ (468), controvers_ (430), mainstream (400), environ_(372) and hostil_ (368). Contained critical indicators within the cluster, such as gay (186), migra_ (75), lesbian (31) designate issues related to social minorities, while indicators such as environ_ (372) and climate change (140) indicate critical discussion on relations of consumerism with the environmental problems. The most central cited authors in the cluster, apart from George Gerbner (321), a protagonist of the cultivation theory, are psychologists Dolf Zillmann (400), Albert Bandura (323), Richard E. Petty (285) and scholars reknown for their work in the tradition of media effects research, for example Joseph N. Cappella (276), and Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann (235). Three cited authors are

considered critical, according to the control sample, namely George Gerbner, Erving Goffman (148) and David Held (24). The consumerism critique in Communication Research of the second period of analysis was approached mainly through psychological tradition applied on the mainstream reporting of issues of ethnic minorities and people of different sexual orientations.

Critical authors are located in the upper part of the network (Figure 6.31) and are contained in the clusters the critique of (de-)engagement and the critique of consumerism, forming a specter of different traditions in the critical paradigm. The representatives of media cultural studies (James W. Carey, Raymond Williams, Ien Ang and David Morley) are followed rightwards by the representatives of French structuralism (Pierre Bourdieu), representatives of the tradition of political economy (Jeremy Tunstall, Herbert I. Schiller, Robert W. McChesney and Ben H. Bagdikian) and at the end by the representatives of the public sphere tradition (Manuel Castells and Peter Dahlgren).

On the other hand, the central critical author Jürgen Habermas is more associated with indicators such as *elitist_*, *bourgeois*, *empower_* and relatively "dissociated" with the public sphere indicator, which suggests that his ideas of communicative action were more present/referenced than the public sphere ideas (for examples see Friedland, 2001; Zhang, 2015; Rojas, 2008). In contrast, one of the most prominent authors, who is most closely associated with the public sphere indicator, Manuel Castells.

Figure 3.50: Network segment of critical indicators and cited authors in *Communication Research*, 1990–2018 with indicated critical authors from the control group



3.5.4 European Journals in the Post-1990 Period

3.5.4.1 European Journal of Communication

More than one third (34.9 percent / 224 articles) of the population containing 642 published articles is considered critical. The network is generated out of 2,841 nodes, where 177 nodes represent critical indicators and 2,664 cited authors. They are connected with 134,542 links, resulting in a 0.033 network density index.

The most prominent critical indicators are *ideolog_* (1,959), *dominan_* (1,862), *engage_* (1,802), *legit_* (1,743), *elit_* (1,521), *struggl_* (1,355), *contradict_* (1,297), *autonom_* (1,281), *labour_* (1,212), *black_* (1,195) and *critique* (1,176). The most prominent cited authors are Dan C. Hallin (778), Jay G. Blumler (741), Peter Schlesinger (739), Jürgen Habermas (699), Sonia Livingstone (679), Peter Dahlgren (648), Lance W. Bennet (647), David Morley (635), James Curran (632), and Gaye Tuchman (571).

The applied VOS community detection algorithm with resolution factor of 0.3 divides the network into 6 clusters (VOS=0.771), namely “critique of ideology” (purple, 33.6 percent of all the nodes in the network), followed by “critique of capitalism” (light green, 20.9 percent), “media ownership” (17.5 percent), “revisionism in mass communication research cluster” (14.4 percent), “democratization of communication cluster” (6.9 percent) and “critique of liberalism” cluster (6.6 percent).

1.) **Critique of ideology** cluster contains 876 cited authors and 79 critical indicators, of which the most prominent critical indicators in the network, such as *ideolog_* (1,959), *dominan_* (1,862), *engage_* (1,802), *legitim_* (1,743) and *elit_* (1,521). The critique of ideology is most distinctively associated with the group of indicators within the cluster, designating racial discrimination; for example *black_* (1,195), *raci_* (642) and with the theories of the public sphere, indicated with *legit_* (1,743), *public sphere* (869), *civic* (858), *citizenship_* (656), *deliberat_* (519). The most prominent authors in the cluster are Stuart Hall (956), Dan C. Hallin (778), Jürgen Habermas (699), Peter Dahlgren (648), Lance W. Bennet (647) and James Curran (632). The cluster contains 32 critical scholars identified in the control sample of critical authors, pertaining to various critical traditions, indicating that the critique of ideology has been approached from various critical angles, among others culturalist tradition in media studies represented by Stuart Hall, John B. Thompson (500),

more specific indicators suggesting concepts elaborated within different traditions, among others the political economy of media tradition with political econom_ (619), media regulat_ (184); critical theory with dialectic_ (361), critical theor_ (137), administrative research (44), feminist critique with gender (878), femini_ (602) and LGBT critique with gay (134) and lesbian (25). The most prominent among the cited authors, among others Denis McQuail (893), Sonia Livingstone (679), David Morley (635), Peter Golding (566) and Anthony Giddens (563) do not form a particular tradition. Instead they pertain to the same country, UK. The centre of the cluster is occupied by critical indicators, such as labor_ , resist_ , critique_ and political econom_. The most central cited authors are David Morley, Anthony Giddens, John Fiske (505), Ulrich Beck (443), Ien Ang (431), Michael Schudson (390) and Michael Billig (312). The lower section of the cluster is formed by critical indicators pertaining to the Marxist vocabulary, inequal_ , consumpti_ , conscious, capitalis_ , marxis where the most prominent authors are Denis McQuail (893), Peter Golding (566), Graham Murdock (435), Karl Marx (311), David Hesmondhalgh (248), Christian Fuchs (199), Dallas W. Smythe (166), Michael Gurevitch (295) and James W. Carey (229). However, this section of the cluster is overlapping with the normative media cluster. The upper section of the cluster indicates that the most co-occurring cited authors, pertaining to the feminist critique indicators, are Michel Foucault, Sonia Livingstone, Nick Couldry and Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi. The section of the cluster overlapping with the the critique of ideology cluster, associates critical indicators designating the critique of the racial discrimination, for example “black_ , “migra,” “participatory” and “empower” and cited authors, such as Stuart Hall, John B. Thompson and Liesbet van Zoonen.

3.) **Media ownership** cluster contains 497 nodes, out of which 35 designate critical indicators and 462 cited authors. The most prominent critical indicators in the cluster are contradict_ (1,297), normativ_ (1,000), welfare (824), monopol_(744) and ownership (711). The most prominent cited authors in the cluster are Nicholas Garnham (420), Paddy Scannell (382), Raymond Williams (355), Richard Collins (333) and *European Commission (276). 15 authors in the cluster are considered critical according to their membership in the control sample. Apart from Garnham, Scannell, and Williams, the most prominent pertains to US tradition of critical (media) research, for example George Gerbner, Hanno Hardt, Naomi Kline, John Dewey, C. Wright Mills and Hannah Arendt.

4.) **Revisionism in mass communication research cluster** overlaps all of the clusters. It contains 12 critical indicators and 398 cited authors. The most prominent critical indicators in the cluster are *marginalis_* (846), *accessibility* (351), *rationality* (351), *critical discourse analysis* (149) and *tyrann_* (126). The most prominent cited authors in the cluster are Jay G. Blumler (741), Philip Schlesinger (739), Gaye Tuchman (571), Pierre Bourdieu (554), Brian McNair (485), David Miller (352), Herbert J. Gans (350) and Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann (307) which indicates different dimensions the revisionism relates to, either revisionism in mass communication research refers to the beginning of the field's institutionalisation (Kepplinger, 1990), referring to the revisions in the critical media research (Curran 1990) or particular critical influences on specific traditions within the dominant paradigm, such as political communication (Blumler 1990, Wolton 1990). Eleven of the cited authors within the cluster are regarded as critical, the most prominent of which are Pierre Bourdieu, David Held (214), Daniel Bell (210), Roland Barthes (209) and Clifford Geertz (150).

5.) **Democratisation of communication** cluster contains most central critical indicators, such as *democratis_* (532), *authorita_* (517), *privatisation* (383), *censor_* (297), and *totalitar_* (187). Apart from the most prominent western cited authors, such as Colin Sparks (432), John D. H. Downing (317), Pamela J. Shoemaker (295) and Kaarle Nordenstreng (254), the cluster contains prominent critical authors from ex-socialist countries, i.e. Slavko Splichal (306), Karol Jakubowicz (246), Ellen Mickiewicz (186), Alena Ledeneva (118) Elena Vartanova (96), Oleg Manaev (93) and Peter Bajomi-Lazar (92) investigating transformations of ex-socialist media systems (de Smaele 1999, Koltsova 2001, Jakubowitz 2004, Becker 2004). The cluster is overlapping with the critique of ideology cluster, especially in the section where representatives of the public sphere, such as Jürgen Habermas, Peter Dahlgren, Dan C. Hallin and Barbara Pfetsch intersect with critical indicators, such as “*autonom_*,” “*accountability*” and “*public service*”. The cluster contains two cited authors regarded as critical in the control sample, namely Patricia Aufderheide (58) and Krishan Kumar (50).

6.) **Critique of liberalism** cluster overlaps all other clusters and contains 10 critical indicators and 178 cited authors. The most prominent critical indicators are *revolution_* (414), *repress_* (411), *bourgeois_* (328), along with critical indicators designating concepts elaborated for legitimisation of democratic power, e.g. theories of the public sphere, such as “*democratic theory*” (124), “*deliberative democracy*” (99), “*democratic process*” (91),

The VOS community detection algorithm with the applied 0.17 resolution parameter divided the network into 8 clusters (VOS=0.849). The largest of clusters is “critique of (dis-)engagement cluster” (purple, 27.7 percent of the nodes in the network), followed by “theories of the public sphere cluster” (light green, 23.7 percent), “critique of ideology cluster” (blue, 20.1 percent), “critique of a totalitarian discourse cluster” (brown, 10.9 percent), “critique of (cultural) imperialism cluster” (orange, 9.5 percent) and “democratic theory cluster” (pink, 8.1 percent). Two of the smallest clusters contain 0.1 and 0.02 percent of the nodes in the network, which is a negligible explanatory value and are thus disregarded from the analysis.

1.) **Critique of (dis-)engagement** cluster contained 64 critical indicators and 1,717 cited authors. The most prominent critical indicators contained are engage_ (4,597), struggl_ (3,843), critique (3,421), capitalis_ (2,974) and protest_ (2,951). A group of critical indicators designating dissent and injustice further ground the contextual nature of the cluster; for example resist_ (2,930), activis_ (2,424), revolution_ (1,994), empower_ (1,540), participatory (1,447), authorita_ (1,338), human right_ (1,240), abus_ (1,200), collective action (1,071), social movement (864), dissent (762) and injust_ (630). Besides these, the cluster contains less prominent indicators, pertaining to Marxist vocabulary, for example capitalis_, conscious_ (2,209), commod_ (1,752), revolution_ (1,994), worker (721) and wage (698). The most prominent cited authors contained in the cluster are Manuel Castells (1,460), Nick Couldry (1,280), Anthony Giddens (1,262), Benedict Anderson (1,216) and Lance W. Bennet (1,164). The cluster associates the representatives of various traditions (see Figure 6.34) from critical cultural studies of media (for example, Nick Couldry, John B. Thompson, Raymond Williams, Simon Cottle, Roger Silverstone, Henry Jenkins), theories of the public sphere (Manuel Castells, Craig Calhoun, John D. Peters, Yuezhi Zhao, Zizi Papacharissi), critical theory (Theodor W. Adorno, Walter Benjamin), (neo)marxism (Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci, Christian Fuchs), political economy of media (Oliver Boyd-Barrett). The cluster also contains significant input referencing research from a group of Australo-Asian authors overlapping “the public sphere cluster,” with Yuezhi Zhao (587), Chin-Chuan Lee (581), Terry Flew (554), Yang Guobin (347) and Stuart Cunningham (435) acting as central nodes.

2.) **Theories of the public sphere** cluster contains 51 critical indicators and 1,472 cited authors. The most prominent indicators are dominan_ (4,672), legitim_ (3,540), labour (3,133), elit_ (2,947) and radical_ (2,822), while the most prominent authors are Jürgen Habermas (1,518), James Curran (1,250), Dan C. Halin (1,248), Nicholas Garnham (1,114)

and Philip Schlesinger (1,110). Apart from the most prominent cited authors, cluster contains representatives of two of the most prominent traditions within critical communication research, namely the theories of the public sphere and political economy of the media tradition. The representatives of the first (besides 5 most prominent cited authors in the cluster) were Philip Schlesinger, John D. H. Downing (999), Nancy Fraser (863) and John Keane (631), while the most prominent representatives of the latter were Graham Murdock (1,046), Robert W. McChesney (882), Vincent Mosco (713), Peter Golding (675), Jeremy Tunstall (618) and David Hesmondhalgh (585) among others. The contained critical indicators support the assertion, as they blend the concepts adopted by both traditions. Indicators, such as “normativ_” (2,049), “public sphere” (2,015), “national_” (1,733), “deliberat_” (1,583), “civic” (1,473), “civil society” (1,406) designate concepts adopted by the representatives of the public sphere theory, while the indicators pertaining to the political economy of the media tradition are “ownership” (1,767), “monopol_” (1,455), “public service” (1,186), “media policy” (951), “media power” (761) and “public service broadcasting” (655).

3.) **The critique of ideology cluster** contains 1,293 nodes, 36 pertaining to critical indicators and 1,257 pertaining to the cited authors. The most prominent cited authors are Stuart Hall (2,136), Pierre Bourdieu (1,648), Michel Foucault (1,173), David Morley (1,113), Gaye Tuchman (1,074), Ien Ang (991), John Fiske (918), Arjun Appadurai (884), Colin Sparks (810) and John Hartley (764). The most prominent critical indicators in the cluster are “ideolog_” (4,436), “black_” (3,689), “gender_” (2,578), consumpti_ (2,568) and “hegemon_” (2,135). The contained critical indicators in the cluster suggest that the critique of ideology is related to various dimensions of discrimination, such as race, for example “black_,” “raci_” (1,697), “aborigi_” (476), “antirac_” (137); (non-)citizenship, for example “immigra_” (1,364), “citizenship_” (1,343), “multicultur_” (926); gender, for example “gender_,” “femini_” (2,019), “sexis_” (459) and sexual orientation; “gay” (802), “lesbian” (415), “queer” (337) and “homophob_” (232).

The cluster contains 59 critical authors from the control group, among which some of the most prominent in the network. The majority are the representatives of cultural media studies tradition, among others Stuart Hall, David Morley, Ien Ang, John Fiske, John Hartley, Angela McRobbie (649) and Dick Hebdige (305), E. P. Thompson (391). Among the most prominent are also the representatives of French structuralism, such as Pierre Bourdieu (1,648), Michel

Foucault (1,173) and Jean Baudrillard (585). Seldom and less prominent are the representatives of other traditions, such as Marxism, Louis Althusser (477) and Étienne Balibar (263), political economy of the media, Dallas W. Smythe (378) and critical theory, Max Horkheimer (289).

4.) **Critique of totalitarian discourse** cluster contains 701 nodes, among which 15 designate critical indicators and 686 cited authors. The most prominent cited authors are Michael Schudson (1,420), William A. Gamson (909), Roland Barthes (607), Tamar Liebes (569), Teun A. van Dijk (519), Gadi Wolfsfeld (408), Pamela J. Shoemaker (3919), Eric J. Hobsbawm (378), A. Anderson (363) and Edward J. Epstein (360). The critical indicators with the highest degree values are “public discourse” (826), “occupied” (599), “nazi” (435), “Hitler” (299) and “dictator_” (285). The cluster addresses the issues of totalitarian discourse, considering other indicators contained in the cluster, such as “antisocial_” (163), »fascis_« (163), “dogmati_» (131) and »misinform_« (40). The cluster contains 19 critical authors identified in the control sample, such as Roland Barthes (606), Eric J. Hobsbawm (377), Hamid Naficy (316), Umberto Eco (278) and Hayden White (269), Richard J. Bernstein (123) and Wendy Brown (127).

5.) **The critique of (cultural) imperialism** cluster contains 11 critical indicators and 600 cited authors. The most prominent cited authors were John Tomlinson (688), Daya K. Thussu (663), Armand Mattelart (625), Herbert I. Schiller (588) and *United Nations (572). Besides the forementioned authors holding the highest degree values, the other representatives with a lesser prominence, also pertaining to the political economy tradition, are Kaarle Nordenstreng (374), Janet Wasko (366), *UNESCO (363), Cees J. Hamelink (267), Immanuel Wallerstein (239) and non-US scholars prominent in the critique of globalisation, such as Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi (435), Paula Chakravartty (383), Jesus Martin-Barbero (345), Raka Shome (260), Iwabuchi Koichi (251), Arvind Rajagopal (239), Arvind Singhal (236), etc. The most prominent critical indicators in the cluster are “africa_” (2,121), “dialectic_” (1,019), “imperialis_” (1,017), “postcolonial” (832), “poverty” (737) and “dependency” (605). The cluster contains 8 critical authors from the control sample, where the most prominent are James Clifford (340), George Gerbner (185) and Dipesh Chakrabarty (177).

6.) **Democratic theory** cluster contains 524 nodes designating 6 critical indicators and 518 cited authors. The most prominent authors are Herbert J. Gans (989), James W. Carey

(820), Max Weber (641), Dan Schiller (512) and Rodney Benson (437). Other representatives of the democratic theory originate from more wider sociological and political perspective, such as Rodney Benson (437), Kevin Robins (430), Peter L. Berger (386), Paul Di Maggio (386), but also classic authors contributing to the theories of democracy, among others Walter Lippmann (324), John Dewey (282), Immanuel Kant (247), John S. Mill (244), Alexis de Tocqueville (222), Alvin W. Gouldner (205) and Robert E. Park (198), Georg W. F. Hegel (76), Charles R. Wright (70) and Edmund Burke (48). The cluster contains 19 critical authors from the control sample.

The population of critical articles in later period of the analysis contains 193 or 85.8 percent of the 225 identified critical authors in the control group. These are distributed relatively evenly within the network, except in the left part of the network where a group of representatives political economy tradition is positioned, with Michael Schudson as a central node (Figure 6.34). Proportionally, the most “critical” cluster is critique of ideology as it contains 4.7 percent (59) of critical authors from the control sample among all 1,257 cited authors within the cluster. Democratic theory cluster contains 3.7 percent (9) and is followed by critique of (dis-)engagement cluster containing 3.2 percent, (62), critique of a totalitarian discourse cluster with 2.8 percent (19), theories of the public sphere cluster” with 1.8 percent and finally, critique of (cultural) imperialism cluster with 1.3 percent (8).

Figure 3.54: Reduced network of critical indicators and cited authors in Media, Culture & Society, 1990–2018 with the Critical Authors from the Control Group Indicated in Blue (min. degree= 210, n=238)

As on the behalf of the selected criteria where more than half of articles are considered critical as on the behalf of the number of contained cited critical authors from the control sample, Media, Culture & Society is one of the most significant critical journals in the analysed sample where critical paradigm is central.

an extent which distinguishes the strand from other critical traditions and is perceived as one of the six most prominent critical traditions in the particular journal.

The largest cluster contains central concepts such as struggle, marginalisation, engagement and critique are part of a shared vocabulary, although significant differences exist between scholars who conceive social relations, in Marxist terms, as a struggle and those who adopt a liberal conceptualisation, conceiving them as an engagement. Concept struggle contains the dichotomy of opposing forces in a power structure. The concept of engagement implies (dis-)engagement by default and initiative on the side of the oppressed. Therefore, the system is not in the spotlight and does not directly address the status quo.

Figure 3.55: Annual distribution of articles containing indicator engage_

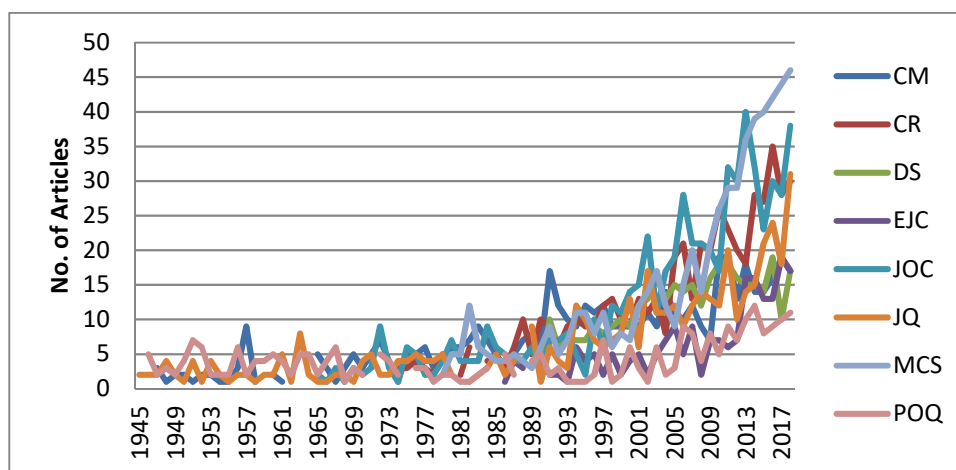
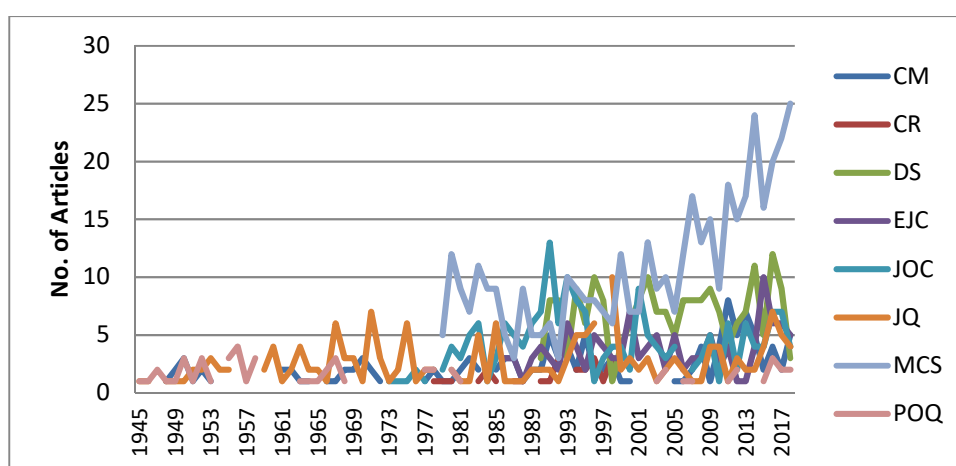


Figure 3.56: Annual distribution of articles containing indicator struggl_



The rise in the use of the engagement concept is present in all of the analysed journals and rising, especially after the fall of the bipolar world – in the latter period of the analysis (Figure

3.35). Although the data on the presence of the indicators are not normalised to exclude the variability in the number of articles and issues, the differences among the journals adopting the concept are nevertheless evident. The concept is the most prominent in Media, Culture & Society and less in other journals (Figure 3.36).

In Media, Culture & Society *struggl_* obtains the most strong links with *dominan_* (175), *ideolog_* (160), *engage_* (158), *legitim_* (111), *black_* (108), *critique* (100), *capitalis_* (95), *resist_* (94), *protest* (93), *radical* (90).

Engagement, on the other hand, obtains the strongest links with *dominan_* (195), *ideolog* (176), *struggl* (158), *critique* (149), *legitim_* (136), *black_* (131), *activis_* (112), *mainstream* (109), *protest* (109) and *labor* (107).

The feminist, LGBT critique and critique of the issues related to racial and ethnic minorities are not conceptualised as identity politics and do not form individual clusters as in the case of some US journals, but are strongly associated with the concepts of ideology, hegemony and (in)equality, blending cultural media studies, French structuralism and to an extent even US critical tradition.

3.5.4.3 Discourse & Society: Incubator or Feud?

Out of 756 articles published in Discourse & Society in the period from 1990 to 2018, 56.9 percent (430) were considered critical. The network was composed out of 163 critical indicators and 2,582 cited authors. The most prominent critical indicators in the network are “*ideolog_*” (2,227), “*dominan_*” (2,102), “*black*” (2,093), “*engage_*” (1,860) and “*legitim_*” (1,860). The most prominent cited authors within the network are Teun A. van Dijk (2,176), Norman Fairclough (1,925), Ruth Wodak (1,534), Michael Billig (1,303) and Michel Foucault (1,071). The network contains 142 (5.2 percent) of the critical authors from the control group.

The applied VOS algorithm with the 0.4 resolution divides the units in the network into 6 clusters (VOS=0.720). The largest, according to the order of contained number of units, are “ideology critique” cluster (purple, 37.7 percent of all the nodes in the network), “the feminist and LGBT critique” (light green, 22.9 percent), “the critique of racial discrimination” (blue, 18.9 percent) and “the critique of exclusionary practices” (orange, 16.4 percent) cluster. Due to the small size, two clusters containing 3.6 and 0.5 percent of the nodes (representing only cited authors) are not included in the analysis.

1.) The cluster **ideology critique** contains 95 critical indicators and 939 cited authors, of which the most prominent are Norman Fairclough (1,925), Stuart Hall (987), Roger Fowler (977), Michael A. K. Halliday (950) and Guenther Kress (872). In addition to the linguist tradition to which 5 of the most prominent authors within the cluster and in the critical discourse tradition (except Hall) pertain to, cluster contains addition critical authors, such as Anthony Giddens, Max Weber, Jürgen Habermas and David Harvey. The most prominent critical indicators are "ideolog_" (2,447), "dominan_" (2,102), "black_" (2,093), "engage_" (2,074) and "legitim_" (1,860). The critical indicators contained in the cluster denote the criticism of unequal social relations, with the indicators "struggl_" (1,631), "resist_" (1,570), "contradict_" (1,565), "critique" (1,278), "inequal_" (1,236), "protest" (1,207), "hegemon_" (1,173), "exploit_" (1,146) and "marginaliz" (1,114). The group of critical words such as "deliberat_" (700), "public discourse" (648) and "public sphere" (367) indicate references to ideas and concepts developed in the tradition of the public sphere, but appear less prominent.

2.) **Feminist and LGBT critique** cluster contains 21 critical indicators and 608 cited authors. The most prominent cited authors are Michel Foucault (1,071), Erving Goffman (1,062), Pierre Bourdieu (890), Deborah Tannen (781) and Harvey Sacks (766). The most prominent representatives in the cluster originate from the field denoted as (socio-)linguistics and conversation analysis, such as William Labov (740), Anita Pomerantz (692), Deborah Cameron (645), Charles Antaki (583), Gail Jefferson (577) and Emanuel A. Schegloff (569). Among the moderately prominent cited authors, the cluster does contain two prominent representatives associated with the Marxist tradition, Antonio Gramsci (528) and Louis Althusser (404). The most prominent critical indicators reflect the feminist critique; "gender_" (1,482), "femini_" (1,105), "sexis_" (536), LGBT critique; "gay" (597), "lesbian" (384), "homophob_" (315), "queer" (244), but also terms denoting class structure, such as "worker" (357), "social class" (352) and "working class" (314).

Figure 3.57: The reduced network of critical indicators and cited authors in Discourse & Society, 1990–2018, node colours correspond to their cluster membership (min. degree=402; n=268)

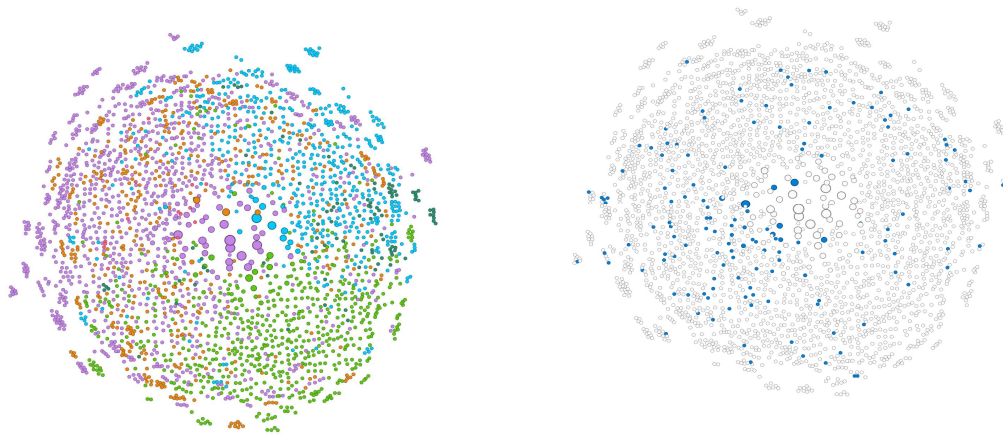
3.) **The critique of racial and ethnic discrimination** cluster contains 31 critical indicators and 489 cited authors. The most prominent cited authors are the journal editor, Teun A. van Dijk (2,176), Michael Billig (1,303), Margaret S. Wetherell (1,008), Jonathan Potter (898) and Derek Edwards (865). Apart from the most prominent cited authors from linguistics/discourse analysis, the representatives of the traditions, such as political scientist Benedict Anderson (470), representative of cultural media studies, John Hartley (281), sociologist, Zygmunt Bauman (266) are also contained in the cluster, but are less prominent. The most prominent critical indicators are “raci_” (1,772), “discriminat_” (1,343), “immigra_” (1,277), “mainstream” (1,099) and “refugee” (725). The less prominent contained indicators further elaborate the critique of racial and ethnic discrimination, for example “migra_” (696), “citizenship_” (621), “multicultur_” (615), “anti-immigra_” (454), “hatred” (446), “extremis ” (422), ”fascis ” (344), “xenopho ” (341) and “anti-rac ” (297).

4.) The critique of exclusionary practices cluster contains 15 concepts and 435 cited authors. The most prominent authors are Ruth Wodak (1,534), Paul Baker (488), Ernesto Laclau (455), Michael Stubbs (405) and Adam Jaworski (390). The most prominent critical indicators are “critical discourse analysis” (1,377), “exclusion_” (1,011), “dialectic_” (754), “consumpti_” (461) and “rationality” (445). The “critical discourse analysis” indicator contained in the cluster addresses the application of a methodological approach distinctive for this critical tradition. According to remaining critical indicators within the cluster, the critique of social exclusion is associated with neoliberalism (405), consumption (461), depoliticisation (149), marketisation (115) and power abuse (162).

Out of 225 critical authors identified in the control sample, 145 are cited in the articles published in *Discourse & Society* and considered critical by our criteria. Visual inspection of node positions of the cited critical authors from the control sample in spatialised network (Figure 6.36) demonstrate their distribution across the network; 6.7 percent (29) in critical discourse analysis cluster, 6.4 percent (60) in the ideology critique cluster, 4.3 percent (21) in critique of racial and ethnic discrimination cluster and 4.1 percent (25) in the critique of exclusionary practices cluster. However, when the spatial distribution of the critical cited authors in the network is observed, a higher concentration is present in the segment where three clusters overlap, namely “the critique of ideology, feminist and LGBT critique and critical discourse analysis cluster.

The critique of ideology in *Discourse & Society* is approached from various critical traditions, among the most prominent are critical discourse analysis with Norman Fairclough (1,925), Michael A. K. Halliday (950), Mikhail M. Bakhtin (717) and John L. Austin (484) among others; cultural media studies with Stuart Hall (987), John Fiske (190), Roger Silverstone (162), Angela McRobbie (156); the public sphere theory with Jürgen Habermas (523), Nancy Fraser (243), Manuel Castells (102), theory of structuration with Anthony Giddens (680) and structural functionalism with Talcott Parsons (117); semiotics with Roland Barthes (485), (Neo)marxism with Karl Marx (199) and David Harvey (389); and critical theory with Herbert Marcuse (81) and Max Horkheimer (37).

Figure 3.58: Network of Nodes Coloured According to Cluster Membership (Left) and Placement of the Critical Authors from the Control Group Indicated in Blue (Right)



Feminist & LGBT critique contains influences of French structuralism, represented by Michel Foucault (1,071) and Pierre Bourdieu (890); social psychology by Erving Goffman (1,062), Marxism by Antonio Gramsci (528) and Louis Althusser (404), gender theories by Judith Butler (495), sociologist Ulrich Beck (253), semiotics with Jacques Derrida (223) and psychoanalysis with Jacques Lacan (73) among others.

Edwards W. Said (482), Benedict Anderson (470), John B. Thompson (381), John Hartley (2819 and Paul Gilroy (277) are among the most prominent critical scholars in the *Critique of racial and ethnic discrimination*, while Ruth Wodak (1,534), Ernesto Laclau (455), Julia Kristeva (246), Raymond Williams (246) and Terry Eagleton (242) are among the most prominent critical authors within the critique of exclusionary practices cluster.

Summary of Findings

Proportionally, 56.9 percent of the articles published in *Discourse & Society* are considered critical, which suggests it is the most critical journal among all analysed. When journals are compared on the basis of the most prominent cited authors, *Discourse & Society* unites the most unique community. The journal editor, Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak receive significantly less prominence in other analysed journals, while in *Discourse & Society* Teun A. van Dijk is the most central node in the network, appearing in more articles than any of the critical indicators as he is cited in 62% (265) out of 430 critical articles. For example, Ruth Wodak, second most prominent cited author in the analysis is cited in (merely) 33.7% (145) of articles in the sample.

As the journal editor does not receive significant prominence among the critical articles in other journals, a question surfaces if this is due to methodological error or it is an example of possible reasoning of the problem might be that the sample of journals is too narrow and overlooks the journals more open to research of this particular tradition. Other reasoning is that the journal is more than a communication infrastructure for the members of this particular scientific community, but is utilised for self-promotion of critical discourse analysis tradition. As many non-dominant, particularly critical traditions do not have an access to dominant scholarly journals, the community and the knowledge it produces can not evolve.

3.5.5 Conclusions

3.5.5.1 Main Findings

The patterns defined by basic clusters of critical indicators and cited authors in the analysed critical articles and journals are comparatively inconsistent with the conceptualisations of the categories under which (at least critical) traditions in the field of media research are perceived. As the case of Media, Culture & Society demonstrates, what is conceptualised in one cultural context as the political economy of media tradition can be perceived in the other as three distinct critical strands, with critical traditions forming a central paradigm and representatives of the political economy of the media contributing significantly to the tradition of public sphere theory, the critique of (cultural) imperialism and the critique of (dis-)engagement. On the other hand, these traditions are absent or hardly present in US journals publishing administrative research, such as Public Opinion Quarterly.

Journals also differ in their publication periods and the number of published articles and are therefore not directly comparable. Nevertheless, the analysis attempts to uncover the basic patterns of critical scholarship by analysing the structure of co-occurrences of critical indicators and cited authors. The clusters identified suggest that the most prominent strands of critical scholarship within and between journals are associated with ideology critique. Although it appears as the most prominent cluster in all US and European journals in the first period of the analysis, ideology is associated with different scholarly communities and deals with different conceptualisations of ideologies. The most illustrative difference is between Public Opinion Quarterly and Media, Culture & Society.

European journals contain more critical content, indicated by the number of critical articles and contained critical cited authors, than US journals, although the number of critical articles is increasing in some US journals, especially the Journal of Communication and Communication Monographs, in the last period of analysis.

A significant critical reflection in US journals in both periods relates to racial discrimination. Among European journals, the topic is given greater prominence in *Discourse & Society*. The critique of racial discrimination is prominent to the extent that it forms a relatively independent cluster in three US journals; Communication Monographs, Journal of Communication and Communication Research and Discourse & Society, suggesting that the

issue of discrimination is more likely to be associated with indicators of aggression, hostility, poverty, manipulation and resistance, while it is less likely to be associated with ideology critique as in other journals, where indicators of racial discrimination are included in the broader conceptualisation of ideology critique.

The most prominent cited authors in US critical articles of the first period differed between the journals, especially between the three with the longest tradition. The most prominent cited authors, present in all five US journals of the later period, are the representatives of the political communication tradition. While the time comparison indicates a tendency towards homogenisation, an additional analysis of the total population of published articles would have to be carried out in order to investigate the assumption further, as the sample of analysed articles from the first period is relatively small.

US critical authors seem to cast a blind spot on the European (rich) critical tradition, since the most prominent cited authors are Americans. Only the leading representatives of certain critical traditions emerging in Europe, such as Jürgen Habermas in the *Journal of Communication* and Michel Foucault in *Communication Monographs* are highly prominent. On the other hand, US authors indicate the influence of American ideas on European critical theory and research, for example Gaye Tuchman, Todd Gitlin, Brian McNair and Dan C. Hallin, but also Lance W. Bennet, Shanto Iyengar in *European Journal of Communication*, or Robert W. McChesney, Herbert J. Gans and Michael Schudson in *Media, Culture & Society*.

3.5.5.2 Between Ideological Critique and Ideology Critique?

Ideology critique in *Public Opinion Quarterly* reflects and is largely influenced by the Cold War period, since it is directed at the critique of communism. It is predominantly based on the research work of Paul F. Lazarsfeld, but also critical scholars such as Max Weber and Friedrich Engels, and extends the critique to Russian ideologues Vladimir I. Lenin, Joseph V. Stalin and political actors such as Vyacheslav M. Molotov, Andrey Vyshinsky, and their capitalist opponents, including Harry S. Truman, John F. Dulles and G. C. Marshall. This particular conceptualisation of ideology critique could be better designated as a critique of counter-ideology or ideological critique.

Ideology critique in *Media, Culture & Society* on the other hand, indicated with the most prominent concepts in the ideology critique cluster, is conceptualised as a critique of the

mechanisms of domination which ideology reproduces, contextualising the position and the struggle of labor within it. The critique is associated with the representatives of various critical traditions, from Marxism to different critical traditions evolving from it or largely influenced by it, including cultural media studies tradition (Williams and Hall), political economy of the media tradition (Schiller, Murdock), theories of the public sphere (Habermas) and French structuralism (Bourdieu).

3.5.5.3 On the Subject of Critique

What is perceived as the subject of critique in Europe may differ from what is the subject of critique in US. The most prominent problem that appears in critical articles in all journals and periods in the US is the critique of racial discrimination. The problems related to racial issues are less prominent in critical discussions in journals published in Europe and are usually conceptualised in the context of ideology critique. In contrast, in 7 out of 10 populations of analysed US journals, the concept of ideology is separated from the clusters denoting the critique of discrimination or segregation on a racist basis. This shows that explanations for racial discrimination are less linked to ideology than discrimination based on gender, sexual orientation or ethnicity. On the other hand, in both analysed populations of Public Opinion Quarterly the concept of ideology is included in the same clusters as the indicators of racial discrimination. However, quantitative surveys, which are the predominant method in the type of research published in the journal, often use demographic question blocks to segment respondents by ideological, party preferences, gender, ethnic and other variables, and may be the cause for stronger association between race and ideology.

3.5.5.4 The Paradox of Karl Marx

Among all the journals analysed, Karl Marx appears as the most prominent cited author in the first period of Public Opinion Quarterly, which is considered the least critical journal, as indicated by the number of critical articles and critical authors included in the control group. Moreover, the qualitative review of references to Marx does not reveal in which cases his ideas were subjected to direct critique. Instead, the Marxist perspective is used as a starting point to highlight the contradictions between the theoretical principles of Marxism and their empirical implementation under communism, as practised in USSR. In no other US journal or analysed period is Marx so prominently represented as in this one.

3.5.5.5 The Paradox of Theodor W. Adorno

The implementation of critical ideas of Theodor W. Adorno (Riesman, 1956; Sarnoff, 1960; Gleitman and Greenbaum, 1961), one of the most prominent representatives of the critical theory and one of the most cited critical authors in the earliest period (1950's) of *Public Opinion Quarterly*, refer to "The Authoritarian Personality," the work he co-authored (Frenkel-Brunswik et al., 1950/2019). The citations appear in the post-WWII period, when the reflections on the consequences of Nazism were still very prominent. However, the research on authoritarian personality where Adorno collaborated is an empirical study of four co-authors.

3.5.5.6 Methodological Issues

There are two methodological challenges which presented research faces and both relate to reconceptualisations. Concepts which hold neutral meaning today, but were once designated as critical, can not be detected by the utilised methods. The meanings of the terms are not fixed, but change, diversify and/or diminish. Similarly permeable and transformative are the categories with which we perceive traditions in (mass communication) research. In particular, the most prominent authors exposed to a wider audience are more likely to have divergent interpretations of their ideas, even by researchers belonging to other paradigmatic fields. The perception of what is of critical importance is thus subject to temporal, cultural and personal circumstances. What is believed to have a critical meaning in the present may not have been perceived as critical at the beginning of the period under study. Conversely, the critical meanings of terms that were in use after the Second World War or were introduced into English from other cultural and academic contexts may have a neutral meaning today. Therefore, the selection of indicators in the analysis is also subject to temporal, cultural and personal bias.

The second problem addresses the detection of contested critical concepts. The tradition of political communication appears (especially in US journals) as one of the most prominent traditions within critical research, since the articles considered critical contain a sufficient number of indicators. However, in some cases or with this particular tradition, the indicators can be conceptualised in a way that would not denounce any kind of human oppression or actions of liberation and social transformation. Instead, the social inequalities identified are

instrumentalised, implemented as a variable to segment the audience, and not initiated in the direction of eliminating the discriminatory causes. For example, racial discrimination, conceptualised as a variable, serves as a central concept for how »crime news containing minority suspects prime racial attitudes, which are subsequently brought to bear on evaluations of political candidates« (see Valentino, 1999, p. 300).

Thus, the concepts referred to as critical indicators are also prominent in (part of) administrative research to such an extent that the representatives of traditions pertaining to the administrative paradigm appear as the most prominent cited authors in critical articles. An article entitled "Affect, Not Ideology - A Social Identity Perspective on Polarization" (Iyengar, Sood and Lelkes, 2012) illustrates the conceptualisations of terms that were used in the research design of the dissertation to measure criticality, but which are largely in contrast to critical conceptualisations. The fourteen contained critical indicators consisted of "party **activists**"(page 406), "**ideological** disagreements"(406), "... **authoritarianism** contributed to higher ratings of the Republican Party ..." (406), "The **Civic** Culture, a 2004 Blair Center Election Study" (409), "journalists who seek conflict and **controversy**" (408), "American party elites have become increasingly polarized" (405), "...respondents were asked if they ... (1 = **engaged** in the activity, 0 = did not engage in the activity)" (413), "leading them to treat Tory supporters in a more **exclusionary** manner" (417), "Our identification strategy rests upon **exploiting** exogenous variation in actual campaigning" (424), "**Labor** supporters" (416), »the average rating ... of '**gay** men and **lesbians** (that is, **homosexuals**)' by Republicans 42" (413), "The ANES has often included thermometer ratings of **racial** and social groups" (415), "study asked respondents to think about ... "people interested in the **welfare** of humanity" (412).

3.6 (Re-)conceptualisations of Ideology

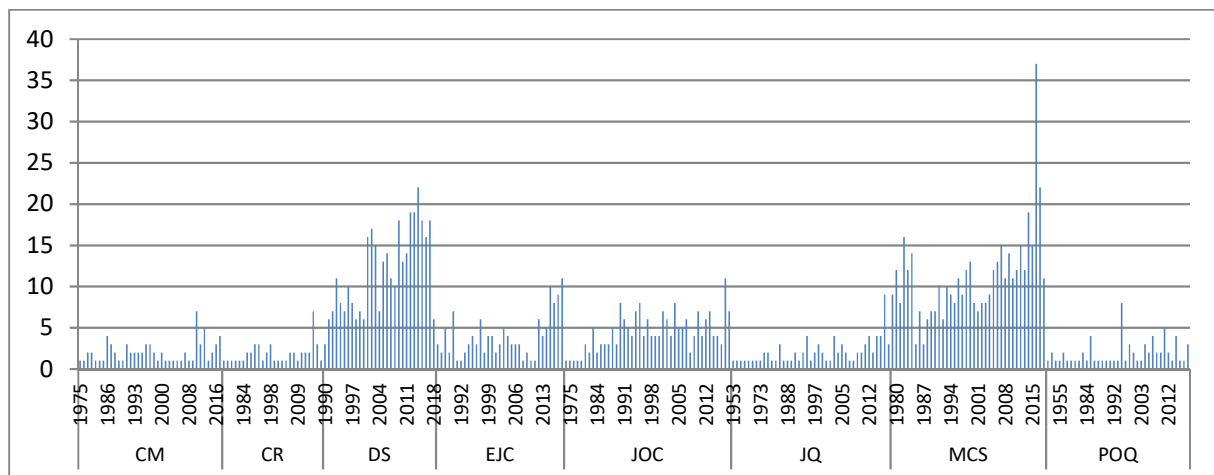
As indicated in the previous chapters, the concept of ideology appears as one of the most prominent critical concepts in critical articles in the journals analysed and in both periods of analysis. The data show that the concept is associated not only with the representatives of different critical traditions, such as Stuart Hall, Jürgen Habermas, Gaye Tuchman and Michael Schudson, but also with the most prominent representatives of administrative traditions, such as Paul F. Lazarsfeld in the case of the early period of *Public Opinion Quarterly*. The omnipresence of the concept in all the journals analysed and the most prominent traditions in mass communication research and in the entire period analysed make a different conceptualisation of ideology seem plausible.

If the research on different conceptualisations and reconceptualisations of ideology were based only on the definitions of the term provided by the authors of the articles, which would allow a direct comparison of different conceptualisations, the research would produce a higher reliability. However, a definition of the term is rarely included in the text of an article, either because of the widespread use of the concept (where the meaning is perceived as relatively common) or because the term plays a secondary or non-central role in the argumentation. Instead, the method utilised identifies the most prominent cited authors and critical indicators with which the concept co-occurs in the population of 15,238 articles. While the dimension of words co-occurrences is limited only to the associations with selected critical indicators, the dimension of cited authors on the other hand contains all cited authors in the population of all published articles, thus placing the conceptualisations of ideology in a broader scientific framework. The associations are arranged on an annual basis, which allows for an easier and more precise identification of potential reconceptualisations. The potential transformations of meaning indicated by changes in the most commonly cited authors and critical indicators are supplemented by examples of conceptual adoption.

Ideology appears in 9.2 % (1,400) out of a total of 15,238 articles. The articles included in the analysis contain at least one appearance of the concept. The annual distribution (Figure 3.57) of 1,400 articles containing the indicator »ideolog_« indicates the periods of its moderate use until 1978, when *Media, Culture & Society* began publishing. The period before 1978 includes only journals based in the US, where the concept was less common, while ideology

is more prominent in the journals closer to the European critical tradition, Media, Culture & Society, Discourse & Society and European Journal of Communication.

Figure 3.59: The annual distribution of articles containing »ideolog_« in analysed journals (n=1,400)



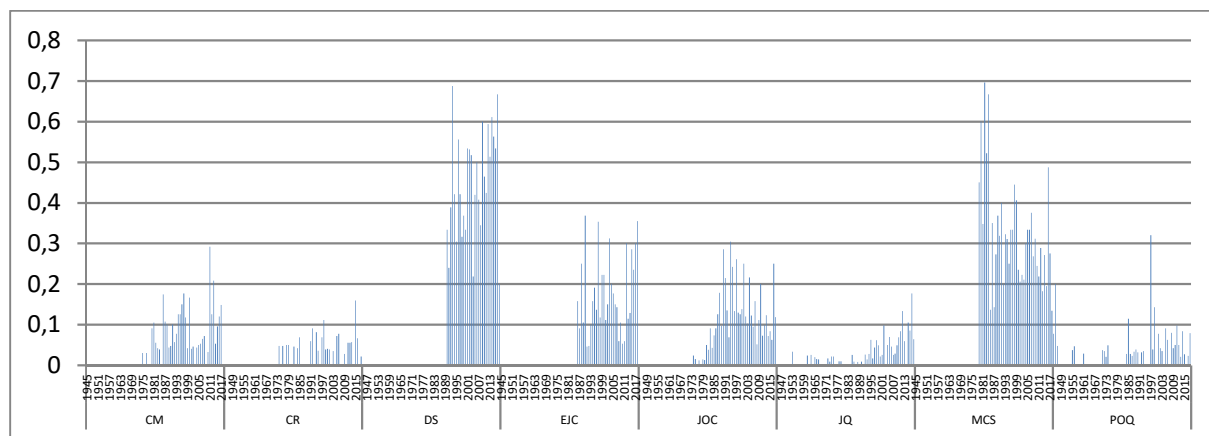
The normalised annual distribution of articles containing the indicator shows the prominence of the concept among and within journals (Figure 3.58). Until the 1980s, ideology was less prominent in US journals, but it gained moderate prominence in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, especially between 1945 and 1947. By contrast, the concept received considerable scholarly attention in European journals, where it appeared in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The ideology was present in almost 70 percent of the articles published in Media, Culture & Society in 1982 and 1984 and in Discourse & Society in 1993 and 2017.

Although the European journals were founded later than the US journals, the concept was more common in Europe than in the published articles of the US journals. The highest number consisting of 451 articles containing the concept is identified in Media, Culture & Society, followed by 345 in Discourse & Society, 194 in the Journal of Communication, 130 in European Journal of Communication, 85 in Journalism Quarterly, 76 in Communication Monographs, 48 in Communication Research and 71 in Public Opinion Quarterly.

The frequencies normalised by the annual production of the journal, show that the importance of the concept is decreasing in some journals and increasing in others. The decline is most pronounced in Media, Culture & Society and, to some extent, in the Journal of Communication in the last period of the analysis. On the other hand, use of the concept is increasing in Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, Public Opinion Quarterly,

Communication Research, Communication Monographs and Discourse & Society, where the normalised index remains high, with 69 percent of articles published in 1993 and 66.7 percent in 2017.

Figure 3.60: Normalised frequency distribution of critical articles containing »ideolog_« in analysed journals (n=1,400)



3.6.1 Critique of the Dominant Ideology: Media, Culture & Society

The conceptual frames (Figure 3.41) in Media, Culture & Society (brackets containing the frequency of co-occurrences) show the strongest associations until 1987 existed with the indicator »capitalis_« and later, when »dominan_« is mostly associated with the concept indicating the conceptualisation of ideology within the critique of the dominant ideology.

The adoption of the concept in this period is associated with predominantly European critical scholars, which indicates the ideology critique in traditions that emerged from Marxism, such as the political economy of the media and theories of the public sphere. The latter period, from 1995 onwards, is characterised by the prominence of US scholars, including Todd Gitlin (1995), Michael Schudson (2010), Herbert J. Gans (2012), Lance W. Bennett, Shanto Iyengar, Carolyn Kitch, Barbie Zelizer (2013), Robert W. McChesney (2017) and Mark Andrejevic (2018).

Figure 3.61: Conceptual Frames of »ideolog_« in Media, Culture & Society (min. frequency 2)

Marx K., Adorno T. W., Williams R., Elliott P., Smith A. (3)	1979	autonom_, capitalis_, dominan_ (8)
Williams R. (4)	1980	dominan_ (11)
Adorno T. W., Benjamin W., Berger J., Coward R., Golding P., Mattelart A., Schiller H. I., Spence J. T., Thompson E. P., Weber M., Williamson J. (2)	1981	dominan_ (7)
Williams R. (5)	1982	capitalis_ (11)
Marx K., Holzer H. (3)	1983	contradict_ (12)
Althusser L. (4)	1984	capitalis_, dominan_ (9)
Hall S., Barnouw E., Bunce R. (2)	1986	capitalis_, legitim_, struggl_ (4)
Marx K. (2)	1987	capitalis_, contradict_, critique, labor (3)
Canclini N. Garcia (4)	1988	dominan_ (6)
Habermas J., Hall S., Morley D. (2)	1989	contradict_, dominan_, legitim_, monopol_ (4)
Althusser L., Hall S., Boyd-Barrett O., Dahlgren P., Garnham N., Jakubowicz K., Mattelart A., Nordenstreng K., Rogers E. M., Scannell P., Schement J. R., Schiller Herbert I., Smith A., Tunstall J. (2)	1990	dominan_ (6)
Baudrillard J. (5)	1991	dominan_ (9)
Bourdieu P., Golding P., McQuail D., Morley D. (2)	1992	dominan_ (5)
Curran J. (4)	1993	dominan_, struggl_ (8)
Bauman Z., Boyle M., Golding P., Jakubowicz K., Jhally S., Mattelart M., Moores S., Murdock G., Porter V., Schudson M., Splichal S., Szczesko T., Szeffku A., Tunstall J. (2)	1994	elit_ (7)
Gitlin T. (3)	1995	capitalis_, dominan_ (6)
Giddens A., Lash S. (4)	1996	dominan_ (7)
Bourdieu P. (4)	1997	dominan_, engage_ (6)
Hall S., Schlesinger P., Tuchman G. (5)	1998	black_ (7)
Hall S., Anderson B., Ang I. (4)	1999	dominan_, resist_ (9)
Anderson B. (3)	2000	dominan_, resist_ (5)
Bourdieu P., Castells M. (5)	2002	dominan_ (6)
Herman E. S. (3)	2003	engage_, legitim_ (5)
Bourdieu P. (5)	2004	conscious_, dominan_ (6)
Bourdieu P., Habermas J. (3)	2005	black_ (9)
Gamson W. A. (5)	2006	dominan_ (9)
Anderson B., Bourdieu P., Foucault M., Giddens A. (4)	2007	engage_ (10)
Castells M. (4)	2008	black_ (8)
Hall S., Anderson B., Bennett L. W., Downing J. D. H., Gitlin T. (3)	2009	dominan_ (11)
Schudson M. (4)	2010	dominan_ (9)
Hall S. (7)	2011	dominan_, struggl_ (8)
Gans H. J. (5)	2012	dominan_ (11)
Bennett L. W., Iyengar S., Kitch C., Zelizer B. (3)	2013	dominan_ (8)
Castells M. (6)	2014	dominan_, engage_ (11)
Hall S. (5)	2015	critique (10)
Hall S., Zhao Y. (7)	2016	dominan_ (27)
McChesney R. W. (5)	2017	struggl_ (15)
Andrejevic M. (4)	2018	dominan_ (8)

The strongest associations in the pre-1990 period exist with the indicator »capitalis_« and »dominan_«, which indicate to critique of ideology conceptualised in Marxist notion of ideology as ideas of the ruling class which are, in every epoch, the ruling ideas (Marx and Engels, 1998 [1845], p. 26). »The ‘dominant ideology thesis’ holds that the hegemonic ideology in capitalism works to conceal the real nature of social relations and to produce the political quiescence of the subordinate classes« (Schlessinger 1982, 205) and Althusserian conceptualisation of ideology emphasising the discursive nature of ideology, for example ‘A system (with its own logic and rigour) of representations (images, myths, ideas or concepts, depending on the case) endowed with a historical existence and a role within a given society« (Althusser, 1970).’ The information revolution is ideological in that it is part of a system of ideas, concepts, and images within which it is meaningful (Slack, 1984, p. 248).

As the number of co-occurrences of Karl Marx and ideology begins to decline after 1987, the indicator »capitalis_« follows, which indicates that a certain conceptualisation of ideology is also declining. After the time of Cold War and the beginning of the global dominance of capitalism, the stemm »dominan_« becomes more important in the conceptualisation of ideology while »capitalis_« becomes less important.

The most prominent cited authors with which the concept is associated could not be regarded as the representatives of a particular tradition within the critical paradigm, but pertain to various, indicating the alternative conceptualisations.

The second period until 2007 is characterised by the adoption of the concept into the most prominent critical traditions such as the theories of public sphere with Jürgen Habermas, culturalist media studies with Stuart Hall and the French structuralism with Jean Baudrillard, Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault, among others.

3.6.2. Ideology as Populism: European Journal of Communication

The conceptual frames defined by the critical indicators suggest that the most prominent conceptualisation until 2015 were associations with the terms related to dominance and legitimacy. Especially in 2015, ideology was most strongly associated with capitalism, co-occurring together in 7 articles published that year, which also referred to (and invigorate) the Marxist definition of ideology »... juxtaposed to the ‘real’ material conditions as they present themselves (Marx and Engels, 1846 [1970], p. 47). Resulting from this, it was argued, the

ruling ideology aligns with the ideas and interests of the dominant elites of that era» (Cammaerts, 2015, p. 525).

Since 2007 ideology has been mostly associated with the indicator *elit_*, (which has replaced the concept of »the ruling class« as was illustrated in the above example), the opposite – anti-elitism, (Sanders, Molina Hurtado and Zoragastua, 2017) and elite media (Doudaki et al., 2016). The prominence of associations between ideology and elite since 2007 is mostly due to the rise of research interest on populism and attributing it the ideological status, for example »ideological populism«, (Stockemer and Barisione, 2016, p. 3) »populist ideology« (Suiter et al., 2018, p. 2) and »populism as ideology« (Aslanidis, 2015 in Sanders, Molina Hurtado and Zoragastua, 2017, p. 3).

Research of populism distinctive for the current period has served with definitions of ideology which could be conceptualised as an exact opposite of the critical conceptualisations. For example, »Albertazzi and McDonnell (2008) suggest that populism is ‘... an ideology which pits a virtuous and homogenous people against a set of elites and dangerous »others« who are together depicted as depriving (or attempting to deprive) the sovereign people of their rights, values, prosperity, identity and voice’ (p. 3)« (Alvares and Dahlgren, 2016, p. 49).²³ Since the critical conceptualisation of ideology critique was conceived as a concealment of the particular interests of the ruling class, by presenting them as common interests, the latter definition implies an critique of the ruling class as unjustified. The last year of the analysis contains the highest number of associations of ideology with elite and at the same time highest numbers of co-occurrences with Dan C. Hallin.

The most recent conceptualisations of ideology are associated with ideas of Dan C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini, especially the relations between ideology and media systems and the critique of neoliberalism, which “has been very effective in creating political ideologies that can co-opt and incorporate rhetorics of empowerment and liberation and popular critiques of authority into legitimization of the market” (Hallin, 2008, p. 52 in Birks 2017, p. 14).

²³ On the relationship between elite and ideology see also Allen and Savigny (2012), Bos and Brants (2014) and Deacon and Wring (2016).

Figure 3.62: Conceptual frames of »ideolog_« in *European Journal of Communication* (min. frequency 2)

	1986	dominan_, legitim_ (3)
Negt Oskar (2)		
Murdock G., Mowlana H., McQuail D., Mattelart A., Katz E., Hartmann P., Hall S., Gerbner G. (2)	1988	dominan_ (4)
	1989	black_, dominan_, suffer_ (2)
McQuail Denis, Blumler Jay G. (4)	1990	autonom_, radical_ (5)
	1993	conscious_, contradict_, dominan_, normativ_, resist_, struggl_, xenoph_ (2)
Orwell George (2)	1994	raci_ (3)
		autonom_, conscious_, consumpti_, contradict_, dominan_,
Tracey M., McQuail D., Livingstone S., Blumler J. G. (2)	1995	empire, engage_, exploit_, hegemon_, imperialis_, media power, progressiv_, revolution_, struggl_ (2)
		autonom_, controvers_, critique, dominan_, elit_, exclusion_,
Hall S., Golding P., Gandy O. H., Dahlgren P., Bourdieu P. (2)	1996	legitim_, monopol_, normativ_, public service, political econom_, protest_, public sphere, struggl_ (2)
Siebert Frederick S., Schramm Wilbur L., Livingstone Sonia(2)	1997	contradict_, legitim_, struggl_ (4)
	1998	commercia_ (2)
Splichal S., Sparks C., Schlesinger P. (2)	1999	capitalis_, hegemon_, legitim_, resist_ (3)
Van Zoonen Liesbet, Gamson William A(2).	2000	dominan_, legitim_, struggl_ (4)
	2001	autonom_, black_, engage_, legitim_ (2)
	2002	dominan_, legitim_ (3)
Winseck D., Sussman G., Schlesinger P., Scannell P., McQuail D., Harrison J., Hall S., Collins R (2)	2003	dominan_ (5)
Herman Edward S., Bauman Zygmunt (2)	2004	labor (3)
Vasterman P. L. M., Tuchman G., McQuail D., Manning P., Hall S., Fowler R., Fishman M., Brosius H.-B., Boorstin D. J. (2)	2005	dominan_ (3)
	2006	autonom_, dominan_, engage_, protest_ (2)
Hallin Dan C. (3)	2007	elit_, legitim_ (3)
Murdock Graham (2)	2009	contradict_, dominan_, legitim_, struggl_ (2)
Schlesinger P., Miller D., Koopmans R., Ferree M. M. (2)	2012	elit_ (5)
Gitlin Todd, Esser Frank (2)	2013	dominan_, mainstream (3)
Lijphart Arend, Lewis Justin, Kriesi Hanspeter, Brants Kees (2)	2014	elit_ (4)
Brown Wendy, Hall Stuart, Fraser Nancy, Bennett Lance W. (3)	2015	capitalis_, legitim_ (7)
Kramer Benjamin, Gavin Neil T., Albertazzi D. (2)	2016	elit_, immigra_, mainstream (5)
Habermas Jürgen (3)	2017	engage_ (7)
Hallin Dan C. (6)	2018	elit_ (8)

3.6.3 Ideology as Discourse: Discourse & Society

The two authors who define the most prominent conceptual frames of ideology in *Discourse & Society* (apart from the brief appearance of Stuart Hall as the most prominent in the second year of the journal's existence) are Norman Fairclough and the journal's editor, Teun A. van Dijk. The highlighted socio-psychological conceptualisation of the concept, e.g. »Ideologies are defined as basic systems of fundamental social cognitions and organizing the attitudes and other social representations shared by members of groups. They thus indirectly control the mental representations (models) that form the interpretation basis and contextual embeddedness of discourse and its structures« (van Dijk, T. A., 1995) and a conceptualisation that recognises not only the psychological dimension of the term but also the structural one, e.g. »/.../ coloured by our ideologies, which are 'both a property of structures and a property of events'« (Fairclough, 1995, p. 71 in Bhatia, 2015, p. 409).

Ideology has been most prominently and over the longest period of time associated with the problems of racial discrimination (Figure 3.63), for example (black_, raci_, struggl_) and the concepts of domination and legitimacy. Conceptual frames define the use of the concept as closely associated with the critique of racism which is present throughout the analysed period. In 2017, a strong research focus has been devoted on associating ideology with the issues of immigration.

Figure 3.63: Conceptual frames of »ideolog«, in Discourse & Society (min. frequency 2)

Van_Dijk_Teun_A. (2)	1990	black_, protest_, raci_, struggl_ (3)
Hall_Stuart (3)	1991	dominan_, engage_ (5)
Van_Dijk_Teun_A. (5)	1992	dominan_ (7)
Van_Dijk_Teun_A. (7)	1993	black_ (8)
Van_Dijk_Teun_A. (6)	1994	dominan_ (7)
Van_Dijk_Teun_A., Fairclough_Norman (5)	1995	black_ (5)
Van_Dijk_Teun_A., Fairclough_Norman (8)	1996	black_ (8)
Fairclough_Norman (5)	1997	black_, struggl_ (6)
Van_Dijk_Teun_A. (5)	1998	hegemon_ (4)
Fairclough_Norman, Van_Dijk_Teun_A. (4)	1999	dominan_, raci_ (5)
Van_Dijk_Teun_A. (4)	2000	
Van_Dijk_Teun_A. (13)	2001	legitim_ (12)
Fairclough_Norman (11)	2002	dominan_ (11)
Van_Dijk_Teun_A. (7)	2003	engage_ (11)
Van_Dijk_Teun_A. (5)	2004	legitim_ (5)
Fairclough_Norman (10)	2005	black_ (9)
Van_Dijk_Teun_A. (10)	2006	legitim_ (11)
Van_Dijk_Teun_A., Fairclough_Norman (8)	2007	dominan_ (10)
Van_Dijk_Teun_A. (6)	2008	black_, engage_, struggl_, dominan_ (5)
Van_Dijk_Teun_A. (16)	2009	engage_ (12)
Van_Dijk_Teun_A. (10)	2010	engage_ (7)
Van_Dijk_Teun_A., Fairclough_Norman (7)	2011	black_ (10)
Van_Dijk_Teun_A. (14)	2012	legitim_ (13)
Fairclough_Norman (14)	2013	dominan_ (14)
Van_Dijk_Teun_A. (17)	2014	legitim_ (16)
Van_Dijk_Teun_A. (14)	2015	dominan_ (13)
Van_Dijk_Teun_A., Fairclough_Norman (11)	2016	engage_
Van_Dijk_Teun_A. (13)	2017	black_, immigra_, legitim_, raci_ (11)
Van_Dijk_Teun_A. (6)	2018	critical discourse analysis, legitim_, protest_ (4)

3.6.4 Ideology in Public Opinion Quarterly: Between Marxism and Democracy, Racism and Feminism, Worldview and Identity

The journal with the longest publication period offers an insight into conceptualisations that have been evolving over a period of more than 70 years. The conceptual frames in which the concept is associated with the critical indicators and cited authors in *Public Opinion Quarterly* can be roughly divided into three periods (Figure 3.64): the period of critique of »mass« ideologies such as Nazism and socialism, particularly present in the early days of the journal, most prominent in 1948; the period of relating ideology to racial discrimination, which was the most prominent and lasted from the early 1970's to the early 2010's; and the latest period in which ideology is associated with the issues of gender and migration.

Figure 3.64: Conceptual frames of »ideolog_«, in Public Opinion Quarterly (min. frequency 2)

Carmines E. G., Kinder D. R., Schuman H., Sears D.	1948	aggression, exploit_, Hitler, hostile_, occup_, resist_ (2)
	1956	equalit_ (2)
	1974	black_, elit_, labor (2)
	1985	black_, conscious_ (3)
	1997	africa_, black_, raci_ (7)
	1999	black_, controvers_, elit_, gender_, raci_, welfare (2)
	2005	activis_, black_, controvers_, elit_ (3)
	2006	africa_, black_, engage_, protest_, raci_ (2)
	2008	black_, elit_, gender_, raci_ (3)
	2009	black_, raci_, discriminat_, equalit_, inequalu_, labor (2)
	2011	black_ (4)
	2012	engage_, black_, raci_ (2)
	2014	engage_ (4)
	2018	gender_, immigra_, raci_, sexis_ (3)

3.6.4.2 Ideology between Marxism and Democracy

The conceptual frames of ideology in the articles of the *Public Opinion Quarterly* in the early period (1947–1955) contextualise the concept with indicators designating authoritarianism, aggression, revolution, social class, wage and suffering. Framed within the Cold War rhetoric, the ideology in the early periods of *Public Opinion Quarterly* was predominantly associated with Marxism: “Whatever we may think of the merits of the ideology or economics of one of these forces, Marxism, the fact remains that it is a powerful dynamic in a disillusioned and ruined state which is also under Russian economic and military pressure” (Riegel, 1947, p. 64).

The critique of the opposing ideology to capitalism, however, does not (yet) qualify it as a ideology critique, since ideology in a critical conceptualisation designates the critique of the very mechanisms for simplification the comprehension of social complexities to a set of basic postulates which are propagated by (and thus serve the interest of) a dominant social group with a purpose of legitimization of inequalities. The naturalisation of ideology (Downey, 2016) and conceptualisation of it as a »worldview« or »interpretation of the world« (Shlapentokh, 1985, p. 452) appropriated the critical term of »ideological struggle« for neutralisation the conceptualisation of ideological opponents and framing the concepts of communism, socialism or Marxism not as a binary opposition to capitalism, but to »democratic ideology« (Matthews, 1954, p. 22) or »ideology of a democratic system« (Hartley, 1950, p. 670), for example: “Italian democracy may yet be saved, however, if poverty can be alleviated, if independent Socialism can be sufficiently strengthened, and if the United States is able to seize the initiative in the ideological struggle with Russia (Oppenheim, 1947, p. 572)”.

3.6.4.3 Racism as Ideology

A range of critical indicators associate ideology with problems of racial discrimination, while on the other hand, the cited authors co-occurring with the concept are almost absent (Figure 3.64). The conceptual frames of early associations of ideology with the issues of racial discrimination were also framed in the context of propaganda, where ideology obtains a pejorative connotation, “The Soviet press makes the most of the renewed activities of American Fascists and the Ku-Klux-Klan. Indeed, »the minds of many Americans are poisoned by racism«, Pravda asserts (August 9, 1946); and Ilya Ehrenburg tells of meeting

Americans who »share the ideologies of Rosenberg« (Izvestia, July 16, 1946)” (Dallin, 1947, 33).

The highest number of published articles in the Public Opinion Quarterly relating ideology with racial discrimination are published in 1997 and associated with indicators e.g., Africa, black, raci, discrimination, equalit_, inequality_, welfare. The wide use of racial discrimination indicators without a repetitive pattern of cited authors suggests the absence of theoretical background, but rather the empirical utilisation of the concept.

The only example of stronger associations with cited authors exist with the representatives of political science, such as Howard Schuman, Donald R. Kinder, David O. Sears and Bobo Lawrence, where racial discrimination is contextualised within the research on voting intentions and ideology is conceptualised as “political ideology” and “non-racial ideology”., for example “Hagen (1995) reports a sharp decline in white Americans’ mentioning race as one of America’s most important problems, or as an explanation for their candidate or party preferences. Others note that opposition to race-targeted policies may lie instead in seemingly race-neutral attitudes, such as ideological conservatism” (Sears et. al., 1997, p. 18).

Our first empirical goal is to provide some systematic data on how strong a role racism does play in white Americans’ contemporary racial policy and candidate preferences. /.../ The article is especially forceful in its challenge to the claim by Sniderman and colleagues (Sniderman et al. 1991; Sniderman and Piazza 1993) that transcendent political ideology and values, devoid of racial animus, drive whites’ opinions on a range of race-targeted social policies (Bobo, 1997, p. 4).

3.6.5 Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly: Ideology and News Organisations

The most associated critical indicators and quoted authors in the analysed period of Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly suggest that the conceptual frames of scholarly debates considering ideology are mostly associated with the question of racial discrimination (and to a lesser extent with feminist critique), while in the most recent period ideology has mostly been associated with mainstream media and problems of (dis)engagement. Ideology does not often co-occur with the critical indicators in the pre-1990 period, while in the late 1990s is most prominent cited author associated with ideology is Gaye Tuchman.

Figure 3.65: Conceptual frames of »ideolog_«, in Journalism (and Mass Communication) Quarterly (min. frequency 2)

	1974	africa_, bourgeois_, commercia_, dependency, marxis_, protest_
	1975	revolution_, struggl_, totalitar_ (2)
	1985	black_ (3)
Tuchman G. (2)	1997	contradict_, mainstream, africa_, dominan_, activis_, black_, discriminat_ (2)
Tuchman G. (3)	1998	black_, equalit_, femini_, gender_, inequalu_, mainstream (2)
	1999	raci_, resist_, struggl_ (2)
	2000	
	2001	
Barthes R., Campbell J., Fishwick M. W. (2)	2002	dominan_ (4)
Entman R. M., Gamson W. A. (2)	2004	controvers_, environ_ (2)
Tuchman G. (3)	2005	engage_, gender_, resist_ (3)
Entman R. M. (2)	2006	engage_ (2)
Gans H. J., Gitlin T., Shoemaker P. J. (2)	2009	africa_, black_, critique, equalit_, femini_, gender_, mainstream, raci_, sexis_ (2)
Bennett L. W., Boyle M. P., Entman R. M., Gitlin T., Jha S., Livingston S., McLeod D. M., Shoemaker P. J., Smith J. (2)	2010	mainstream, marginaliz_, protest_, social protest (2)
Gramsci A. (2)	2011	black_, dominan_, hegemon_ (2)
Bennett L. W., Fiorina M. P., Gamson W. A., Gans H. J., Gitlin T., Glaser M., Kim Y. M., Lazarsfeld P. F., Mutz D. C., Schudson M., Tuchman G.	2012	deliberat_, engage_ (3)
Berkowitz D., Breed W. Hindman D. B., Johnson T. J., Nisbet E. C., Norris P., Reese S. D., Weaver D. H. (2)	2015	marginaliz_ (3)
Hallin D. C. (3)	2016	engage_, protest_ (3)
Tuchman G. (4)	2017	mainstream (7)
Bruns A., Scheufele D. A. (2)	2018	engage_ (3)

The most prominent conceptualisations of ideology in the late 1990s in Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly are associated with the role of media in the construction of reality, where Gaye Tuchmans' study of ideology in news organisations represents the most frequently cited source of reference. The ideology is conceptualised as a critique of the dominant ideology, »Tuchman, for example, defines ideology as a set of procedures for validating truth claims which in fact limit the further examination of social life« (Lipari, 1996, p. 833).

Tuchman's study of news organizations reinforces the argument that news media support the dominant ideology of a society. She found that newswriters identified 'centralized sources of information as legitimated social institutions' and 'wed themselves to specific beats and bureaus.' These sites then were accepted as 'appropriate sites at which information should be gathered. Additionally those sites of newsgathering are objectified as the legitimate and legitimating sources of both information and governance.' (Dickson, 1994, p. 811)

According to the conceptual frameworks identified (Figure 3.63), research on news organisations and their relationship to ideology was intertwined with influences from framing theory, for example, with cited authors such as Robert M. Entman and Dietram Scheufele. However, the largest conceptual framework places ideology within the critique of the dominant ideology, with concepts associated with the indicators engagement, deliberation, protest, and social movements. For example, »Todd Gitlin argues that the media 'specialize in orchestrating everyday consciousness—by virtue of their pervasiveness, their accessibility, their centralized symbolic capacity /.../ the mass media produce fields of definition and association, symbol and rhetoric through which ideology becomes manifest and concrete'« (Hume, 2000, p. 902).

3.6.6 From Marxist to identity Conceptualisations of Ideology in Communication Monographs

Between 1980 and 1990 the ideology is mostly associated with cited critical scholars, such as Louis Althusser, Jürgen Habermas and Stuart Hall, and with the critical concepts like consciousness, legitimation, revolution, radicalism, critique and contradiction. The beginning of the 1990's appears as a breaking point.

While there is considerable variation in the treatment of the concept of ideology, the issue of the production and domination of consciousness, or subjectivity, is a central element in most contemporary theories. Neo-Marxist theorists are concerned with explicating the ways in which ideology functions to construct consciousness in such a way as to articulate and legitimate certain forms of social reality. In many theories, ideology is conceived as an intrinsic part of the process by which social actors are integrated into extant power structures (Althusser, 1970,1971; Coward & Ellis, 1977; Giddens, 1979; Gramsci, 1971; Hall, 1985; Larrain, 1979,1983). (Mumby, 1987, p. 117)

In the 1990s, indicators which denote terms such as capitalism, dominance and Marxism lost their importance. On the other hand, concepts denoting the social (dis)engagement (in particular) of various marginalised groups such as racial minorities, women and gays are gaining in importance. Ideology is conceptualised in as an identity, for example »feminist

ideology« (D'Enbeau and Buzzanell, 2011; Ashcraft 2006), »ideology of masculinity« (Rich, Schutten and Rogers, 2012), »ideological discourses of race« (Brown, 2011) and »jihadist thought and ideology« (Rogan, 2010).

Figure 3.66: Conceptual frames of »ideolog_«, in Communication Monographs (min. frequency 2)

	1980	conscious_, legitim_, revolution_ (2)
Leff M. C., Scott R. L. (2)	1981	protest_, radical_ (2)
Bitzer L. F., McGee M. C., Habermas J., McGuire R.R. (2)	1986	conscious_ (4)
Althusser L., Burke K., Giddens A., Habermas J., Hall S. (3)	1987	contradict_, critique, dominan_, equalit_, radical_ (2)
	1988	engage_ (2)
de Certeau, M., Foucault M., Geertz C., Jackson M. (2)	1991	critical theor_, critique, dominan_, engage_, dominan_ (3)
Charland M., Hariman R., McGee M. C., McKerrow R. E., Wander P. C. (2)	1992	black_, conscious_, critique, engage_, femini_, resist_, struggl_ (2)
Daly M., Foucault M., Hall S., Kramarae C., Lakoff R. T., MacKinnon C. A., (2)	1993	dominan_, empower_, femini_, gender_, marxis_, sexis_, africa_, (2)
Carbaugh D., Hymes D. H. (2)	1994	contradict_, legitim_ (2)
	1995	conscious_, contradict_, dominan_, empower_ (2)
	1996	capitalis_, dominan_ (3)
	1997	engage_, contradict_ (3)
Arendt H., Burke K., Farrell T. B., Habermas J., Hauser G. A. (2)	1998	engage_ civic, critique, participatory, public sphere (2)
Burke K., Chesebro J. W., McKerrow R. E. (2)	2000	black_, engage_ critique, dominan_, hegemon_, marginaliz_, (2)
Ashcraft K. L. (2)	2007	black_ (2)
Buzzanell P. M. (2)	2011	engage_ (7)
	2012	resist_ (3)
Alvesson M., Bakhtin M. M. (2)		dominan_, gay, legitim_, mainstream, marginaliz_, struggl_, triangulat_ (2)
	2015	
	2016	engage_ (3)
Baxter L. A., Braithwaite D. O., Few-Demo_A_L., Foucault_M., Langellier_K. M., Lannaman J. W., McCall_L., Moore J., Suter E. A., Tracy S. J. (2)	2017	engage_, gender_ (4)

3.6.7 “Political Ideology” in Communication Research

Since only 49 of the articles published in Communication Research mention ideology, the analysis is rather limited. Similar to Public Opinion Quarterly, the concept of ideology is not prominently associated with a particular cited author in the critical articles of communication research. Matthes Jorg is the most prominent cited author.

The conceptual framework of ideology points to associations with other critical concepts such as capitalism, commodity, critique, dominance, labor, wage and worker, which were most prominent in the late 1990s (see Martin and Oshagan 1997, Lee and Barnett 1997, Boje et al., 1997).

Figure 3.67: Conceptual frames of »ideolog_«, in Communication Research, (min. frequency 2)

	1985	dominan_, resist_ (2)
	1991	consumpti_, dominan_ (2)
	1992	consumpti_, contradict_, engage_, imperialis_, struggl_ (2)
	1994	conscious_, critique, dominan_ (3)
	1997	capitalis_, commod, critique, dominan_, labor, wage, worker (2)
	1998	africa_, black_, conscious_, dominan_, engage_, equalit_, radical (2)
	2011	consumpti_, cultivat_ (2)
	2012	activation (2)
	2013	political participation (2)
	2015	engage_ (6)
Matthes Jorg	2016	controvers_, elit_, engage_, hostil_, labor, resist_, manipulat_, mainstream (2)

The critical indicators mostly associated with ideology are terms denoting consumption and dominance, conceptualising citizens as media consumers and media as liberal or conservative in their political ideological orientation, for example »The current study seeks to clarify relationships between political ideology, conservative cable TV news viewing (i.e., FOX News), and liberal cable TV news viewing (i.e., MSNBC), arguing that ideology serves as a suppressor of the relationship between the two seemingly disparate forms of cableTV news

consumption« (Holbert, Hmielowski and Weeks, 2012, p. 194; for other examples see Boczkowski, Mitchelstein and Walter 2011, Messing and Westwood 2014;).

3.6.8 Ideology and Engagement in Journal of Communication

Ideology in Journal of Communication is not distinctively associated with a particular cited author. The conceptual frames of cited authors illustrate a diverse contextualisations of the concept. Among all associated authors, the most frequent co-occurrences exist with Vincent Price (5) in 2007, James Lull (4) in 1994 and Markus Prior (4) in 2017, while Stuart Hall is the cited author associated with the concept in most of the years. The early years indicate the critical use of the concept, since the critical indicators appearing from 1981 to 1993 contain indicators pertaining to the Marxist vocabulary, such as capitalism, exploitation, revolution, Marxism and struggle, while Raymond Williams and Dallas W. Smythe are the most prominent at the side of the cited authors.

The most associated critical indicator in the following period is the concept of domination, which appears most prominent until 2005, but is replaced in the recent period, for example from 2004 onwards, by the concept of engagement, which denotes the conceptualisation of ideology in the context of identity politics, for example "ideological possibilities in the audience engagement" (Park 2009, p. 169) or "ideologically homogeneous online groups and two forms of political engagement (Movement Support and Movement Promotion)". (Wojcieszak, 2009, p. 564).

Figure 3.68: Conceptual frames of »ideolog_«, in *Journal of Communication*, (min. frequency 2)

	1981	capitalis_, exploit_, legitim_, monopol_, progressiv_, revolution_ (2)
Cantor M. G. (2)	1982	black_, mainstream (2)
Smythe D. W., Williams R. (3)	1983	capitalis_ (5)
	1984	marxis_ (2)
Gans H. J., Tuchman G. (2)	1985	dominan_ (3)
	1986	struggl_ (3)
	1987	black_, critique, protest_ (2)
Gerbner G., Gitlin T., Herman E. S. (2)	1988	dominan_, equalit_, legitim_ (3)
Bagdikian B. H., Barnouw E., Epstein E. J., Fowler M. S., Gans H. J., Grossberg L., McRobbie A., Morley D., Radway J. A., Rowland W. D., Tuchman G. (2)	1990	dominan_ (5)
Carey J. W., Habermas J., Hall S., James B., Manoff R. K., Sigal L. V., Tuchman G. (2)	1991	struggl_ (5)
D'Souza D. (3)	1992	elit_, raci_ (4)
Anderson B., Baudrillard J., Smythe D. W., Thompson E. P. (2)	1993	black_, capitalis_, dominan_, struggl_, political econom_ (3)
Lull J. (4)	1994	dominan_, resist, struggl_ (5)
Blumler J. G., Darnton R., Downing J. D.H., Fiske J., Hallin D. C., Jakubowicz K., McQuail D., Sparks C. (2)	1995	dominan_, legitima, revolution (5)
Habermas J., Lazarsfeld P. F. (2)	1996	critique (3), resist (3)
Christians C. G., Gitlin T., Graber D. A., Tuchman G. (3)	1997	conscious (5)
Williams R. (3)	1998	critique (4),
Gamson W. A., Luhmann N., Tuchman G. (2)	1999	black (3), engage (3)
Fiske J. (2)	2000	dominan_ (3), marginaliz (3)
Giddens A. (3)	2001	dominan_, struggl_ (6)
Hall S., (3)	2002	consumpti_, dominan_, engage_, femini_, struggl_ (3)
Blumler J. G., McLeod J. M., McQuail D., Palmgreen P. (2)	2003	dominan_, gender (3)
Barthes R., Fiske J., Goffman E., Hall S., Mumby D. K. (3)	2004	engage_ (6)
Bakhtin M., Burgoon J. K., Carbaugh D., Giles H., Gudykunst W. B., Petronio S., Schramm W. L., Wood J. T. (2)	2005	dominan_ (4), resist_ (4)
Cappella J. N., Dyer R., Hall S., McLeod J. M., Scheufele D. A., Shah D. V., Teo S., Van Dijk T. A. Bennett S. E. (2)	2006	raci_ (4)
Price V. (5),	2007	engage_ (4)
	2008	black_, resist_ (2)
Entman R. M. (3)	2009	protest_ (3)
Zaller J. R. (4)	2010	engage_ (6)
Delli Carpini M. X., Gastil J., Putnam R. D., Shah D. V. (2)	2011	engage_ (4)
Howard P. E. N. (3)	2012	engage_, protest (5)
Bennett Lance W. (3)	2013	engage_ (6),
Bennett L. W., Iyengar S., Mutz D. C., Sunstein C. R., Zaller J. R. (2)	2014	controvers_, dominan_ (3)
Boykoff M. T., Entman R. M., Habermas J., Iyengar S., Lawrence R. G., Pew Research Center (2)	2015	black_, elit_, engage_ (3)
Anderson A. A., Barber B. R., Bennett L. W., Graber D. A., Herbst S., Katz E., Papacharissi Z., Schudson M., Simon H. A., Van Dalen A. (2)	2016	
Prior M. (4)	2017	engage_ (6)
Bennett Lance W., Stroud Natalie J., Waisbord Silvio R. (3)	2018	engage_ (7)

3.6.9 Summary of Findings

Although the concept of ideology was introduced earlier (Williams, 2015, p. 108) than »Die deutsche Ideologie« was published by Marx and Engels in 1846, many critical traditions adopted (and adapted) the Marxist conceptualisation in their research conceptions and argumentation. Later, with different adoptions of not exclusively by traditions pertaining to the critical paradigm, its conceptualisation transformed to the point of devaluing its critical value (see Cottle, 1995; Downey, 2014; 2016).

According to Cottle (1995), the conceptualisation of ideology is divided into two main categories: a realistic or critical conceptualisation, designated as negative because it distorts and obscures the dominant (class) interest, and relativistic, designated as positive, conceptualised as a discourse that supports different (pluralistic) identities and »ways of knowing« (p. 276).

The early debates on ideology in *Public Opinion Quarterly* can be regarded as ideological critique, since ideology is conceptualised as a predominantly USSR conceived state mechanism that gives a false consciousness to the subordinate class, which perceives the interests of a dominant social group as its own. US ideology, on the other hand, was perceived as democracy, and the same conceptualisation of ideology was not applied to the analysis of the US ideological apparatus.

The dominant positivist conceptualisations of ideology regard the concept as »system of values«, »a worldview« or »a political ideology« (for example see: Gullahorn and Gullahorn 1959, p. 132; Cataldo, Johnson, Kellstedt and Milbrath, 1970, p. 213; Bishop, 1976, pp. 337 – 338). This conceptualisation of ideology designates a relatively consistent set of attitudes across the variety of political issues. The concept of ideology is pluralised by means of quantitative methodological instruments, such as »liberal-conservative continuum« (Elifson and Hadaway, 1985) or scales with values reaching from »far right« to »radical socialist or communist« (Roberts and Lang, 1985) and measured on respondents who are acting as the individual subjects of research on ideology.

The later period of quantitative research on ideology utilises an identity-based approach to ideology where the main determinant of ideology is person's psychological attachment to a group (Mason, 2018).

3.7 The Scholarly Impact Assessment and the Visibility of Critical Research

The implications which the introduction of Journal Impact Factor produces could be perceived as another burning issue mobilising critical and administrative engagement. Studies investigating various aspects of the journal impact factor often focus on the manipulation of the factor and designate an unethical behaviour pejoratively as »salami publishing«, »coercive citation« (Wilhite and Fong, 2012; Haley, 2016), »citation cartels« or »citation mafias" (Fister, Fister and Perc, 2016). At the same time, this kind of studies miss the opportunity to critically assess the design of scholarly impact assessment that stimulates them. The appropriateness JIF factor became the problem the very moment it was appropriated for the evaluation of research work. The source of all deficiencies the factor is causing is a consequence of Goodhart's Law by "the measure becoming the target" (Johnson, Watkinson and Mabe, 2018).

The studies investigating the opposite end in scientific publishing attempt to identify manipulative activities of publishers and editors to arbitrarily inflate the factor (Falagas, 2008), such as rejection of publication of articles that either reject or confirm existing studies because they do not contribute to the originality of the research and thus contain insufficient citing potential. On the other hand, the publication of research papers written by large groups and scientifically prominent researchers is advantageous because articles with a larger number of authors, especially if they are renowned authors or deal with "trendy" topics, increases the probability that the article will be cited in the following two years (ibid., p. 22; Brotons, 2014).

$$\text{JIF}_{(2018)} = \frac{\text{Citations in 2018 to items published in 2016 + 2017}}{\text{Number of citable items in 2016 + 2017}}$$

The Journal Impact Factor for a given year is calculated by dividing the number of citations received by articles published in the past two years in the given year by the number of all citable items published in the past two years. The two-year citation period, which influences

the Journal Impact Factor, favours research which is currently popular. Furthermore, the ongoing proliferation of scientific journals establishes new spaces, which are designed to be more accessible to the growing specialised scientific communities among others to critical scholarship.

The aim of the study is therefore to inspect, whether the respective changes in the value of the impact factor correlate with the number of published critical articles within the journal and the citation relationships of the journals specialised in publishing critical research.

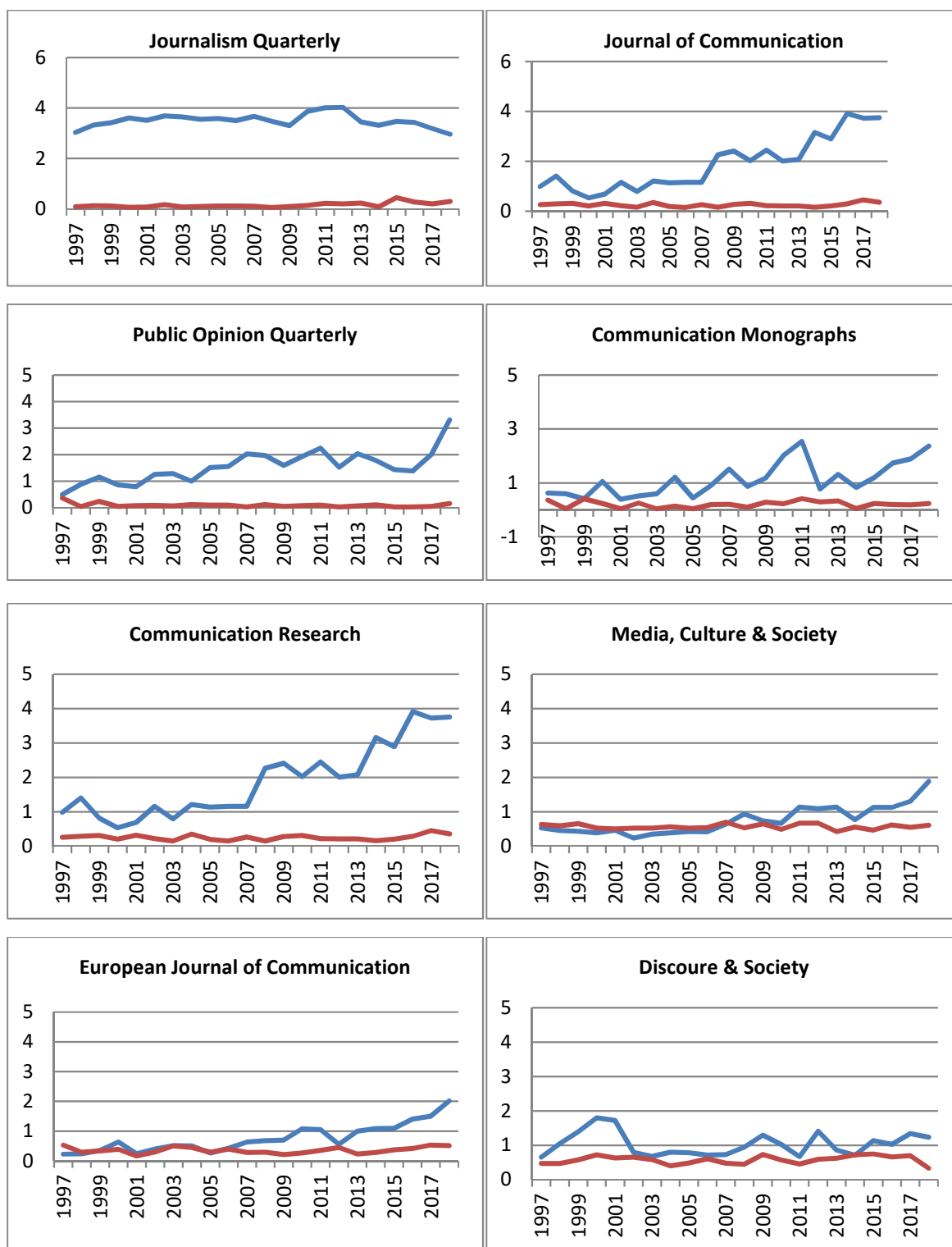
The data on annual Journal Impact Factors were obtained from the Clarivate Analytics - Journal Citation Reports database (www.webofknowledge.com) and contain data from 1997 to 2018. The data on annually published critical articles are already obtained for the analysis in the chapter 3.2. In order to investigate the relationships of JIF with the journals specialised in publishing critical research, the patterns of their citation reciprocity are investigated. Three journals have been selected for the analysis which proclaim their critical orientation by including the term »critical« in their titles; namely Critical Studies in Media Communication (est. 1984), Communication, Culture & Critique (est. 2008) and Communication & Critical Cultural Studies (2004).

The journals' citing and cited data were also obtained from the same database, where "citing journals" category designates journals which are cited in the articles published in the analysed journal (e.g. Critical Studies in Media Communication). Inversely, "cited journals" represent journals which are citing the journal analysed. The data presented contains information on top 10 citing and cited journals, ordered by the sum of citations within the last decade, from 2010 to 2019 and their corresponding Journal Impact Factors.

3.7.1 Results

European journals in general obtain significantly lower Impact Factors than their US counterparts. Public Opinion Quarterly is currently experiencing an exponential rise, the Impact Factor of Journal of Communication, Communication Monographs and Communication Research is rising linearly, while in Media, Culture & Society and European Journal of Communication the ascent is moderately. A slight decrease is evident in Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly and Discourse & Society in the recent period.

Figure 3.69: Annual distribution of Journal Impact Factor (blue) and criticality indices (red) in analysed journals, 1997-2018



Journal of Communication and Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly obtain the highest Impact Factors, while Discourse & Society is the one with the lowest value.

Table 3.27: Correlations between Journal Impact Factors and criticality indices, 1997–2018

Journal	Pearson	Sig.
Public Opinion Quarterly	-0.189	0.401
Journalism Quarterly	-0.047	0.835
Discourse & Society	0.357	0.103
Communication Research	0.353	0.107
European Journal of Communication	0.294	0.184
Communication Monographs	0.286	0.197
Journal of Communication	0.287	0.195
Media, Culture & Society	0.111	0.622

The Pearson correlation test finds statistically insignificant, slightly positive correlations between the Journal Impact Factor and the number of critical articles published in Discourse & Society, Communication Research, European Journal of Communication, Communication Monographs and Journal of Communication. A statistically insignificant albeit slightly positive relationship exists in the case of Media, Culture & Society. The correlation test of Public Opinion Quarterly and Journalism Quarterly shows a slightly negative (also statistically insignificant) relationship between the variables.

Different results are obtained when the data on citing and cited journals is compared on the sample of critical journals. The three critical journals analysed cite a larger number of journals than the number of journals citing them (Tables 3.27–3.29). This finding, together with the titles of the citing journals, supports the assumption of their non-dominant position and their coverage of specialised, critical type of research.

The discrepancy between the (high) impact factors of the citing journals and (lower) impact factors of the cited journals is more meaningful, since it indicates that (apart from certain exceptions), research published in the three analysed journals receives lower visibility than the research the analysed journals are citing.

The journal with the highest impact factor (1.616) among the analysed ones, namely Critical Studies in Media & Communication, contains a greater number of citations to journals with high(est) impact factors, such as New Media & Society, Journal of Communication and Journalism (Table 3.28). Communication, Culture & Critique (3.29) and Communication & Critical Cultural Studies (3.30) are journals with slightly lower impact factors and also contain less references to citing journals with the highest impact factors.

Table 3.28: Ten most frequent citing and cited journals in Critical Studies in Media Communication, 2010–2019

Citing Journal Data				Cited Journal Data			
Rank	Impact	Journal	No. of citations	Impact	Journal	No. of citations	
		All Journals	1,588		All Journals	670	
1	1.616	CRIT STUD MEDIA COMM	34	1.616	CRIT STUD MEDIA COMM	34	
2	4.577	NEW MEDIA SOC	14	1.194	INT J COMMUN-US	19	
3	4.846	J COMMUN	11	2.345	JOURNALISM STUD	18	
4	1.182	Q J SPEECH	11	1.247	COMMUN CULT CRIT	10	
5	2.345	JOURNALISM STUD	9	0.835	TELEV NEW MEDIA	10	
6	2.000	MEDIA CULT SOC	9	1.292	COMMUN SPORT	8	
7	1.247	COMMUN CULT CRIT	8	0.732	INT J CULTURAL STUD	8	
8	3.179	JOURNALISM	7	2.000	MEDIA CULT SOC	8	
9	0.835	TELEV NEW MEDIA	7	1.182	Q J SPEECH	8	
10	1.058	COMMUN CRIT-CULT STU	6	0.376	CONTINUUM-J MEDIA CU	7	

Source: Clarivate – Incites Journal Citations Reports (2020)

Table 3.29: Ten most frequent citing and cited journals in Communication, Culture & Critique, 2010–2019

Citing Journal				Cited Journal			
Rank	Impact	Journal	No. of citations	Impact	Journal	No. of citations	
		All Journals	1,616		All Journals	362	
1	1.247	COMMUN CULT CRIT	22	1.194	INT J COMMUN-US	24	
2	0.835	TELEV NEW MEDIA	17	1.247	COMMUN CULT CRIT	22	
3	1.616	CRIT STUD MEDIA COM	10	1.787	ENVIRON COMMUN	9	
4	1.607	FEM MEDIA STUD	10	1.616	CRIT STUD MEDIA COMM	8	
5	4.577	NEW MEDIA SOC	10	1.250	EUR J CULT STUD	8	
6	1.905	COMMUN THEOR	8	2.000	MEDIA CULT SOC	7	
7	1.194	INT J COMMUN-US	7	0.732	INT J CULTURAL STUD	6	
8	1.058	COMMUN CRIT-CULT S	5	2.345	JOURNALISM STUD	6	
9	1.227	PUBLIC CULTURE	5	1.292	COMMUN SPORT	4	
10	2.807	SOC MEDIA SOC	5	4.559	INFORM COMMUN SOC	3	

Source: Clarivate – Incites Journal Citations Reports (2020)

Table 3.30: Ten most frequent citing and cited journals in Communication & Critical Cultural Studies, 2010–2019

Citing Journal				Cited Journal		
Rank	Impact	Journal	No. of citations	Impact	Journal	Number of citations
		ALL Journals	807		ALL Journals	362
1	1.058	COMMUN CRIT-CULT STU	16	1.182	Q J SPEECH	20
2	1.182	Q J SPEECH	11	1.058	COMMUN CRIT-CULT STU	16
3	1.195	CULT STUD	8	1.787	ENVIRON COMMUN	11
4	4.559	INFORM COMMUN SOC	6	1.195	CULT STUD	8
5	1.250	EUR J CULT STUD	5	1.194	INT J COMMUN-US	7
6	2.934	ANTIPODE	4	1.292	COMMUN SPORT	6
7	0.670	CULT STUD-CRIT METHO	4	1.616	CRIT STUD MEDIA COMM	6
8	2.000	MEDIA CULT SOC	4	1.650	POLIT GENDER	6
9	1.905	COMMUN THEOR	3	1.247	COMMUN CULT CRIT	5
10	0.204	CRIT ARTS	3	4.577	NEW MEDIA SOC	4

(Source: Clarivate – Incites Journal Citations Reports)

3.7.2 Summary of Findings

The Journal Impact Factor has contributed to significant transformations in scientific publishing and the scholarly impact. However, the study did not find any significant correlations between the value of the Impact Factor and the number of critical articles published.

One of the limitations is certainly that the selection process of critical terms/indicators for the study (on which the identification of critical articles is based) is inherently oriented towards those terms that currently denote different notions of criticality. During the 70-year period in which the analysis is conducted, the meaning of the terms may have changed. Those that were previously considered critical may have either changed their meaning or lost their significance and are difficult if not impossible to identify, which may contribute to the lack of critical indicators from the early period of the analysis and consequently to a decrease in the number of critical articles identified. On the other hand, the increase in the number of researchers worldwide, and with them the increase in the number of citations contained in an average article, contributes to an increase in the journal impact factor.

The results obtained by analyzing the citation relationships of three critical journals show that the visibility of their published research in terms of the citations received is lower than the research published in other journals and cited in their published articles.

4 CONCLUSION

4.1 Main Findings

The field of media and mass communication research is undergoing profound change. On the one hand, it is developing into one of the fastest growing scientific fields, experiencing an exponential growth in the number of scientific journals, which offer new spaces for communication and the formation of specialised communities. On the other hand, the growing importance of scientific impact assessment is also changing the publishing practices of researchers and journals towards publishing, preferring the dominant type of research that is more likely to receive more citations. Although, the study also shows that the criticality of a journal, when measured by the number of published critical articles, does not correlate with Journal Impact Factors.

However, the journals *Discourse & Society* and *Media, Culture & Society* (Figure 3.69) (which have the highest criticality indices and contain the most critical authors from the control group) receive up to 50% lower Impact Factors compared to US journals. In addition, the research published in specialised critical journals, namely *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, *Communication, Culture & Critique* and *Communication & Critical Cultural Studies*, receives less visibility than the research cited by these journals. The visibility of critical research thus goes against the grain or against the Matthew effect, since articles published in journals with a high impact factor are cited more often than their identical counterparts published in journals with a lower Impact Factor (Larivière and Gingras, 2010, p. 425). Although the three journals mentioned are relatively new and only at the beginning of their audience acquisition, the length of the journal tradition may not have the profound influence on Impact Factor.

As the case of *Communication Monographs* shows, a journal with one of the longest publishing traditions receives relatively low Impact Factor compared to other US journals analysed. Moreover, in 1997, at the beginning of the period under study, Impact Factors of some US journals, such as *Public Opinion Quarterly* and *Communication Monographs*, were comparable to those of the three European journals. If the long tradition would influence the value of Impact Factor by cultivating a relatively large audience over time, the two journals with the longest tradition should be valued higher already at that time.

Rather than paradigmatic patterns, pragmatic patterns seem to explain better the association with Impact Factor. According to the data, the average number of authors per article is highest among the US journals with the highest impact factors (Figure 3.4). The larger number of authors helps to increase the probability that an article will be cited in the following two years, as more authors should contribute to higher quality and wider dissemination of research. The average annual citation frequency per article complements the argument, as it helps to increase the "currency in circulation" of the academic market. The highest citation frequency is again the highest among US journals (Figure 3.2). *Media, Culture & Society*, which is considered one of the most critical journals, has the highest average number of published articles per year, which increases the number of citable articles and increases the denominator in the impact equation, thus lowering Impact Factor.

Normalised data on the annual publication of critical articles show that European journals publish more critical research than their US counterparts, although critical research has increased slightly in recent years in the *Journal of Communication*, *Journalism Quarterly* and *European Journal of Communication*.

Data on the institutional and national affiliation of authors considered critical show that the most prominent institutions of critical science represented in the journals analysed are located in central western and English-speaking countries, such as the US, UK, Australia and Canada, supplemented by Israel and four European countries, the Netherlands, Germany, Spain and Sweden. European journals are more open to critical authors from US institutions than vice versa. Apart from the University of Amsterdam, institutions based in Europe do not appear among the ten most prominent institutions for critical authors in the US. On the other hand, US institutions like the University of California and the University of Pennsylvania are prominently represented in the European journals *Discourse & Society* and *Media Culture & Society*. Similarly, the most prominent European critical scholars are those associated with the most prominent institutions in the economically most developed countries of Europe.

4.2 Discussion

In almost forty years, much ink has been spilt to bridge the gap between critical and dominant research, culminating in the 1983 *Journal of Communication* "Ferments in the Field" issue.

The results of the study show that critical research is not detached from dominant research, but that the two paradigms are dialectically related. This becomes particularly clear in the analysis of critical communities, where the most prominent representatives of dominant research traditions, such as Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann, and political actors, such as European Commission, are placed close to the critical authors.

Conversely, the opposite can be seen in cases where the representatives of the political communication tradition appear as the most prominent cited authors in the articles considered critical, because they also use the terms designated as critical indicators forming the critical vocabulary. Concepts such as engagement, political participation, indicators of race, ethnicity or nationality (im-/migrant), gender or sexual orientation (gay, lesbian) are not critically conceptualised by this tradition, in order to denote human oppression, but are rather understood as social categories used to segment the audience for political and marketing purposes.

Moreover, these cases also point to a methodological weakness, as they assume that the high number of indicators of critical vocabulary is a sufficient condition for distinguishing those articles in which criticality appears as an integral core. The words that denote criticality, like many other words, can appear as homonyms that have different meanings from those that denote the issues of power, oppression, human liberation and social transformation. To minimise the influence of homonyms, the simultaneous appearance of a larger number of critical indicators was necessary to identify articles with critical core vocabulary.

Thus, the proximity resulting from the high frequency of the authors' co-occurrences does not yet indicate the paradigmatic similarities. On the contrary, it may provide the most extreme examples of dissimilarities or paradigmatic differences. This underlines the fact that true criticism can never lead to a coherent cluster of only critical representatives with the methods of the present study. If this would indeed be the case, it would indicate that critique is inward-looking; either that critical research has become self-referential, missing an object of critique, or self-reflexive, whereby different critical traditions become objects of mutual critique. This

finding emphasises that the identification of communities is more complex and cannot be identified by the mere observation of patterns of co-occurrence. Knowledge of the theory and history of the field is essential to identify the intertwined connexions between members of the community. However, the question on what criticality is, remains open.

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Appendices

Appendix A: List of Stems and Appurtenant Critical Indicators

Stemm	Critical Indicator
aborigin_	aboriginal
aborigin_	aborigines
aborigin_	aboriginals
aborigin_	aboriginality
aborigin_	aborigine
aborigin_	aborigina
aborigin_	aboriginaeuro
aborigin_	aboriginally
aborigin_	aboriginesthe
abus_	abuse
abus_	abuses
abus_	abusive
abus_	abused
abus_	abusing
abus_	abusers
abus_	abuser
access_control	access control
accessib_	accessible
accessib_	accessibility
accessib_	accessibihty
accessib_	accessibly
accessib_	accessibilities
accessib_	accessiblity
accessib_	accessib
accessib_	accessibili
accessib_	accessibilité

accountab_	accountability
accountab_	accountable
accountab_	accountably
accountab_	accountabilities
accountab_	accountability.org
accountab_	accountability's
accountab_	accountabilty
accountab_	accountably
activat_	activation
activat_	activated
activat_	activate
activat_	activating
activat_	activates
activat_	activations
activat_	activator
activat_	activational
activat_	activators
activis_	activists
activis_	activism
activis_	activist
activis_	activist's
activis_	activation
activis_	activistic
activis_	activisti
activis_	activismo
activis_	activisms
administrative_resea rch	administrative research

africa_	african
africa_	africa
africa_	africans
africa_	africa's
africa_	africa's
africa_	africanism
africa_	africanist
africa_	africanists
africa_	africain
aggres_	aggression
aggres_	aggressive
aggres_	aggressiveness
aggres_	aggressively
aggres_	aggressor
aggres_	aggressors
aggres_	aggressions
aggres_	aggress
aggres_	aggres
alternative_media	alternative media
americani_	americanization
americani_	americanism
americani_	americanized
americani_	americanizing
americani_	americanisms
americani_	americanize
americani_	americanizers
americani_	américanisation
americani_	americanist
americani_	americanisation
americani_	americanism
americani_	americanised

americani_	americanising
americani_	americanisms
americani_	americanise
americani_	americanisers
americani_	américanisation
americani_	americanist
antiglobal	antiglobalization
antiglobal	antiglobalisation
antiglobal	antiglobalist
antiglobal	anti-globalization
antiglobal	anti-globalisation
antiglobal	anti-globalist
antihom_	antihomosexual
antihom_	antihomosexuality
antihom_	anti-homosexual
antihom_	anti-homosexuality
antiimmigra_	antiimmigration
antiimmigra_	antiimmigrant
antiimmigra_	anti-immigration
antiimmigra_	anti-immigrant
antiraci_	antiracism
antiraci_	antirasist
antiraci_	anti-racism
antiraci_	anti-rasist
antiraci_	antiracial
antiraci_	anti-racial
antisoci_	antisocial
antisoci_	antisocialness
antisoci_	anti-social
antisoci_	anti-socialness
antisoci_	anti-socialism

antisoci_	anti-socially
antisoci_	antisocially
authoritar_	authoritarian
authoritar_	authoritarianism
authoritar_	authoritarians
authoritar_	authoritarian's
authoritar_	authoritari
authoritar_	authoritarianism's
authoritar_	authoritarianism
authoritar_	authoritarial
autonom_	autonomy
autonom_	autonomous
autonom_	autonomic
autonom_	autonomously
autonom_	autonomist
autonom_	autonoma
autonom_	autonomization
autonom_	autonomies
black	black
black	blacks
black	blackness
black	blackafrican
bourgeois_	bourgeois
bourgeois_	bourgeoisie
bourgeois_	bourgeoise
bourgeois_	bourgeoisies
bourgeois_	bourgeoisie's
bourgeois_	bourgeoisement
bourgeois_	bourgeoisie's
bourgeois_	bourgeoisism
capitalis_	capitalism

capitalis_	capitalist
capitalis_	capitalists
capitalis_	capitalistic
capitalis_	capitalism's
capitalis_	capitalismo
capitalis_	capitalisme
censor_	censorship
censor_	censor
censor_	censors
censor_	censored
censor_	censoring
censor_	censorial
censor_	censor's
censor_	censorious
censor_	censorships
center-periphery	center-periphery
citizen_right	citizen right
citizen_right	citizen rights
citizenship_	citizenship
civic	civic
civic_engagement	civic_engagement
civic_participation	civic_participation
civil_responsibility	civil responsibility
civil_society	civil society
civil_society	civic_society
class_society	class society
climate_change_	climate change
coerci_	coercive
coerci_	coercion
coerci_	coercing
coerci_	coercively

coerci_	coerciveness
coerci_	coercions
coerci_	coercitiva
collectivi_	collective action
collectivi_	collectivism
collectivi_	collectivity
collectivi_	collectivistic
collectivi_	collectivist
collectivi_	collectivities
collectivi_	collectivists
collectivi_	collectivization
collectivi_	collectivized
collectivi_	collectivizing
commerciali_	commercialization
commerciali_	commercialized
commerciali_	commercialism
commerciali_	commercialisation
commerciali_	commercialize
commerciali_	commercializing
commerciali_	commerciality
commerciali_	commercialised
commerciali_	commercializes
commodi_	commodity
commodi_	commodities
commodi_	commodification
commodi_	commodified
commodi_	commodifying
commodi_	commodify
commodi_	commoditization
commodi_	commodifies
commodi_	commoditized

commons	commons
communicative_acti on	communicative action
community_media	community media
community_radio	community radio
conceptual_history	conceptual history
consci_	consciousness
consci_	conscious
consci_	consciously
consci_	conscience
consci_	conscientious
consci_	consciousnesses
consci_	consciousnessraisin g
consci_	conscientiously
consci_	consciousnes
consume_	consumerism
consume_	consumerist
consume_	consumerization
consume_	consumerisation
consume_	consumeristic
consume_	consumerists
consume_	consumerized
consume_	consumerise
consume_	consumerised
consumpti_	consumption
consumpti_	consumptive
consumpti_	consumptions
consumpti_	consumptives
consumpti_	consumptie
consumpti_	consumptioin

consumpti_	consumption!0
contradic_	contradictory
contradic_	contradictions
contradic_	contradiction
contradic_	contradict
contradic_	contradicts
contradic_	contradicted
contradic_	contradicting
contradic_	contradictorily
contradic_	contradictors
controver_	controversy
controver_	controversial
controver_	controversies
controver_	controversially
controver_	controversial^
controver_	controversia
controver_	controversialist
controver_	controversiae
controver_	controverted
corporatiz_	corporatist
corporatiz_	corporatism
corporatiz_	corporatisation
corporatiz_	corporatisme
corporatiz_	corporatisf
corporatiz_	corporatism's
corporatiz_	corporatization
corporatiz_	corporatized
corporatiz_	corporatiz
cosmopoli_	cosmopolitan
cosmopoli_	cosmopolitanism
cosmopoli_	cosmopolitans

cosmopoli_	cosmopolite
cosmopoli_	cosmopoliteness
cosmopoli_	cosmopolites
cosmopoli_	cosmopolitanisms
cosmopoli_	cosmopolitanizatio n
cosmopoli_	cosmopolitanizing
counter_public	counter public
counter_public	counter publics
counter_public	counter publicity
critical_discourse_an alysis	critical_discourse_a nalysis
critical_theory	critical theorist
critical_theory	critical theory
critical_theory	critical theories
critical_theory	critical theorists
critical_theory	critical theoretical
critical_theory	critical theorizing
critical_theory	critical theory's
critical_theory	Critical theoretization
criticality	criticality
critiq_	critique
critiq_	critiques
critiq_	critiqued
critiq_	critiquing
critiq_	critique's
critiq_	critiquer
critiq_	critique's
critiq_	critiqueable
cultivat_	cultivation

cultivat_	cultivate
cultivat_	cultivated
cultivat_	cultivating
cultivat_	cultivates
cultivat_	cultivators
cultivat_	cultivator
cultivat_	cultivation's
cultivat_	cultivation's
cultural_industry	cultural industry
cultural_industry	cultural industries
cultural_industry	cultural industrial
decep_	deception
decep_	deceptive
decep_	deceptiveness
decep_	deceptions
decep_	deceptively
decep_	deception's
decep_	deception.html
decep_	decep
decep_	decept
delegit_	delegitimation
delegit_	delegitimizing
delegit_	delegitimize
delegit_	delegitimization
delegit_	delegitimized
delegit_	delegitimate
delegit_	delegitimated
delegit_	delegitimating
delegit_	delegitimizes
deliberat_	deliberation
deliberat_	deliberate

deliberat_	deliberative
deliberat_	deliberations
deliberat_	deliberating
deliberat_	deliberated
deliberat_	deliberates
deliberat_	deliberativeness
deliberat_	deliberateness
deliberative_democr acy	deliberative_democ racy
deliberative_democr acy	deliberative_democ ratic
democratic_deficit	democratic deficit
democratic_deficit	democratic deficits
democratic_legitima cy	democratic_legitim acy
democratic_legitima cy	democratic_legitim ation
democratic_process	democratic process
democratic_process	democratic processes
democratic_theory	democratic theory
democratic_theory	democratic theories
democratic_theory	democratic theorizing
democratic_theory	democratic theorists
democratic_theory	democratic theorist
democratic_theory	democratic theory's
democratiz_	democratization
democratiz_	democratizing
democratiz_	democratize
democratiz_	democratized

democratiz_	democratizes
democratiz_	democratizaciön
democratiz_	democratizations
democratiz_	democratizability
democratiz_	democratizacion
democratiz_	démocratisation
democratiz_	democratising
democratiz_	democratise
democratiz_	democratised
democratiz_	democratisch
democratiz_	démocratisa
democratiz_	democratism
depolitici_	depoliticization
depolitici_	depoliticized
depolitici_	depoliticize
depolitici_	depoliticizing
depolitici_	depoliticisation
depolitici_	depoliticised
depolitici_	depoliticising
depolitici_	depoliticise
depolitici_	depoliticizes
dialectic_	dialectic
dialectic_	dialectical
dialectic_	dialectics
dialectic_	dialectically
dialectic_	dialectician
dialectic_	dialecticism
dialectic_	dialecticians
dialectic_	dialectician's
dialectic_	dialectica
diaspor_	diaspora

diaspor_	diasporic
diaspor_	diasporas
diaspor_	diasporan
diaspor_	diaspora's
diaspor_	diasporapfarrers
diaspor_	diasporated
dictator_	dictator
dictator_	dictatorship
dictator_	dictatorial
digital_divide	digital divide
digital_divide	digital divides
digital_divide	digital divisions
discriminat_	discrimination
discriminat_	discriminate
discriminat_	discriminatory
discriminat_	discriminating
discriminat_	discriminated
discriminat_	discriminations
discriminat_	discriminates
discriminat_	discriminative
discriminat_	discriminators
dissent_	dissent
dissent_	dissenting
dissent_	dissenters
dissent_	dissented
dissent_	dissents
dissent_	dissenter
dissent_	dissention
dissent_	dissent's
dissent_	dissentient
dogmati_	dogmatism

dogmati_	dogmatic
dogmati_	dogmatics
dogmati_	dogmatically
dogmati_	dogmatist
dogmati_	dogmatik
dogmati_	dogmatische
dogmati_	dogmatizing
dogmati_	dogmatisms
domina_	dominance
domina_	dominant
domina_	dominator
domina_	dominating
elit_	elite
elit_	elites
elit_	elitist
elit_	elitism
elit_	eliteness
elit_	elite's
elit_	elitists
elit_	elite74
elit_	elite78
elit_	empire
empirici_	empiricism
empirici_	empiricist
empirici_	empiricists
empirici_	empiricist's
empirici_	empiricistic
empirici_	empiricisms
empirici_	empiricism3
empirici_	empiricism6
empirici_	empiricist's

empower_	empowerment
empower_	empowered
empower_	empowering
empower_	empower
empower_	empowers
empower_	empowering'potential
empower_	empowerments
empower_	empowerment's
engag_	engagement
engag_	engage
engag_	engaged
engag_	engaging
engag_	engages
engag_	engagements
engag_	engagingly
engag_	engagingnewsproject.org
engag_	engagé
environmental_	environmental
environmental_	environmentalists
environmental_	environmentalism
environmental_	environmentalist
environmental_	environmentally
environmental_	environmentalisms
environmental_	environmentalist's
environmental_	environmentalism's
environmental_	environmentall
equalit_	equality
equalit_	equalitarian
equalit_	equalitarians

equalit_	equalities
equalit_	equalitarianism
equalit_	equality76
equalit_	equalita
equalit_	equalitari
equalit_	equalitu
exclus_	exclusion
exclus_	exclusionary
exclus_	exclusions
exclus_	exclusionism
exclus_	exclusionist
exploit_	exploitation
exploit_	exploit
exploit_	exploited
exploit_	exploiting
exploit_	exploits
exploit_	exploitative
exploit_	exploitive
exploit_	exploiters
exploit_	exploiter
extremis_	extremist
extremis_	extremism
extremis_	extremists
extremis_	extremis
extremis_	extremismus
extremis_	extremisms
extremis_	extremistas
extremis_	extremismu
extremis_	extremist!
fascis_	fascist
fascis_	fascism

fascis_	fascists
fascis_	fascistic
fascis_	fascismo
fascis_	fasciste
fascis_	fascisti
fascis_	fascismen
fascis_	fascism's
femini_	feminist
femini_	feminism
femini_	feminine
femini_	feminists
femini_	femininity
femini_	feminized
femini_	feminization
femini_	feminisms
gay	gay
gender_	gender
gender_	gendered
gender_	genders
gender_	gendering
gender_	gender3
gender_	gender's
gender_	genderization
gender_	genderless
gender_	genderqueer
graffiti	graffiti
habitus	habitus
hatred	hatred
hatred	hate
hatred	hates
hatred	hateful

hatred	hated
hatred	hatefulness
homeless_	homeless
homeless_	homelessness
homeless_	homelessguy
homeless_	homelessness65
hegemon_	hegemon
hegemon_	hegemonic
hegemon_	hegemonically
hegemon_	hegemonies
hegemon_	hegemonists
hegemon_	hegemonization
hegemon_	hegemonize
hegemon_	hegemony
homophob_	homophobia
homophob_	homophobic
homophob_	homophobe
homophob_	homophobes
homophob_	homophobias
homophob_	homophobiacs
homophob_	homophobics
homophob_	homophobia4
hostil_	hostile
hostil_	hostility
hostil_	hostilities
hostil_	hostiles
hostil_	hostil
hostil_	hostili
hostil_	hostilidad
hostil_	hostile
hostil_	hostile4

human_right	human rights
human_right	human right
humanis_	humanistic
humanis_	humanist
humanis_	humanism
humanis_	humanists
humanis_	humanising
humanis_	humanistically
humanis_	humanisation
humanis_	humanise
humanis_	humaniste
humanitar_	humanitarian
humanitar_	humanitarianism
humanitar_	humanitarians
humanitar_	humanitari
humanitar_	humanitär
humanitar_	humanitarios
humanitar_	humanitaria
humanitar_	humanitarianbattlef ield
humanitar_	humanitarianism15
ideolog_	ideology
ideolog_	ideological
ideolog_	ideologies
ideolog_	ideologically
ideolog_	ideologues
ideolog_	ideologue
ideolog_	ideologists
ideolog_	ideolog fa
ideolog_	idéologie
immigra_	immigration

immigra_	immigrants
immigra_	immigrant
immigra_	immigrated
immigra_	immigrant's
immigra_	immigrate
immigra_	immigrating
immigra_	immigra
immigra_	immigration's
imperial_	imperialism
imperial_	imperialist
imperial_	imperialistic
imperial_	imperialists
imperial_	imperial
imperial_	imperialisms
imperial_	imperialism's
imperial_	imperialismo
imperial_	imperialista
indoctri_	indoctrination
indoctri_	indoctrinating
indoctri_	indoctrinated
indoctri_	indoctrinate
indoctri_	indoctrinations
indoctri_	indoctrination's
ineq_	inequality
ineq_	inequalities
ineq_	inequities
ineq_	inequity
ineq_	inequitable
ineq_	inequal
ineq_	inequitably
ineq_	inequali

ineq_	inequalitites
infotain_	infotainment
infotain_	infotain
infotain_	infotaining
infotain_	infotainer
infotain_	infotainers
infotain_	infotainment2
infotain_	infotainment21
infotain_	infotainments
infotain_	infotainmentsendun gen
injust_	injustice
injust_	injustices
injust_	injusticia
injust_	injustces
injust_	injust
injust_	injustement
intru_	intrusion
intru_	intrusive
intru_	intrusions
intru_	intrusiveness
intru_	intrude
intru_	intruded
intru_	intruding
intru_	intrudes
knowledge_gap	knowledge gap
knowledge_gap	knowledge gaps
labor_	labor
labor_	labour
labor_	labour's
labor_	labor's

labor_	labourers
labor_	laborers
labor_	labours
labor_	labouring
labor_	labourer
legit_	legitimacy
legit_	legitimate
legit_	legitimation
legit_	legitimize
legit_	legitimization
legit_	legitimizing
legit_	legitimized
legit_	legitimately
lesbian	lesbian
low_income	low income
macbride	macbride AND UNESCO
mainstream	mainstream
mainstream	mainstreaming
mainstream	mainstreamed
manipulat_	manipulate
manipulat_	manipulation
manipulat_	manipulations
manipulat_	manipulating
manipulat_	manipulative
manipulat_	manipulativeness
manipulat_	manipulation's
manipulat_	manipulatively
manipulat_	manipulations
manipulat_	manipulational

marginal_	marginalized
marginal_	marginalization
marginal_	marginalize
marginal_	marginality
marginal_	marginalizing
marginal_	marginalised
marginal_	marginalizes
marginal_	marginal
marginal_	marginalisation
marketi_	marketization
marketi_	marketisation
marketi_	marketizing
marketi_	marketized
marketi_	marketising
marketi_	marketised
marxis_	marxist
marxis_	marxism
marxis_	marxists
marxis_	marxista
marxis_	marxism's
marxis_	marxistleninist
marxis_	marxisms
marxis_	marxisme
marxis_	marxistische
materialis_	materialism
materialis_	materialistic
materialis_	materialist
materialis_	materialists
materialis_	materialise
materialis_	materialist's
materialis_	materialised

materialis_	materialisation
materialis_	materialisms
media_concentration	media concentration
media_ownership	media_ownership
media_participation	media_participation
media_policy	media policy
media_policy	media policies
media_power	media power
media_power	media powers
media_regulation	media regulation
media_regulation	media regulations
media_regulation	media regulator
media_regulation	media regulators
migra_	migration
migra_	migrants
migra_	migrant
migra_	migrated
migra_	migrant's
migra_	migrate
migra_	migrating
migra_	migration's
migra_	migratory
migra_	migrates
misinform_	misinformation
misinform_	misinformed
misinform_	misinform
misinform_	misinforming
misinform_	misinforms
misinform_	misinformants
misinform_	misinformers

monopol_	monopoly
monopol_	monopolies
monopol_	monopolistic
monopol_	monopolized
monopol_	monopolize
monopol_	monopolist
monopol_	monopolization
monopol_	monopolizing
monopol_	monopolists
moral_panic	moral_panic
moral_panic	moral_panics
muckr_	muckraking
muckr_	muckrakers
muckr_	muckraker
muckr_	muckrake
muckr_	muckraker's
muckr_	muckrak
muckr_	muckraked
muckr_	muckraking's
muckr_	muckrakes
multic_	multicultural
multic_	multiculturalism
multic_	multiculturalist
multic_	multiculturalists
multic_	multiculture
multic_	multiculturele
multic_	multicultur
multic_	multiculturalismo
multic_	multiculturalisme
nationalis_	nationalist
nationalis_	nationalism

nationalis_	nationalist
nationalis_	nationalistic
nationalis_	nationalists
nationalis_	nationalisms
nationalis_	nationalisation
nationalis_	nationalised
nationalis_	nationalisme
nationalis_	nationalise
nazi_	nazi
nazi_	nazis
nazi_	nazism
nazi_	nazified
nazi_	nazify
nazi_	nazification
nazi_	nazisti
neolib_	neoliberal
neolib_	neoliberalism
neolib_	neoliberalization
neolib_	neoliberalism's
neolib_	neoliberals
neolib_	neoliberalisation
neolib_	neoliberalizing
neolib_	neoliberalisms
newswork_	newsworkers
newswork_	newswork
newswork_	newsworker
newswork_	newsworkersâ
newswork_	newsworkâ
newswork_	newsworkerâ
newswork_	newsworks
newswork_	newsworkbest

newswork_	newsworker's
normative_	normative
normative_	normatively
normative_	normativeness
normative_	normativer
normative_	normativefy
normative_	normatives
occupied	occupied
oligopol_	oligopoly
oligopol_	oligopolistic
oligopol_	oligopolies
oligopol_	oligopolists
oligopol_	oligopolist
oligopol_	oligopolization
oligopol_	oligopolistically
oligopol_	oligopolized
oligopol_	oligopolyistic
ownership	ownership
_panic	panic
participatory	participatory
participatory	participation
participatory	participate
participatory	participants
participatory	participant
participatory	participated
participatory	participating
participatory	participant
participatory	participates
participatory	participative
periphery_OR_»peri pheral«_NOT_"cent	periphery

er"_NOT_"centre"	
political_economy	political economy
political_economy	political economic
political_economy	political economist
political_economy	political economists
political_participatio n	political_participati on
populis_	populist
populis_	populism
populis_	populists
populis_	populisms
populis_	populistic
populis_	populism's
populis_	populismo
populis_	Populismus
populis_	populista
postcolonial_	postcolonial
postcolonial_	post-colonial
postcolonial_	postcoloniality
postcolonial_	postcolonialism
postcolonial_	postcolonialist
poverty	poverty
power_abuse	power abuse
powerlessness	powerlessness
powerlessness	powerless
praxis	praxis
privatization_	privatization
privatization_	privatized
privatization_	privatize
privatization_	privatizing
privatization_	privatised

privatization_	privatising
privatization_	privatized
privatization_	privatisation
progressi_	progressive
progressi_	progressively
progressi_	progressives
progressi_	progressivism
progressi_	progressivity
progressi_	progressivist
progressi_	progressiveness
progressi_	progressivists
progressi_	progression
protest_	protest
protest_	protests
protest_	protesters
protest_	protested
protest_	protesting
protest_	protestors
pseudo	pseudo
public_discourse	public discourse
public_discourse	public discourses
public_journalism	public journalism
public_journalism	public journalist
public_reason	public reason
public_reason	public reasons
public_reason	public reasoning
public_service	public service
public_service	public services
public_service_broa dcasting	public_service_bro adcasting
public_service_medi	public_service_med

a	ia
public_space	public space
public_space	public spaces
public_sphere	public sphere
public_sphere	public spheres
publicness	publicness
publics	publics
queer	queer
racis_	racism
racis_	racist
racis_	racists
radical_	radical
radical_	radically
radical_	radicals
radical_	radicalism
radical_	radicalization
radical_	radicalized
radical_	radicalizing
radical_	radicalness
radical_	radicalisation
reflective_	reflective
reflective_	reflectiveness
reflective_	reflectively
reflexiv_	reflexive
reflexiv_	reflexivity
reflexiv_	reflexively
reflexiv_	reflexiveness
reflexiv_	reflexiv
reflexiv_	reflexives
reflexiv_	reflexivify
reflexiv_	reflexivism

reflexiv_	reflexivities
refugee_	refugees
refugee_	refugee
refugee_	refugee's
refugee_	refugee4
refugee_	refugeehood
refugee_	refugeeness
refugee_	refugees.the
refugee_	refugees 13
refugee_	refugees5
repress_	repression
repress_	repressive
repress_	repressed
repress_	repress
repress_	repressing
repress_	repressors
repress_	repressions
repress_	represses
repress_	repressers
research_ethics	research ethics
resist_	resistance
resist_	resist
resist_	resistant
resist_	resisting
resist_	resisted
resist_	resists
resist_	resistances
resist_	resisters
resist_	resistive
revolut_	revolution
revolut_	revolutionary

revolut_	revolutions
revolut_	revolutionaries
revolut_	revolutionized
revolut_	revolutionize
revolut_	revolutionists
revolut_	revolution's
revolut_	revolutionizing
right_to_communica te	right to communicate
segreg_	segregation
segreg_	segregated
segreg_	segregationist
segreg_	segregationists
segreg_	segregate
segreg_	segregating
segreg_	segregators
segreg_	segregates
segreg_	segregable
sensat_	sensationalism
sensat_	sensational
sensat_	sensationalist
sensat_	sensation
sensat_	sensationalized
sensat_	sensationalistic
sensat_	sensationalizing
sensat_	sensations
sensat_	sensationalize
sexis_	sexism
sexis_	sexist
sexis_	sexists
sexis_	sexism's

sexis_	sexisms
social_class	social class
social_exclusion	social_exclusion
social_protest	social_protest
social_movement	social movement
solidar_	solidarity
solidar_	solidarities
solidar_	solidary
solidar_	solidarity's
solidar_	solidaridad
solidar_	solidaristic
solidar_	solidarité
solidar_	Solidarität
strugg_	struggle
strugg_	struggles
strugg_	struggling
strugg_	struggled
strugg_	strugglers
strugg_	struggle's
strugg_	struggle2
suffer_	suffering
suffer_	suffered
suffer_	suffer
suffer_	suffers
suffer_	sufferers
suffer_	sufferer
suffer_	sufferings
suffer_	sufferance
suffer_	suffrage
surveill_	surveillance
surveill_	surveillant

surveill_	surveilling
surveill_	surveillor
surveill_	surveiller
surveill_	surveillances
surveill_	surveillance.html
tabloidi_	tabloidization
totali_	tabloidisation
totali_	totalitarian
totali_	totalitarianism
totali_	totalitarians
totali_	totalitario
totali_	totalitarisme
totali_	totalitarismus
totali_	totalitaria
totali_	totalitarianismin
triangula_	triangulation
triangula_	triangulate
triangula_	triangulated
triangula_	triangulating
triangula_	triangulates

triangula_	triangulations
triangula_	triangulatory
tyrann_	tyranny
tyrann_	tyrannical
tyrann_	tyrannies
tyrann_	tyrannize
tyrann_	underdog
wage_	wage
wage_	wages
welfare	welfare
worker	worker
worker	workers
working_class_	working class
xenopho_	xenophobic
xenopho_	xenophobia
xenopho_	xenophobically
xenopho_	xénophobie
xenopho_	xenopho
Hitler	Hitler

Appendix B: List of Sampled Critical Scholars in the Control Group

1. Adorno_Theodor_W.	17. Bauman_Zygmunt
2. Agamben_G	18. Beck_Ulrich
3. AGGER_B	19. Bell_Daniel
4. Ahmad_Aijaz	20. Benjamin_Walter
5. Althusser_L	21. Bennett_Tony
6. ANDERSON_B	22. Berger_John
7. Andrejevic_Mark	23. Bernstein_Richard_J.
8. Ang_len	24. Best_Stephen
9. Appadurai_Arjun	25. Bhabha_Homi_K.
10. Arendt_Hannah	26. Bloch_E.
11. Arnold_Matthew	27. Bottomore_Tom
12. Aufderheide_Patricia	28. Bourdieu_Pierre
13. Austin_John_L.	29. Boyle_James
14. Bakhtin_Mikhail_M.	30. Braudy_Leo
15. Barthes_Roland	31. Braverman_Harry
16. Baudrillard_Jean	32. Breckenridge_Carol_A.

33. Brown_Wendy
34. Buchanan_I
35. Burchell_Graham
36. Burke_Edmund
37. Butler_Judith
38. Butsch_Richard
39. Calhoun_Craig
40. Carey_James_W.
41. Castells_Manuel
42. Caughie_John
43. Chakrabarty_Dipesh
44. Clifford_James
45. Cohen_R
46. Cohen_S
47. Cooley_Charles_H.
48. Crenshaw_Kimberle_Williams
49. Culler_Jonathan

50. Cunningham_Stuart
51. de_Certeau_Michel
52. de_Lauretis_Teresa
53. de_Man_P
54. de_Saussure_Ferdinand
55. DeFleur_Melvin_L.
56. Deleuze_Gilles
57. Derrida_Jacques
58. Dewey_John
59. du_Gay_Paul
60. DURING_S
61. Dyer_Gillian
62. Dyer_Richard
63. Eagleton_Terry
64. Eco_Umberto
65. Engels_Friedrich
66. Fairclough_Norman

67. Fanon_Frantz
68. Featherstone_Mike
69. Fish_St Stanley
70. Fiske_John
71. Foucault_Michel
72. Fraser_Nancy
73. Freud_Sigmund
74. Frow_John
75. Gadamer_Hans-Georg
76. Galtung_Johan
77. Garnham_Nicholas
78. Gates_Henry_L._Jr.
79. Geertz_Clifford
80. Genette_G�rard
81. Gerbner_George
82. Giddens_Anthony
83. Gill_Rosalind

84. Gilroy_Paul
85. Gitlin_Todd
86. Goffman_Erving
87. Gouldner_Alvin_W.
88. GRAHAM_GJ
89. Gramsci_Antonio
90. Greenblatt_Stephen
91. Grossberg_Lawrence
92. Guha_Ranjit
93. Guillory_JE
94. Habermas_Jurgen
95. Halberstam_Judith
96. Hall_Stuart
97. Halliday_Michael_A._K.
98. Haraway_Donna_J.
99. Hardt_Hanno
100. Hardt_Michael

101.	Hartley_John
102.	Harvey_David
103.	Hassan_I.
104.	Hayles__Katherine_N.
105.	Hebdige_Dick
106.	Hegel_Georg_W._F.
107.	Heidegger_Martin
108.	Held_David
109.	Hesmondhalgh_David
110.	Hobsbawm_Eric_J.
111.	Hoggart_Richard
112.	hooks_bell
113.	Horkheimer_Max
114.	Howarth_David
115.	Husserl_Edmund
116.	Hutcheon_Linda
117.	Huyssen_Andreas

118.	Iser_Wolfgang
119.	Jacobs_J
120.	Jakobson_Roman
121.	James_William
122.	Jameson_Fredric
123.	Jenkins_Henry
124.	Jenks_C.
125.	Kant_Immanuel
126.	Keane_John
127.	Kellner_Douglas
128.	Kelly_Kevin
129.	Kittler_Friedrich
130.	Klein_Naomi
131.	Kristeva_Julia
132.	Kuhn_Thomas_S.
133.	Kumar_Krishan
134.	Kymlicka_Will

135.	Lacan_Jacques
136.	Laclau_Ernesto
137.	Larrain_Jorge
138.	Lash_Scott
139.	Latour_Bruno
140.	Law_John
141.	Lefebvre_Henri
142.	Levine_Lawrence_W.
143.	Levi-Strauss_Claude
144.	Lukacs_Georg
145.	Lukes_Sтивен
146.	Macpherson_Crawford_Brough
147.	Malik_Kenan
148.	Mannheim_Karl
149.	Marcuse_Herbert
150.	Marshall_P._David

151.	Marshall_Thomas_H.
152.	Marvin_Carolyn
153.	Marx_Karl
154.	Mauss_Marcel
155.	McGuigan_Jim
156.	McLuhan_Marshall
157.	McQuail_Denis
158.	McRobbie_Angela
159.	Mead_George_H.
160.	Meyrowitz_Joshua
161.	Mill_John_S.
162.	Miller_Toby
163.	Mills_C._Wright
164.	Mitchell_Thomas_W._J.
165.	Morley_David
166.	Morrison_David_E.
167.	Mouffe_Chantal

168.	Mulvey_Laura
169.	Mumford_Lewis
170.	Murdock_Graham
171.	Naficy_Hamid
172.	NEGRI_A
173.	Noble_David_F.
174.	Norris_Pippa
175.	Ong_Walter_J.
176.	Parekh_Bhikhu
177.	Park_Robert_E.
178.	Parsons_Talcott
179.	Peirce_Charles_S.
180.	Peters_John_D.
181.	Pinker_Steven
182.	Pratt_Mary_L.
183.	Propp_Vladimir
184.	Putnam_Robert_D.

185.	Rheingold_Howard
186.	Rich_Adrienne
187.	Ronell_Avital
188.	Roscoe_Jane
189.	Rose_Nikolas
190.	Rosenberg_A.
191.	Ryan_Michael
192.	Said_Edward_W.
193.	Scannell_Paddy
194.	Schafer_Rita
195.	Sedgwick_Eve_Kosofsky
196.	Serres_M
197.	Shannon_Claude_E.
198.	Silverstone_Roger
199.	Smythe_Dallas_W.
200.	Sontag_Susan
201.	Spivak_Gayatri_C.

202.	Storey_John
203.	Sturrock_J
204.	Thompson_John_B.
205.	Todorov_Tsvetan
206.	Touraine_Alain
207.	Turner_Graeme
208.	Veblen_Thorstein
209.	Veaser_H._Adam
210.	Virilio_Paul
211.	Voloshinov_Valentin_N.
212.	Walzer_Michael
213.	Warner_Michael

214.	Waters_Malcolm
215.	Weber_Max
216.	West_Cornel
217.	White_Hayden
218.	Wiggershaus_Rolf
219.	Williams_Raymond
220.	Williamson_Judith
221.	Wilson_E
222.	Wodak_Ruth
223.	Wollstonecraft_Mary
224.	Wright_Charles_R.
225.	Zizek_Slavoj

Daljši povzetek v slovenščini

Raziskava proučuje značilnosti kritičnega raziskovanja medijev in množičnega komuniciranja v osmih elitnih mednarodnih revijah. Proučevanje, poleg obsega in dinamike kritičnega raziskovanja, ugotavlja najbolj izpostavljene avtorje, institucije in države v kritičnem raziskovanju, ter najbolj izrazite delitve znotraj kritične skupnosti. Raziskava naslavlja tudi vprašanja spremenjene vloge znanstvenega tiska v sistemu znanstvenega vrednotenja, kjer proučuje odnos med vidnostjo kritičnega raziskovanja in faktorji vpliva.

Ob povečevanju pomembnosti vrednotenja znanstvenega dela, ki temelji na objavah v znanstvenih revijah ovrednotenimi s faktorji vpliva, se spreminjajo tako prakse objavljanja raziskovalcev kot uredništev revij. Prispevki, ki ustrezajo najširšemu znanstvenemu občinstvu in posledično vsebujejo najvišji potencial za citiranost, imajo pri objavljanju prednost, saj povečujejo faktor vpliva revije, s čimer pa se ožja prostor ne-popularnemu raziskovanju.

Novonastale okoliščine zajemajo tudi eksponentno rast znanstvenih revij vključenih v najpomembnejše znanstvene indekse, npr. »Web of Science«, v katerih se proučevanje medijev in množičnega komuniciranja uvršča med najhitreje razvijajoča se področja znanstvenega proučevanja (Nordendstreng, 2012), a se s tem tudi povečuje njegova razdrobljenost in odpira prostor za bolj specializirano raziskovanje, kamor se uvršča (tudi) kritično raziskovanje.

V raziskavi se kot kritično razume vsakršno raziskovanje, ki kritično naslavlja odnose moči, človekovo zatiranje in si prizadeva za osvoboditev in družbeno preobrazbo (Splichal in Mance, 2018, p. 402).

V raziskavi ugotavljamo obseg kritičnega raziskovanja v osrednjih revijah v zgodovinski perspektivi; najbolj izpostavljene avtorje, institucije in države v (kritičnem) raziskovanju, najizrazitejše delitve znotraj kritičnega raziskovanja, spremeninjajoč pomen kritičnih pojmov in povezanost med faktorji vpliva in vidnostjo kritičnega raziskovanja.

Analiza zajema 15,238 člankov objavljenih v osmih mednarodnih revijah; Public Opinion Quarterly, Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, Communication Monographs, Journal of Communication, Communication Research, Media, Culture & Society, European Journal of Communication in Discourse & Society v obdobju med 1945 in 2018.

Kritičnost je v raziskavi operacionilizirana prek skupnega jezika – t.j., kritičnega besedišča, ki temelji na osrednjih pojmi, ki jih člani kritične skupnosti uporabljajo v medsebojnem komuniciranju prek osrednje literature (Kuhn, 1996). Vzorec 192 kritičnih besed,

uporabljenih kot kritičnih indikatorjev (Priloga A), je bil izbran iz korpusa besed uporabljenih v naslovih in ključnih besedah člankov analiziranih revij.

Odločanje o kritičnosti pomena določene besede in posledično njeni uvrstitvi v nabor indikatorjev, je temeljilo na odločitvah koderja, ki je med vsemi besedami prepoznal tiste, ki kritično označujejo odnose moči, obsojanje človekovega zatiranja in prizadevanja za osvoboditev in družbeno preobrazbo. Na podlagi vsebnosti kritičnih indikatorjev so bili izbrani tisti članki, v katerih ima kritično besedišče osrednjo vlogo in »obravnavani« kot kritični članki.

Poglavje 3.2. vsebuje rezultate frekvenčne analize podatkov o avtorjih člankov, njihovi institucionalni in državni pripadnosti, pridobljenih iz zapisov baze Web of Science. Analize so opravljene tako na celotni populaciji člankov, kot populaciji 2,241 »kritičnih« člankov. Z dodatnim razvrščanjem po posameznih revijah so bili ugotovljeni najbolj izpostavljeni (kritični) avtorji, institucije in države.

Poglavje 3.3 vsebuje rezultate analiz, opravljenih na podlagi kritičnih indikatorjev in citiranih avtorjev v kritičnih člankih, v katerih smo z analizo omrežij, natančneje z metodo VOS prepoznali osrednje skupine kritičnih avtorjev in z njimi povezane kritične pojme. Prepoznavanje kritičnih skupin je bilo opravljeno tako na celotni populaciji kritičnih člankov, kot na populacijah kritičnih člankov ameriških in evropskih revij, ter na kritičnih člankih v posamičnih revijah, razdeljenih na obdobji blokofske delitve sveta in obdobju, ki mu je sledilo.

Na celotni populaciji kritičnih člankov je bilo identificiranih šest kritičnih skupnosti; evropska kritična tradicija, ameriška kritična tradicija, kritična diskurzivna tradicija, kritika ideologije, kritika nacionalizma in feministična kritika.

Analiza na populacijah ameriških in evropskih kritičnih člankov, poleg identifikacije posamičnih kritičnih skupnosti, ugotavlja pomembno prisotnost citiranih avtorjev, ki pripadajo (nekritični) tradiciji političnega komuniciranja, kar kaže, da se besedišče omenjene tradicije pogosto in pomembno prepleta z besediščem kritične tradicije teorije javne sfere in pojmi kot so deliberacija, protesti, aktivizem in kolektivna akcija.

V obdobju blokofske delitve sveta so se kritični članki ameriških revij osredinjali predvsem na kritiko ideologije, kritiko rasne diskriminacije, a tudi na teorije odvisnosti, aktivizma, kritike kapitalizma in imperializma. Pregled po posamičnih revijah ugotavlja precejšnjo raznolikost najbolj citiranih avtorjev v kritičnih člankih.

Analiza evropskih revij v enakem obdobju je omejena, saj sta vanjo zaradi kasnejše ustanovitve uvrščeni le dve reviji, *Media, Culture & Society* in *European Journal of Communication*. Analizirano obdobje je zato tudi precej krajše, a kljub temu, zavzema osrednjo vlogo v kritičnih razpravah kritika ideologije in kritična teorija odvisnosti, medtem, ko so najbolj izpostavljeni avtorji Stuart Hall, Raymond Williams, Graham Murdock, Pierre Bourdieu, Dennis McQuail, Elihu Katz, George Gerbner in Tapio Varis.

V analiziranem obdobju, ki nasledi blokovsko delitev sveta, evropske revije namenjajo več prostora kritičnim razpravam, med katerimi kritika ideologije zavzema osrednje mesto. Primerjava skupin, ki obravnava ideologijo pa se med analiziranimi revijami pomembno razlikuje. Razlika je najbolj očitna med revijama *Public Opinion Quarterly* in *Media, Culture & Society*. V ameriških revijah je med najbolj izpostavljenimi problemi kritične obravnave prisotna kritika rasne diskriminacije, medtem, ko je v evropskih kritičnih prispevkih omenjena problematika redkeje prisotna in v večji meri povezana s kritiko ideologije. Ameriške kritične razprave, razen peščice najbolj uveljavljenih, izvzemajo predstavnike evropskih kritičnih tradicij.

Poglavje 3.6 podrobneje analizira osmišljanje pojma ideologije, ki se pojavlja kot osrednji kritični pojem v opravljenih analizah v obeh obdobjih. Spremembe osmišljanja pojma smo ugotavljali s t.i. metodo pojmovnih okvirjev, kjer smo ugotovili najpogostejša sopojavljanja pojma ideologije s kritičnimi indikatorji in citiranimi avtorji v člankih, in jih razvrstili po posameznih letih in revijah. V reviji *Public Opinion Quarterly*, zgodnjega obdobja blokovske delitve sveta, pojem ideologija ni bil osmišljen v kritičnem smislu kritike ideologije, temveč kot ideološka kritika, kjer je uradna ideologija Sovjetske Zveze predmet kritike ameriških avtorjev. Kasnejša osmišljanja ideologije, kot je npr. »politična ideologija«, obravnavajo ideologijo kot relativno konsistenten in skladen nabor posameznikovih stališč za vrsto političnih tem. V takšnem osmišljanju je pojem pluraliziran in merjen z orodjem stališčnih lestvic, kar dokazuje administrativno t.j., nekritično (upo)rabo in osmišljanje pojma. Kasnejša osmišljanja pojma ideologijo umeščajo v t.i., identiteto pojmovanje, kjer je poglobljena osnova za osmišljanje ideologije posameznikova pripadnost določeni skupini.

Poglavje 3.7 analizira povezanost med kritičnostjo in faktorji vpliva, a je ne ugotavlja. V ločenem analitičnem postopku se loteva študije primera treh samodeklariranih kritičnih revij, *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, *Communication, Culture & Critique* in *Communication & Critical Cultural Studies*, med katerimi opravi primerjavo faktorjev vpliva

revij, ki jim analizirane citirajo, in tistimi, kjer so analizirane citirane. Analiza ugotavlja, da analizirane kritične revije v večji meri citirajo tiste z višjimi faktorji vpliva, obenem pa so citirane v tistih, kjer je faktor vpliva nižji.