

„U.S. journals can afford to remain regional, but we can not.” Author distribution-based internationality of Eastern European communication journals.

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The interest of various players in the academic field is directed towards high prestige items. As publishers, we want to develop or acquire high prestige journals to earn more subscribers and to attract more high profile authors (or authors willing to pay a publication fee). As authors, we want to publish our results at the best possible outlets, where our invested work has the best potential to produce additional prestige and networking opportunities necessary for our academic carrier. Serving as an editor often requires financially uncompensated expenditures from our part. We are only compensated by the increase in our visibility and prestige, which are connected with the journal itself. Journal owners, with a very few exceptions, are not paying us for our time and expertise, nor for using our social capital for the benefit of their product. This leaves us with no incentive to invest work in a journal that is invisible and cannot attract good quality research.

Journals published in Eastern European countries in the field of Communication Studies are struggling with attaining high visibility and prestige—here, “high” is a euphemism if we look at them from North America, Western Europe, and other economically advanced regions of the Global North. In the eyes of hiring and grant selection committees in the abovementioned regions, even the mere recognition of these journals is contested. On our own regional level, however, we have a different sense of prestige in at least one respect: After the post-socialist transition, a compulsory mimesis of the West—discussed by the Alatas (S.H. Alatas, 2000; S.F. Alatas, 2000) in postcolonial settings, and even earlier as problems of Eurocentrism in the social sciences (Joseph et al., 1990; Wallerstein, 1997)—have emerged inside Eastern European academia as well.

This desire of peripheral scientific communities to emulate the functioning of central scientific communities led to various internationalization strategies in science. Their impetus was partially explicable with mimesis as a psychological (on the individual level) and institutional (on the structural level) reaction to something that is perceived as foreign yet superior. But their aims were, and are, manifold: to be recognized as peers, to be able to enlarge existing networks, to open paths for international exchange and cooperation, to compete for grants provided by central countries; and with Bourdieu, to build up West-compatible social and academic capital. One of these capital-building strategies, of which I would like to talk about in this editorial, is the attempt to create internationally recognized journals.

A minimum criteria for international recognition is arguably to be indexed in Elsevier’s SCOPUS and/or Clarivate Analytics’s (CA) Web of Science, though regions and institutions may differ in their value perceptions of indexation; i.e., US-based institutions and authors are

more familiar with Web of Science and less with SCOPUS. But regardless of their extra-regional perception, in Eastern Europe we tend to evaluate higher the domestic journals that share these characteristics of their recognized Western counterparts. There is virtually no national science evaluation system in Eastern Europe without evaluation policies built on data available from Thomson Reuters' and Elsevier's databases, and does discriminate between indexed and non-indexed journals (see Pajić 2015).

If we look at the number of internationally recognized communication journals in our region, we can see that according to the 2017 SCIMAGO data,¹ there are only 13 indexed journals in Social Sciences → Communication from Eastern Europe. Out of these 13 journals, there is only one in Q1 (99-75th percentiles of CiteScore values of the respective field), one in Q2 (74-50th percentiles), three in Q3, and five in Q4, while the remaining three are newly indexed journals with insufficient history for computing CiteScore values. We have chosen to start with Scopus data here because it is recognized that Scopus has better coverage of both European and Social Science journals among the two indices (Bergman 2012, Montgeon and Paul-Hus 2016). By comparison, if we look at Clarivate Analytics' Web of Science, we find that only eight of the 13 journals are indexed there; two of them (*Cyberpsychology*, ISSN: 1802-7962 and *Informacios Tarsadalom* ISSN: 1587-8694) are in the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI), while the rest are in the much lower-prestige Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI).

This information is relevant and must be taken into account when assessing these journals' prestige and visibility. In the western world, as well as in developed and developing nations in Asia, there is increasing pressure on academics in the social sciences to publish only in journals that are listed in the "old" or traditional indices of Web of Science. Countries with relatively low scientific output are also prone to look at Web of Science as the main gatekeeper of scientific excellence (Pajić 2015). Being indexed in Emerging Sources Citation Index does not count much in itself prestige-wise, however, as the selection criteria for ESCI journals do not seem to be consistent with those of other traditional citation indices. To be concrete, they are more "forgiving" with regard to received citation count from other already indexed journals, and Clarivate Analytics does not deem them worthy enough to compute an Impact Factor for them. In addition, as the first comprehensive coverage analysis of ESCI has shown, the visibility of ESCI journals is much lower than those in the traditional Web of Science and Scopus indices. The representation of top science-producing regions among the journals' country of origin is also relatively thin: U.K. and U.S. journals represent only 34.76% of the journals included in ESCI, as compared to 49.19% of Scopus and 72.81% of SSCI. (Somoza-Fernández et al., 2018)

The question then becomes: How can these indexed Eastern European journals be compared to other indexed communication journals? In this case, we could also easily substitute "other indexed" with "western." The table below shows all ranked Social Sciences → Communication journals in SCIMAGO, which makes it perfectly clear that the ratio of western countries (North American and Western European) never goes below 83% in any quartile, and their share in all indexed Communication journals is more than 88% [Table 1]. The "elite" is quasi-exclusively reserved for these countries as well: among the 73 Communication journals ranked in Q1, 35 are from the U.S., 28 from the U.K., four from Germany, three from The Netherlands, two from Spain, and one from the Czech Republic—this means the U.S. and the U.K. possess a ~86% share, while ~99% of share of the very top journals in the field remains among traditional western countries.

¹ <https://www.scimagojr.com/journalrank.php?category=3315&area=3300&country=Eastern%20Europe>

Table 1
*Regional diversity of Q1-Q4 journals (SCIMAGO 2017)**

Quartile	NA	WE	EE	Asia	SA	OC	CA	Africa	TOTAL
Q1	48%	50.7%	1.4%	0	0	0	0	0	73
Q2	20.5%	67.1%	1.4%	2.7%	4.1%	1.4%	1.4%	1.4%	73
Q3	13.9%	69.4%	4.2%	6.9%	4.2%	1.4%	0	0	72
Q4	25.7%	57.1%	7.1%	4.3%	2.9%	2.9%	0	0	70
TOTAL	27.1%	61.1%	3.5%	3.5%	2.8%	1.4%	0.3%	0.3%	288

Note. * Abbreviations used in tables and figures are as follows: NA (North America), WE (Western Europe), EE (Eastern Europe), SA (South America) CA (Central America) OC (Oceania, including Australia and New Zealand)

Among the many possible ways to approach the question above, I have chosen to look at the national diversity of the authors.² My reason for this is the long known and recently reconfirmed fact that the national diversity of most of the top journals in Communication and Media Studies is very low. Not only are they published mainly in the U.S. and the U.K., but their author pool is also dominated by native English-speaking countries, most prominently by the U.S. Previous research has shown that the cumulated contribution of authors from native English-speaking countries, Western Europe, and developed Asia is approximately 94% in Web of Science-indexed Communication journals, with a 66% U.S. share between 1998 and 2002 (Lauf 2005) and 50% between 2013 and 2017 (Demeter 2018). A recent study also draws attention to the problem that the already low international orientation of Eastern European journals registered in CA's SCIE and SSCI should be interpreted by taking into account that the "international" authors of these journals are mostly from neighboring countries of the same region (Bucher 2018). Therefore, what I call a successful Eastern European imitation of already established high-prestige journals should include a significant share of western authors, preferably from U.S. institutions, in an attempt to approximate their author structure.

Let's start with the two EE journals indexed both in WoS SSCI and Scopus. We can immediately see the huge difference between their author pool: while the Hungarian *Informacios Tarsadalom* publishes articles in Hungarian almost exclusively from Hungarian authors, *Cyberpsychology's* authors are mainly from Western Europe and North America, and the journal publishes full-text English language articles. Looking at the values of Simpson's Dominance for country and for region, we can see that the author-level international diversity of *Informacios Tarsadalom* (or rather the lack thereof) is much closer to that of top-tier Communication journals than the respective numbers shown by *Cyberpsychology* (see Table 2).

² All data presented below was gathered from SCOPUS on 4 December, 2018, for the years 2016, 2017 and 2018. Article data was adjusted based on the journal's individual web pages to include the content of the last issues published in 2018, but yet to be uploaded to SCOPUS. Only original articles were included in the sample; editorials, book reviews, etc., were deselected.

Table 2

Dominant countries and regions in EE Communication journals' author base

Journal name/SCOPUS quartile	Simpson's Dominance for country	Dominant country/ratio	Simpson's Dominance for region	Dominant Region/ratio	Published in/language
Cyberpsychology(Q1)	9.2%	US, 19.4%	30.8%	WE (47%)	Czech Republic/ENG
Informatics in Education(Q2)	11.1%	Brazil, 26.1%	20.5%	EE (28%)	Lithuania/ENG
KOME(Q3)	10.9%	US, 20.1%	21.3%	NA (29%)	Hungary/ENG
Medijska Istrazivanja(Q3)	34.5%	Croatia, 55%	60.5%	EE (75%)	Croatia/ENG&CR
Informacios Tarsadalom(Q3)	75.1%	Hungary, 86.3%	91.3%	EE (95%)	Hungary/HUN
Psychology of Language and Communication(Q4)	19.1%	Poland, 40%	31.2%	EE (44%)	Poland/ENG
Medijske Studije (Q4)	24.4%	Croatia, 46.3%	43.3%	EE (56%)	Croatia/ENG&CR
Romanian Journal of Communication and Public Relations (Q4)	36%	Romania, 50%	48.4%	EE (69%)	Romania/ENG
Voprosy Onomastiki (Q4)	39.4%	Russia, 62%	60.6%	EE (76%)	Russia/RU/ENG/GER/FR
Central European Journal of Communication (Q4)	12.5%	Poland, 27.6%	46.7%	EE (62%)	Poland/ENG
Communication Today (-)	24.3%	Slovakia, 41.7%	78.1%	EE (87%)	Slovakia/ENG
Druzboslovne Razprave (-)	62.1%	Slovenia, 77%	62.1%	EE (77%)	Slovenia/ENG/SLO
European Journal of Humour Research (-)	6.8%	Poland, 12.8%	26.1%	EE (38%)	Poland/ENG

While *Cyberpsychology* is published in the Czech Republic, they only had four authors from their home country in the last three years, during which time they published 62 articles: 29 from Western Europe, 16 from North America, six from Eastern Europe, five from Australia and Oceania, five from Asia, and one from Africa. This composition equals a 30.8% Simpson's Dominance for the Western European region, with close to three quarters of their articles published from North American and Western European authors. There is a sharp contrast here with *Informacios Tarsadalom*, with 86% of the last three years' content coming from Hungarian authors, with a 91.3% dominance of the Eastern European region.

In addition, the data shows that no indexed Eastern European journal except *Informacios Tarsadalom* relies on publishing only in their regional language; they are either English-only, like *Cyberpsychology*, or at least include the option to publish in English, effectively leaving open the opportunity for submission from western authors. It is not uncommon that regional journals allow submissions and publish articles in the language of their

local country—*Medijska Istrazivanja*, *Medijske Studije*, *Voprosy Onomastiki* and *Druzboslovne Razprave* all have this option, while *Voprosy Onomastiki* is open to publishing in other major European languages (German and French) as well. It is probably this difference in the language of publication that accounts for *Informacios Tarsadalom*'s low received citation count: for the three years examined, SCOPUS shows only four received citations on 44 published articles, each of them being journal self-cites (received from a different article published in the same journal). For comparison, *Cyberpsychology* received 109 citations (14 journal self-cites) to 54 Scopus-indexed articles, and the other two EE journals in Q3 also performed better: *KOME* received 19 citations (including four journal self-cites) to 31 articles, and while *Medijska Istrazivanja* received only three citations, none of them were journal self-cites and they published only 20 articles in the past three years. The citation-based metrics in WoS show similar distances, e.g., *Cyberpsychology* has a 2017 Impact Factor of 1.4, while *Informacios Tarsadalom* has IF 0.023.

It is also obvious that only some of the EE Communication journals present in SCOPUS have managed to succeed in internationalizing their author base (see Figure 1, 2 and 3). *Cyberpsychology*, *Informatics in Education*, and *KOME* publish more articles from authors of a country other than their own. While the author pool of *Informatics in Education* is still dominated by Eastern European authors, Simpson's Dominance for the region has the lowest value here among all journals, and Figure 2 show that there is indeed enough diversity in author distribution at the regional level.

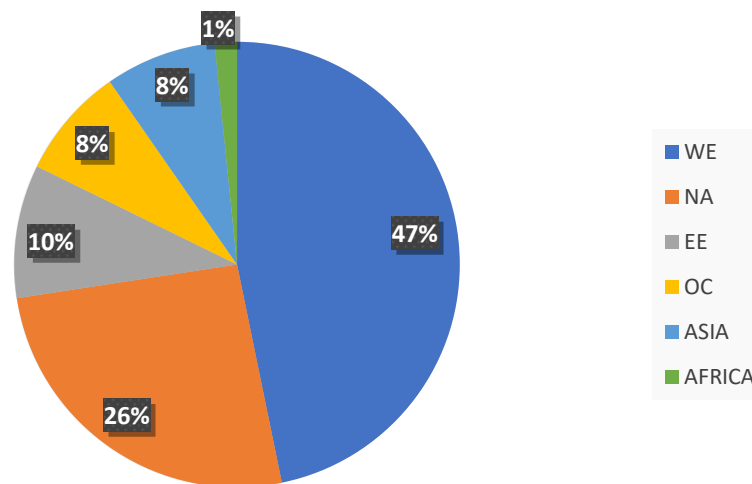


Figure 1: Regional distribution of authors 2016-2018: *Cyberpsychology* (n=62)

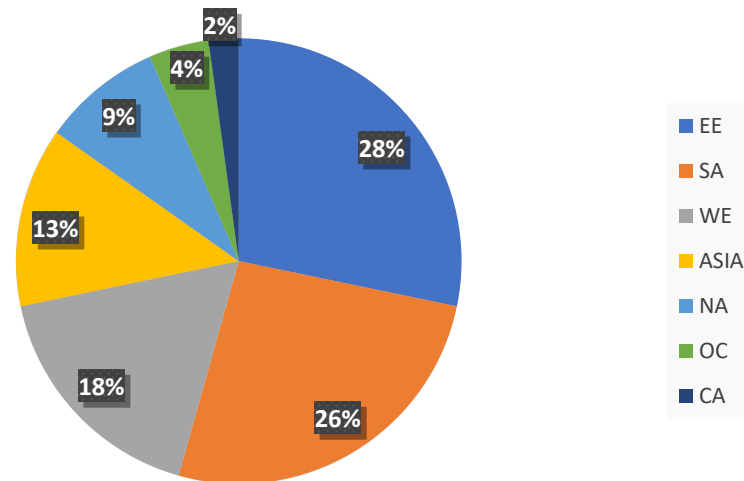


Figure 2: Regional distribution of authors 2016-2018: Informatics in Education (n=46)

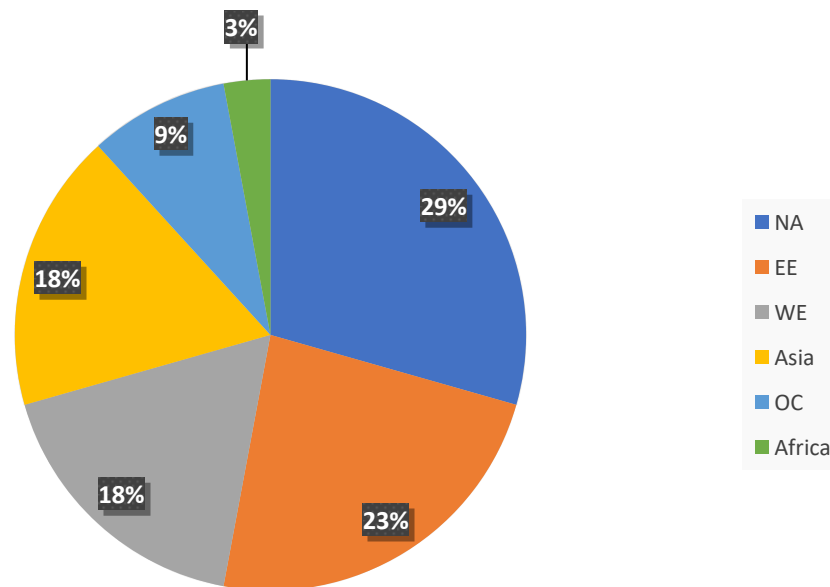


Figure 3: Regional distribution of authors 2016-2018: KOMÉ (n=34)

By looking at SCIMAGO's Journal and Country Rank (restricted to Communication journals from Eastern Europe, and based on 2017 SJR values), we can see that the above three journals, successful in attracting western authors and able to be independent from domestic author flow, occupy the top three places on the list. However, by looking at the journals ranked from four to 13 (as well as Figures 4-13 below), it becomes apparent that lower-ranked EE journals are, in general, less successful in internationalizing their author base and more dependent upon domestic submissions.

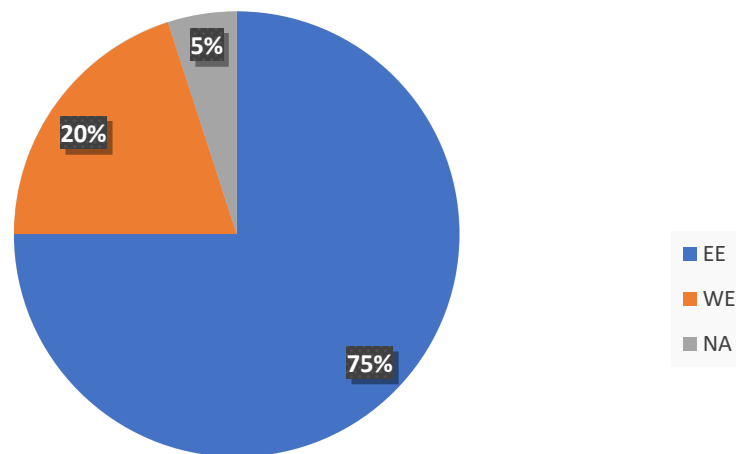


Figure 4: Regional distribution of authors 2016-2018: Medijska Istrazivanja (n=20)

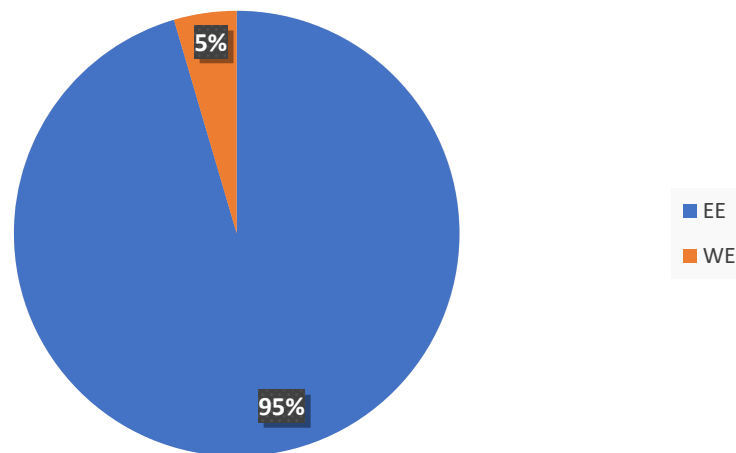


Figure 5: Regional distribution of authors 2016-2018: Informacios Tarsadalom (n=44)

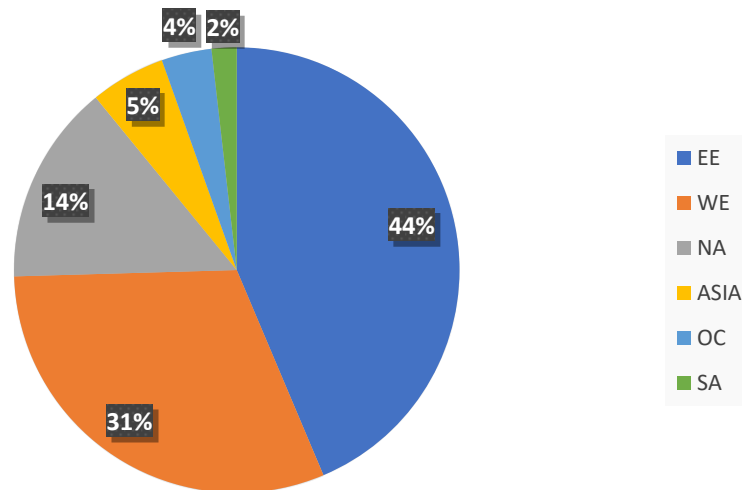


Figure 6: Regional distribution of authors 2016-2018: Psychology of Language and Communication (n=55)

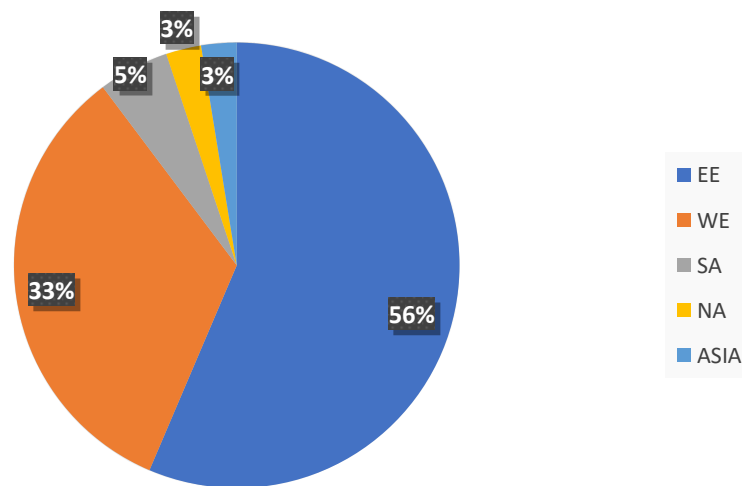


Figure 7: Regional distribution of authors 2016-2018: Medijske Studije (n=41)



Figure 8: Regional distribution of authors 2016-2018: Romanian Journal of Communication and Public Relations (n=32)

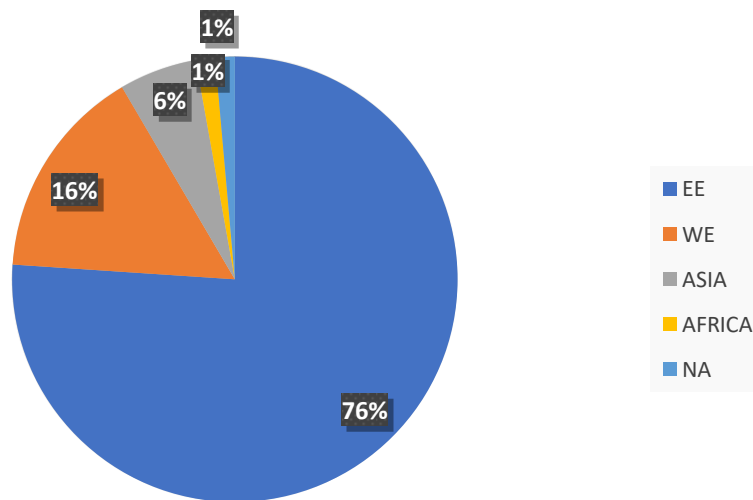


Figure 9: Regional distribution of authors 2016-2018: Voprosy Onomastiki (n=71)

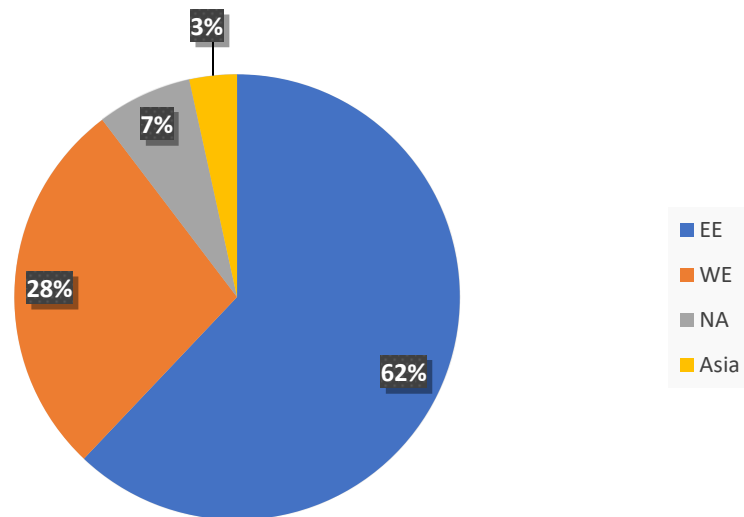


Figure 10: Regional distribution of authors 2016-2018: Central European Journal of Communication (n=29)

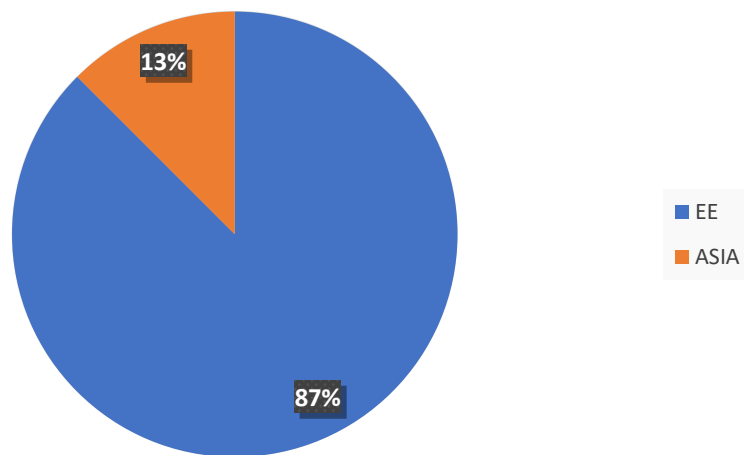


Figure 11: Regional distribution of authors 2016-2018: Communication Today (n=24)

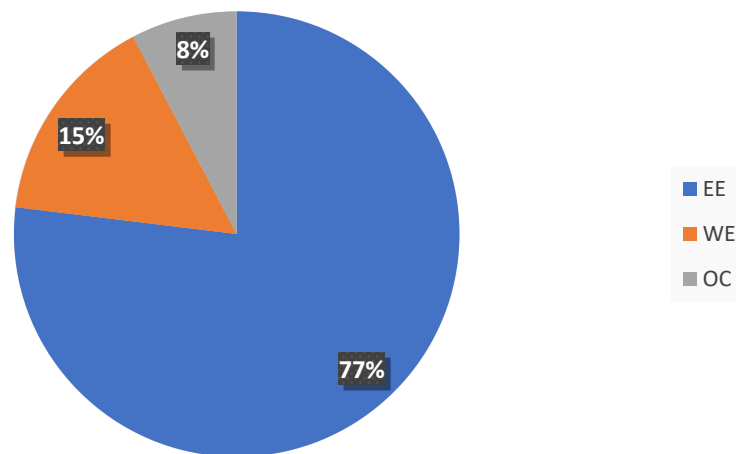


Figure 12: Regional distribution of authors 2016-2018: Druzboslovne Razprave (n=13)

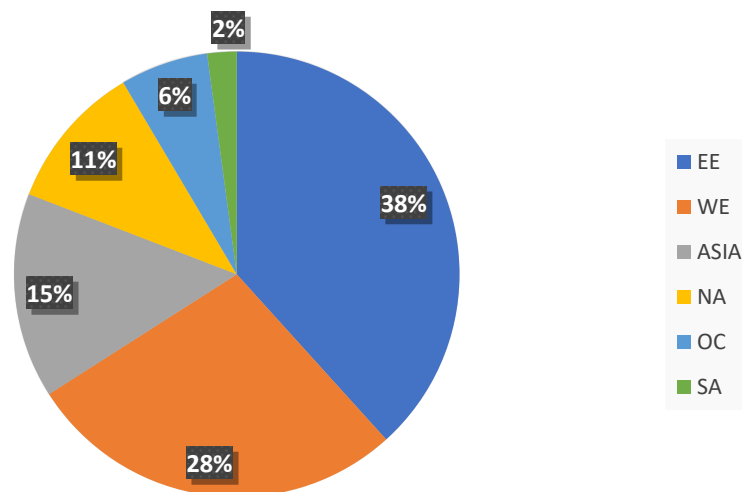


Figure 13: Regional distribution of authors 2016-2018: European Journal of Humour Research (n=47)

I also calculated Pearson's r to check linearities between journal ranking and authors' regional affiliations. There is a strong positive correlation ($r=0.63$) between SCIMAGO journal rank and EE author ratio [see Figure 14], and a moderate negative correlation between rank and the share of western (NA+WE) authors ($r=-0.43$) [Figure 15]. The ratio is stronger if we focus only on North American authors ($r=-0.56$) [Figure 16].

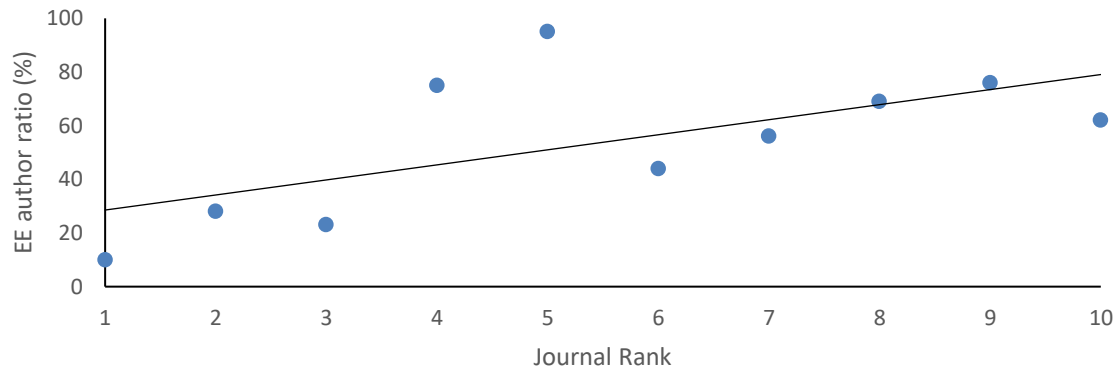


Figure 14: Correlation between Journal Rank and EE authors ratio

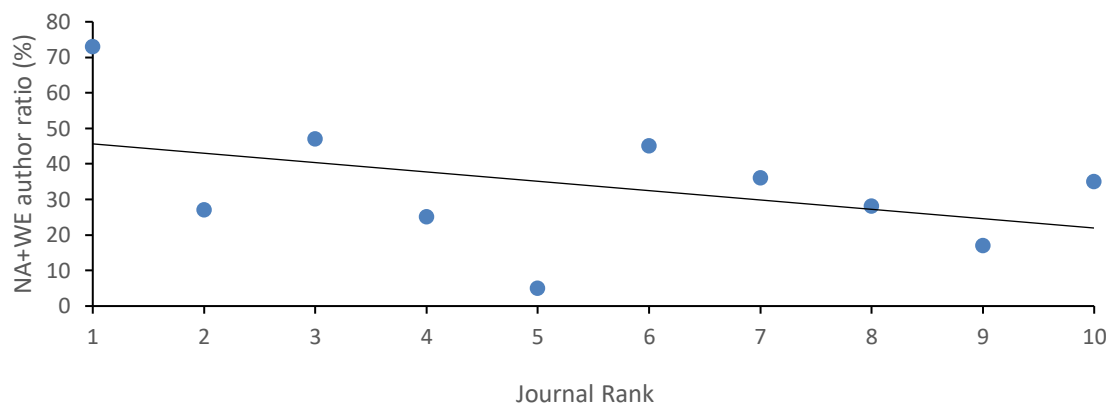


Figure 15: Correlation between Journal Rank and Western (NA+WE) authors ratio

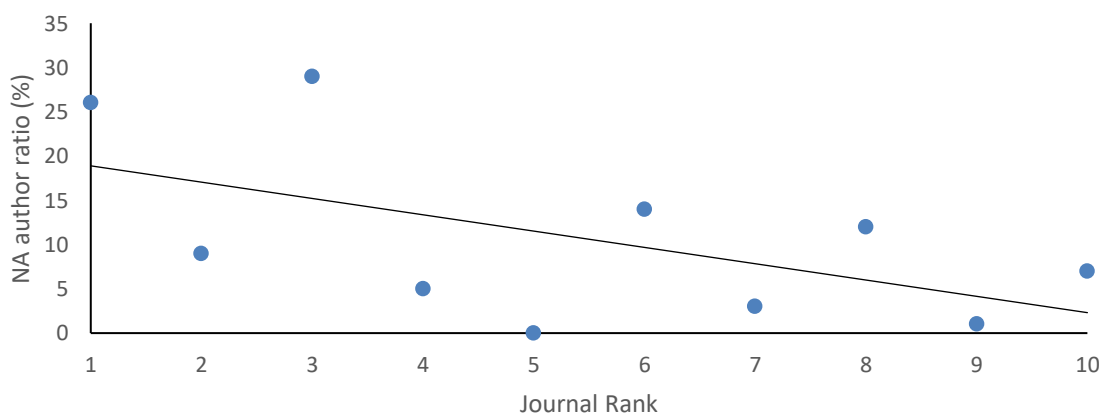


Figure 16: Correlation between Journal Rank and NA authors ratio

Looking at Figure 6 and 13, however, one could wonder why some journals with a truly international author base are not better ranked. In the case of No.13, *European Journal of Humour Research*, the answer is relatively simple as they are only covered in SCOPUS from 2017, so there was not enough data to compute 2017 SJR values. *Psychology of Language and Communication*, however, has a relatively good level of internationalization, but by looking at its level of similarity with regard to regional author distribution with other journals in the sample, we can see that it is still closer to the structure of other Q4 journals, which, respectively,

have more than 50% EE content from the past three years. On the heatmap below [Table 6], which is a visualized matrix of Sørensen's similarity coefficients between each EE Communication journal ranked Q1-Q4 in Scopus [Table 7], there is also a clear pattern showing that the two SSCI-indexed journals are distinct from the rest. *Cyberpsychology* demonstrates low levels of similarity with every other journal except *KOME* and *PoLaC*, while *Informacios Tarsadalom* demonstrates very low levels of similarity with the top three but average or better-than-average similarity with lower-ranked journals. It is also noticeable that the regional author distribution of Q4 journals more closely resembles itself rather than other higher-ranked journals from the same EE region.

Table 6

Regional author diversity-based similarity heatmap of Q1-Q4 EE Communication journals

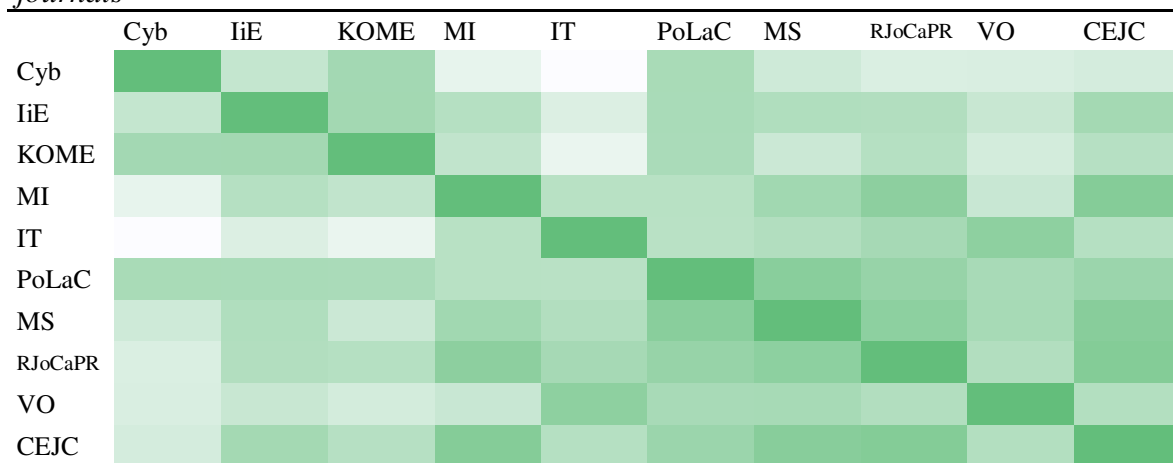


Table 7

Sørensen's similarity coefficients for Q1-Q4 EE Communication journal pairs

	Cyb	IiE	KOME	MI	IT	PoLaC	MS	RJoCaPR	VO	CEJC
Cyb	1	0.463	0.646	0.268	0.151	0.615	0.408	0.340	0.346	0.374
IiE	0.463	1	0.65	0.545	0.333	0.614	0.575	0.564	0.444	0.64
KOME	0.646	0.65	1	0.481	0.256	0.607	0.427	0.545	0.381	0.540
MI	0.268	0.545	0.481	1	0.531	0.533	0.656	0.769	0.44	0.816
IT	0.151	0.333	0.256	0.531	1	0.525	0.565	0.632	0.765	0.548
PoLaC	0.615	0.614	0.607	0.533	0.525	1	0.792	0.713	0.619	0.69
MS	0.408	0.575	0.427	0.656	0.565	0.792	1	0.767	0.625	0.8
RJoCaPR	0.340	0.564	0.545	0.769	0.632	0.713	0.767	1	0.563	0.820
VO	0.346	0.444	0.381	0.44	0.765	0.619	0.625	0.563	1	0.56
CEJC	0.374	0.64	0.540	0.816	0.548	0.69	0.8	0.820	0.56	1

Considering these data, one could wonder if there are indeed different viable strategies for regional journals to become indexed in SCOPUS and Web of Science. *Informacios Tarsadalom* has managed to do that without complying with many of the recommendations for the literature, even those that SCOPUS and the former Thomson Reuters Journal Selection Process have put forward. With Hungarian language-only articles, no international diversity of authors, (virtually) no external citations received from articles published in other indexed journals, it is an unlikely candidate at first sight. However, it is also important to stress that

Informacios Tarsadalom earned its place in SSCI during the period when Thomson Reuters (owner of Web of Science before Clarivate Analytics) realigned its journal coverage in SSCI and other major indices to be more in line with the increasingly global nature of scientific research. Between 2007 and 2009, Thomson Reuters scrutinized more than 10,000 “regional” journals (in their taxa, that equated to journals NOT from the U.S. or the U.K.) that published results from authors affiliated with institutions of a particular region or country, and covered regional perspectives and/or topics. That had a positive effect on the coverage of Eastern European contributions (Leydesdorff and Wagner, 2009), but was made possible by Thomson Reuter’s tolerance to accept journals regardless of their impact (Aman, 2015). In comparison, the first SSCI-indexed issue of *Cyberpsychology* is from 2015, and the journal went through the normal journal selection process, in which such tolerance was nonexistent. SCOPUS indexation, too, seems to be possible for EE journals with major domestic author share and low interest from western authors.

To sum up, it seems that an international author pool is desirable for Eastern European Communication journals if they intend to crawl up the ranks in the main scientific indices. Current data suggest that EE journals that are able to attract western, especially U.S., authors tend to rank better in SCOPUS, while those whose author base is mainly from their home country or region tend to rank lower. Accomplishing SCOPUS indexation, however, is possible without getting much attention from western or other core country authors, and if Clarivate Analytics will launch a regional coverage expansion program in the future, there can be a chance for such journals to get into SSCI as well. It is debatable whether this creates a favorable environment for channeling regional knowledge into the global science ecosystem, or whether this softens inequalities in science production between a peripheral region and the center. In general, knowledgescapes of Eastern European and other peripheral countries have been, and will continue to be, overlooked unless channelled through key media wherein the core scientific communities actually engage. There is, arguably, little to no prestige or benefit to participate in this channeling for a journal already having a dominant U.S. author base, but there is substantial benefit for a journal with a heavy Eastern European author base: The former can remain regional, not mixing their already high-prestige region authors with authors from lower prestige regions, while for the latter, targeted internationalization is a must, and is most effective when they can convince authors affiliated with institutions from high scientific output regions to submit and publish.

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Media, Religion and Public Sphere: International Trends and Hungarian Researches

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Abstract

Over the last two decades, research concerning religion and the media, religion and the Internet has been revived and repositioned within communication and media research. This is especially true in post soviet Central and Eastern European countries (Khroul 2013, Kołodziejaska 2014, Rončáková 2017, Tudor & Bratosin, 2018). This article provides a summary of the international and Hungarian-related research history of the area, highlighting the turning points that originate from the change of the media technology, the media history or followed the rearrangement of general media research. For the first point, mentioning the initial radio, cinema, and television research, and then the current examination of the Internet. For the second point, the acceptance media studies replacing the early media effect researches, the so-called cultural or interpretative turn in media studies and the uses and gratifications approach starting in the 1970s are classified. Following this, the aim of the article is to present and compare the different religious media research typologies and finally, the descriptive presentation of contemporary research directions in international and Hungarian science. The study mentions not only theoretical, but research methodological possibilities as well.

Keywords: lived religion, public religion, public sphere, Religious-Social Shaping of Technology, social media

Research History of Religion and Media Relations

After the beginning of the new millennium the research of religion and media, religion and the Internet became more and more intense, several journals appeared on the subject and numerous new research groups were established. We can look back to the oldest in the science of the United States, even in the 1930s, film-related researches were conducted (Payne Found Studies), from the 1970s on also television-related researches (Stout 2012, Hoover 1988) and today in the Internet era, too (Campbell 2012, Cheong 2012). In Europe, the French school, Hervieu-Leger has looked at the field from the aspect of lived religion, a Spanish research team with EU support (Religion in the “Shaping of European Culture of Identity” 2007-2013), and in Germany, the University of Heidelberg can be mentioned. In South America religious media research has been embedded in public religion and connected

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to public theology. In Africa, the question of religious media research has been put into political context (Scharnick-Udemans, 2017) And the list is far from complete.

In recent years, several comprehensive monographs and scientific articles have emerged about how churches, especially Catholic and reformed churches were linked to the media of communication in their history. Among them, there are critical and descriptive ones as well. (Kittler, 2002, Horsfield 2015, Copeland, 2012, Flory, 2012, Mason, 2012). Heidi Campbell, US media scholar sums up the Christian tradition of communication from the beginning of early oral speech. „The early Christian church negotiated between the oral tradition of the day and the written literate traditions also presented in that society” (Campbell – Garner, 2016: 24). She also covers the appearance of printing and the consequences of new technology: „Printing allowed bureaucracies to develop through the social and institutional standardization brought about by using text” (Campbell – Garner, 2016: 28). Concentrating on the States: „... cable and satellite television in the United States in the 1970s made it possible for religion to be broadcast to niche audiences” (Campbell – Garner, 2016: 29) .

In the Hungarian scientific life, the relationship between religion and print media was first dealt with in 1985, from a press historical point of view. The three-volume publication was a significant, comprehensive presentation of the era of Hungarian press history, in which the religious press was also mentioned (Kosáry D. & Németh G. 1985). In the same historical context, some publications have been published since then (Buzinkay & Kókay 2005, Buzinkay 2016). A monograph was published about the relationship between the Hungarian Catholic Church and the printed press, which elaborates the period between 1896 and 1932 (Klestenitz 2013).

The research and analysis of electronic media contents and effects go back to World War I, and most of the studies consider Walter Lippmann's work *Public Opinion* and Harold Lasswell's book *Propaganda Technique in the World War* as the first milestones (Lippmann 1922, Lasswell 1927). Early media studies focused on the use of mass media in propaganda and persuasion. The period from the 1920s to about the 1960s is called ‘media effect age’ within media studies because the focus of investigation was on the presumed or real effect of media content. Between the two world wars, scholars were thinking of a homogenous audience and a powerful, irresistible media effect. Loosely connected to religion but rather associated with the moral decline, Payne Fund Studies were carried out in this period. „Between 1929-1932, a series of research studies was performed to examine movies and their effects on children. There were a total of 13 studies financially supported by The Payne Fund, a private foundation. Each study fell into one of three main categories of research: film content, audience composition, and effects on children. ... Children, who regularly attended the movies unsupervised during the Saturday matinee, were seen at risk from the influences of this powerful medium” (Ash 1999).

From the 1960s, media research has gone beyond the effect paradigm and has taken a new direction, which is identified as an interpretive turn or a cultural turn, and is described with a reception paradigm. Reception theory moves the focus of media research from the media content to the recipient and examines how different (gender, age, cultural background) audiences create different meanings related to the media content. A decisive work of this era is Stuart Hall’s *Encoding/Decoding* (Hall, 1980). In the research of religious media, the cultural turn can be connected to Stewart Hoover’s researches (Hoover 1988). Religion can be also said to exist at a kind of boundary between the <social> and the <cultural>... it is my purpose here to argue for the utility of such culturalist approaches to the study of media and religion” (Hoover 2002:25). But Hoover is primarily concerned with the American and not the British critical cultural research. „...the British and American culturalist traditions intersect, although the American school is less influenced by Marxist and more by

anthropological and liberal pragmatist traditions” (Schofield Clark – Hoover 1997:26). Reception analyses related to religious and also non-religious programs are still present in the research of religious media, and these studies give not only a theoretical but also detailed methodological description (Linderman 1997, Hoover – Park 2005). At the same time, we find researches and journals following the British critics in the international scientific arena, including *Critical Research on Religion* or *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, which are primarily concerned with feminist critiques and social movement analysis connecting religion.

In the Hungarian scientific life, we can also find religious reception researches, but these are not related to television but to reading. Their scientific background is provided by the sociology of reading within the sociology of culture (Kamarás 2013).

The fact that the research on television and the relationship between religion and television has gained momentum since the 1980s is led back to historical reasons by the American media researcher: „... the Islamic Revolution in Iran, where a once-secular majority Muslim state, fell to a revolution based in religion, resulting in a theocracy. ... Neither our journalists nor our foreign-affairs experts anticipated that religion could play such a role.” (Hoover 2012:28) In fact, religion as a relevant theme, as one of the possible factors in social and/or political changes and movements, has returned to the public sphere and the mediated public sphere research. Also the analysis of post-secularity has started in social communication research in the Western world. (Martin 1978, 2005, Casanova 2003, Taylor 2007) This process strengthened by the nine eleven terrorist attacks. (Joas, 2017:8) This period of American religious media research is characterized by thematic diversity, which was later dealt with in six major categories. The focuses of research at this time were the following: (1) religion and the news, (2) televangelism, (3) interplay between religious thought and popular culture, (4) new modes of spirituality, (5) mediated therapeutic discourse, (6) examination of the effectiveness (Schofield Clark – Hoover 1997:31). Studies that reflect on the representation of religion in different news, news magazines mostly concluded that they were bias which means that various religions and churches were not properly represented in the news. Because following media logic usually negative, norm-breaking events, scandals are reported into the news, the positive ones are not. (see Hoover 2012: 29)

In Hungary, the proportion of religious, ecclesiastical news was investigated mostly within news programs. These data appear under the supervision of the Hungarian media supervisory authority every year mainly providing a description and little analysis. (Jelentés 1997, Mádl – Szabó 2000, <http://nmhh.hu/kutatasok>).

To examine televangelization programs, researchers mostly chose James Carey's ritual model as a theoretical background. “As we will see, as ritual, televangelism has the capacity and potential to contribute to the efforts of viewers to overturn their marginalized or peripheral social standing within American society” (Alexander, 1997: 194).

The relationship between popular culture and religion is dealt with by several monographs and separate scientific journals like *Journal of Religion and Popular Culture*. The journal is in the 30th year, and in its special edition of 2018, Marcus Moberg and Martin Rademacher describe their science field as follows: “This scholarship has typically been based on a broad and inclusive understanding of culture that strives to avoid binary and hierarchical–typological understandings that differentiate between, for example, “high,” “low,” “folk,” “popular,” or “mass” types of culture. Focusing, in particular, on mass-mediated popular cultural forms such as film, television, popular music, comic books, computer games, and so on.” (Moberg –Rademacher, 2018: 1).

The relationship between popular culture and implicit religious content, religious meaning was also studied by Hungarian media researchers. Based on the ritual theory of the

media Lajos Császi published a separate volume and several studies on the subject (Császi, 2001, 2002). But also some analyses related to popular television series can be found (Laborczi, 2010). Among the media researches, we also find some in which the traditional spiritual concepts are re-interpreted through the media and mediated therapist discourses are analyzed. And of course, as a tradition of effect research, they question the effectiveness of religious media as well.

Between the 1980s and the late 1990s the television was the primarily researched medium. The scholars at first concentrated on media contents, how these contents represented religions or churches in general, how television built a frame around them. As Stout and Buddenbaum wrote: “What is the nature of the process by which journalists present religion to their audiences? ... one approach is framing” (Stout – Buddenbaum 2003:2). Framing theory is well known and often applied in the media research (Entman, 1993). In the Hungarian media research, the framing of Buddhism-related news has been studied by American, English-language Chinese and English papers (Sükösd 2017).

Social media is used in revealing religious identities and religious communication. There is also an interesting comparative study that summarizes the usage patterns of Egyptian, Quatarian and American students, and also addresses the differences in the representation of religion. “The purpose of the current study is to comparatively analyze college student Facebook pages in the U.S., Egypt, and Qatar to determine the similarities and differences in how students use Facebook to stay connected with their various groups of ‘friends,’ and engage in identity construction. ... Students in the majority-Muslim societies were more likely to write religious status updates than the American students.” (Elmasry & Auter & Peuchaud 2014:42-43).

The Uses and Gratification Approach

Within the general media research, the uses and gratifications school started in the 1970s. In this model the focus of attention is not the media content but the user. The user who is (1) active and organizes the use of media for some purpose (2) and what kind of content can satisfy the needs is also decided by the recipient. In addition, there is a competition between options for satisfying the recipients’ needs. Allowing the possibility to include other types of action, social actions, not just media use. In the 1970s, several surveys were carried out on the use of media by the recipients, precisely defining and grouping the needs that can be satisfied by the recipient’s media use. The literature clearly regards Elihu Katz, Michael Gurevits and Hadassah Haas's 1973 article as a basic work, in which researchers grouped around 35 needs into five major categories (Katz, E. - Gurevitch, M. - Haas, H. 1973):

- cognitive: acquiring information, learning
- affective: emotional, joyful or aesthetic experience
- personal integrative needs: credibility, self-confidence, stability, status strengthening
- social integrative needs: to strengthen the relationship families, friends, etc.
- stress reliever: escape from reality, diversion

Use and gratification research is particularly fruitful because it can be adapted to the Computer Mediated Communication and social media as well. In their research in 2011, Papacharissi and Mendelson found nine distinct motives for using Facebook: habitual pass time, relaxing entertainment, expressive information sharing, escapism, cool and new trend, companionship, professional advancement, social interaction, and meeting new people. (Papacharissi – Mendelson 2011) In the religious content, scholars found people engage with religious websites for (1) religious entertainment and information, (2) to donate money and

(3) be involved, and (4) to explore and reinforce faith (Laney, 2005). Brubacker and Haigh also carried out uses and gratification examination related to religious content. „Facebook use for religious purposes is primarily motivated by the need to minister to others. Users do this by sharing faith-based beliefs and providing those who are both of their faith and those who are not with spiritual and emotional guidance and support. The three other motivations driving engagement with faith-based content reflect personal benefits gained, including spiritual enlightenment, religious information, and relaxing entertainment.” (Brubacker - Haigh 2017: 8) Riezu investigated the topic with Spanish content, while Ratcliff and his colleagues for US users (Riezu 2014, Ratcliff – McCarthy – Ritter 2017).

Since the 1980s after four decades of research we can see a progression from a focus on the general phenomena of media representation of religion to more specific and detailed investigations. Meanwhile the media itself has changed from traditional mass communication – such as printed press, radio and television – and has turned to the computer mediated communication. The present period is widely recognized as the Age of Internet, the Age of Social Media. Nowadays – Hoover writes – “I want to argue that it is no longer possible to think of religion and media as separate spheres. The two are now converging on one another. This convergence is being brought about by important changes in “religion” and in “media”. The question is more complex than only how the media frame religion or how religions and religious people use media (Hoover 2012: 30).” In one of his public lectures he uses a good metaphor connecting with this process that he calls: cultural Rubicon cross.

Research typologies

Due to the constantly expanding scientific literature, by the start of the new millennium media scholars tried to categorize the huge amount of religious media researches. The first typology is based on the traditional sociological classification; we can differentiate three levels among the researches: macro-, meso- and micro-level (Hoover – Lundby 1997:6). The second is connected to the users’ attitudes to the technology. Scholars identified the following categories: technological optimism, technological pessimism and technological ambiguity (Barbour 1993, McQuail 2015:108, Campbell – Garner 2017: 29-35). The third categorization was built on the media contents: Hoover separates journalistic (news) and non-journalistic (entertainment, artistic media) contents (Hoover 2012:29). The fourth offers an adaptation of the main fields of traditional media research – such as content oriented studies, institutional oriented studies, channel oriented studies and media policy oriented studies (Khroul, 2013). And the fifth typology differentiates four approaches, four distinct paradigms within the religious media research: similarity, distinction, mediatisation and articulation (van Zoonen 2011).

Following with a closer examination, as Hoover and Lundby wrote: “One framework might suggest macro-level analysis of society as a whole, meso-level analysis of institutions and their practices, and micro-level analysis of individual reception and negotiation of meaning. These spheres are interpenetrated by one another” (Hoover – Lundby1997:6). I agree with Hoover in this interpenetration, which is especially true in computer mediated communication. The digital media integrates the interpersonal communication, group communication, mass and organisational communication – public and private communication into one single device as well. Via social media we can send personal or group messages, we can watch Netflix serials or we can accept our personal income tax returns. We call this synergy the convergence of different communication levels. (Andok 2016a)

Science and religion scholar Ian Barbour offers a helpful threefold typology that sums up the most common responses to technology (Barbour 1993: 3-23).

- The technological optimism sees media and technology as making the world a better place for humanity. It contributes to the maintenance of democracy and different churches can promote themselves and their aims to a wider public.
- According to the technological pessimism, mass media dehumanize people and their relationships. I would like to mention here a very interesting research conducted by Neriya and Shahar in 2016. It was a comparative research among Old Order Amish community and Jewish ultra-Orthodox (Haredi) community. Both communities can be understood as interpretive communities that negatively interpret not only the television content, but also the medium itself. “Their various negative interpretive strategies ... are part of an <us-versus-them> attitude created to mark the boundaries and walls that enclave cultures built around them.” (Neriya – Shahar 2017:27).
- The viewpoint of the technological ambiguity emphasizes the social context of technology. We can use technology sometimes for good sometimes for bad purposes. For example, Catholic Church accepts this bifocal view of technology.

The third categorization was built on the media contents: Hoover separates journalistic (news) and non-journalistic (entertainment, artistic media) contents. A journalistic genre like news covers rather negative events, unexpected events than positive ones – this phenomenon scholars sometimes call media bias. „And it unfortunately often means journalism uses religious conflict, and the potential for conflict, as a way of attracting viewers and selling newspapers.” (Hoover, 2012:30) The other type according to Hoover is the non-journalistic media, entertainment media such as telenovelas, artistic films, popular music which includes a lot of religion and it is often what sociologists call “implicit” religion.

How could we rate this approach? According to social network sites media scholars don't use such expressions like journalist-generated content but they use user-generated content (UGC). This expression indicates two significant changes. One of them is: who creates social media contents? The journalist-generated contents give a very little part of social media because mostly the everyday people share their ideas, photos or circulate marketing oriented contents made by professionals. The users create and recreate shared cultural and spiritual experiences. So social media can work as a medium for religious expression. The second change connects rather to the media technology than media content. Because the people's main attitude to social media isn't the consuming of media content – like traditional mass media – but the using of this device (mostly smart phone). We are able to do a lot of different actions, real actions with real consequences via social media, digital media. As I previously mentioned – we can book our holiday accommodation, we can order our flight tickets. So in sum in CMC, SNSs media usage is more important than media content; and these media contents were created by everyday people.

Regarding the fourth opportunity, the fourth opportunity, the Russian media researcher Viktor Khroul's typology is based on the traditional fields of media research – such as

- content oriented studies – how media covers the religious topics
- institutional oriented studies means which religion (as social institution) is represented in the media - Orthodox, Catholic, Protestant, Muslim, Jewish, etc.
- channel oriented studies can be focused on press, radio, TV, Internet – so the channel of the medium

- media policy oriented studies concentrates on media regulation or co-regulation, ethical issues, scandals, etc. (Khroul, 2013:200).

And finally we can see Liesbeth van Zoonen's typology, in which she outlines four key approaches of the relationships between media and religion. The first is the similarity – religion is itself considered as a medium, as a channel. The second is the distinction – this paradigm emphasizes the deep differences between media and religion. The third is the mediatisation – according to this paradigm the media are the main actors in the context of religious activity in the post-secular public sphere. The fourth is the articulation – in this approach are the people themselves and their media experience in connection with religious experience (Zoonen, 2011). In her paper, she also enumerates examples of each approach from the pre-2010 scientific literature. This concept was developed by Danish media scholar Stig Hjarvard who claims that religion can no longer be studied separately from the media because for most people in western societies, the media have become the primary source of their religious ideas. (Hjarvard, 2008).

In Hungarian media research, Máté-Tóth and Andok published an early typology in the second half of the 1990s, mentioning the media theology and the media culture as two great test frames. For the former, suggesting the idea of media as an idol and media as a religious concept. (Máté – Tóth & Andok 1997: 125-130)

Contemporary research frames

The emergence of the Internet and the community media has given a new dimension in many areas to examine religious communication. In 2006, Campbell lists nine areas where research needs to be renewed: theology/spirituality, religion, morality/ethics, practical/ministry applications, religious traditions, community, identity, authority/power and rituals (Campbell, 2006). While in his edited volume published in 2013, only six of them were drafted: ritual, identity, community, authority, authenticity and religion. (Campbell 2013) In connection with social media, the research covers a variety of areas, some are looking at Facebook (Coman & Coman 2017), others are on Twitter (Guzek, 2015), and they also deal with Instagram (Zijderveld, 2017). These examples are also varied from a methodological point of view. Coman and Coman used the method of qualitative content analysis within a five step process and tried to identify emotions as frames during the meaning making. Guzek lived with the content analysis too “Content analysis of the papal tweets was based on the codes, some of which corresponded to the different stages of analytic frame of the religious-social shaping of technology” (Guzek 2015). Some semiotic analysis based on Roland Barthes' visual codes. (Zijderveld 2017)

Research on religious memes is also commonplace (Aquilar et al., 2017, Brubacker et al 2017). Referring to Hungarian-language research, religious memes are mentioned only among meme types, they haven't been searched separately yet (Glózer 2016). Three special issues were dedicated to the research on the relationship between religion and digital toys by the Heidelberg Journal of Religions on the Internet in 2014, 2015 and 2016. In the next chapter I intend to outline three major theoretical research frames, which nowadays define the outlines of religion and media research: public religion – public theology; lived religion and Religious Social Shaping of Technology . The first trend embeds the question of religion and media research into social communication, the second studies the perception of spiritual, religious experiences with a kind of anthropological emphasis and the role of the media in all of these. „...scholars argue that what is more common in today's culture is a “lived” form of religion focused around individuals adopting religious practices to their everyday lives,

so spiritual meaning derived from these practices is more personal and less institutionally grounded. For example, expressions of lived religion can be seen how people may modify traditional religious rituals and create new personalized versions” (Aquilar – Campbell – Stanley – Taylor 2017: 1500). The third option approaches the issue of religion from the direction of media technology.

Public religion

The public sphere is without doubt a central feature of modern society. The majority of references to public sphere theory in the media studies focus on Habermas’s normative theory. My viewpoint about it is similar to Jacobson, who wrote: “... one of the most significant revisions in Habermas’s recent thinking concerns the role of religion in modern society. A number of trends have promoted a rethinking of relationship between religion and secular society” (Jacobson, 2017). Originally, religious sociology began to evoke the scientific paradigm that questioned the universality of the secularization thesis, presenting the modern societies that were modernized without being at the same time secularized. (Martin, 1978, 2005, Casanova 1994) Meanwhile, many media researchers pointed out that - as I have already mentioned in the article - many populist cultural works contain implicit religious elements. Thus, the research frame has been developed for today, which examines the role of different religions and religious issues within the public sphere. And also how the public appearance of these issues is influenced by the media (Butler – Habermas – Taylor – West 2011). Public religion itself is defined by Jose Casanova like: „Public religion is one that has, assumes or tries to assume a public character, function or role” (Casanova 2003:111) He divides it into three areas: „various meanings of <public> one could use the analytical distinction between the three areas of the polity – the state, the political society, and civil society – to distinguish three different types of public religion that correspond to these three areas” (Casanova 2003: 111). Based on the theoretical background of public religion, many world-wide religious researches were conducted by Birgit Meyer and Annelies Moors (Meyer-Moors 2005). Within the University of Colorado, under the leadership of Stewart Hoover, the Centre for Media, Religion and Culture has launched a multiannual research project entitled Public Religion Project, which is currently in progress. The Hungarian research related to the question of post-secular publicity is very rich. On the one hand, it relies on Hungarian sociology of religion, on the other hand, on Hungarian communication research and theology (Görföl 2014). An important milestone was a global research in 2013 with the title „Seekers and Dwellers”, a complex study between 2013-2015, conducted by Zsuzsanna Bögre. The main international organiser of this research was George F. McLean. The results were published in a book *Seekers or Dwellers? Social Character of Religion in Hungary* edited by Zsuzsanna Bögre and was presented at a conference in Rome in 2015. The exploratory studies (Máté-Tóth 2016, Hidas 2016, Lázár Kovács 2016, Andok 2016b), and empirical researches (Bögre 2016, Rosta - Hegedűs 2016, Török, 2016) accurately described the situation of the 2010s in Hungary.

In the same year the Institute of Communication and Media Studies at Pázmány Péter Catholic University organised an international conference “Media – religion and public sphere”, whose keynote speaker was Hans Joas. The papers of this conference were presented at first in the Hungarian religious scientific journal *Vigilia* and in 2017 were published in a book *Vallás – media – nyilvánosság* (Religion – Media – Public Sphere) edited by Ákos Kovács.

In addition to religious sociology, the issue of religion and communication, religion and media was also raised in Hungarian communication research. Connected with Horányi

Özséb's Participations Theory of Communication several volumes were published that analyzed sacrificial communication and pilgrimage through the participatory model. (Korpics & P. Szilczl 2007, Korpics 2014). Participation Theory conceives communication as a constituent (or often as an instance) of recognizing or solving problems. Religious communication was examined by András Máté-Tóth in the perspective of discourse analysis, but a special monograph deals with the question of religion based on the ritual theory of communication (Máté-Tóth 2013, Andok 2017).

Lived religion

Research on the relationship between religion and media can be based on the theory of lived religion. (Helland 2005) The focus of this trend is the religious experiences and practices that everyday people experience in their life. From the aspect of theology, lived religion is related to an anthropological turn suggested by the theory of Karl Rahner. It appeared in religion and media research at the same time, in the 1990s both in the United States (Ammerman 2006, McGuire 2008) and in France. Ammerman reports on the start of the American trend like: „In the US, the term lived religion is widely credited to David Hall, an American religious historian who convened a conference in the 1990s at Harvard Divinity School that resulted in an edited book called *Lived Religion in America* (Hall 1997). The conference and the book called scholars to turn their attention to the everyday thinking and doing of lay men and women” (Ammerman, 2016:4). The focus of research changed and the media, mediatised religious experiences and religious practices became included in this changed focus: „...attention to laity, not clergy or elites; to practices rather than beliefs; to practices outside religious institutions rather than inside; and to individual agency and autonomy rather than collectivities or traditions.” (Ammerman 2016:1). Some researchers consider lived religion as a process:” in which people draw from religious sources to make sense of their world and experience the sacred in everyday practices” (Aquilar – Campbell – Stanley – Taylor 2017: 1500). In connection with the media and everyday religious practices, more scholars search for the creation of religious memes and their types in social media (Aquilar – Campbell – Stanley – Taylor 2017, Brubaker – Boyle – Stephan 2017). In lived religion researches, the process of individualization within religion is strongly emphasized and also the intense personalization of religious practices and religious beliefs in the Western world. There are several references to this in the literature: cafeteria religion, religious buffet, pick and mix religion. They all have the attitude, more precisely the customer attitude in common (Hoover 2012:30). In French religious sociology, Hervieu-Léger is linked to the trend of lived religion, who, because of the high degree of personalization of religious practices, mentions so-called do-it-yourself religions and religious practices. (Hervieu-Léger 2012) “Danièle Hervieu-Léger, who states that the contemporary ‘do-it-yourself approach to religious belief and practice’ does not mean a decline of conventional religious traditions, because they have ‘lost all their cultural relevance in European society. Those traditions simply began to increasingly serve as symbolic repositories of meaning, available for individuals to subjectively use and reuse in different ways” (Hervieu-Léger 2006 cited Motak 132). From Hungarian media researchers, Dóra P. Szilczl relies on Hervieu-Léger's theory and research (P. Szilczl 2017a, 2017b).

Within the frames of lived religion Coman and Coman carried out a new and highly innovative research concerning religious media experience and religious practices investigated in community media. (Coman – Coman 2017) The notion of framing, its phenomenon, as I have mentioned in the article, has long been a question of media research. The Comans, however, following Nabi's suggestion, do not examine the intellectual, but the

emotional framing of media content processing: „...emotions with particular ideas or events eventually shape the way in which one interprets and responds to those events that in turn affect one’s worldview” (Nabi 2003:227). Their research reveals that emotions can serve as frames for issues, as for example they make certain information more accessible and guide subsequent decision-making. Janicke and Ramasubramanian also study the connection of emotions and spirituality to different media content, primarily to popular films such as *Avatar* (2009), *Life of Pi* (2013) (Janicke – Ramasubramanian 2017).

The theory of the Religious-Social Shaping of Technology (RSST)

The theory of Religious-Social Shaping of Technology (RSST) provides the third useful analytical frame for the research. Within the Social Shaping of Technology Theory (SST) the technology is seen as a social process and the possibility is recognized that social groups may shape technologies towards their own ends, rather than the character of the technology determining use and outcomes. (MacKenzie, & Wajcman 1999, Barzilai-Nahone, & Barzilai 2004) The Religious-Social Shaping of Technology (RSST) approach to technology as Heidi Campbell argues, involves asking questions about how technologies are conceived of, as well as used, in light of the religious community’s beliefs, moral codes, and historical tradition of engagement with other forms of media technology. (Campbell 2010) The RSST emphasizes that religious communities do not outright reject new forms of technology, but rather undergo a negotiation process to determine what the technology may affect in their community. Identifying the process by which religious groups evaluate a technology’s potential benefits or hindrances is important because it helps uncover the group’s patterns of moral life and their visibility in the public sphere.

RSST, in my opinion, can also be conceptualized as developing the theory of interpretive communities to the Internet, to the community media surface. While in the classical mass media, the interpretative community - mainly due to the limited interaction – primarily focused on the media content, and built the meaning from it. In network communication the focus is not on the media content but on the usage so this way not only the creation of the meaning, but the pattern of the use also depends on the community. In addition, this community differs from the isolated audiences of television that it can not only create interactive relationships with the media, but at the same time with other users as well. This phenomenon was described by boyd as the concept of networked publics (boyd 2011). The religious-social shaping of technology offers a new research method, suggesting four distinctive areas that should be explored and questioned in order to deeply understand a religious community’s relationship towards traditional and new forms of media. These four stages of the religious-social shaping of technology approach are (1) investigating the history and tradition – setting the stage for contemporary negotiation with media, (2) social values – identifying the dominant social values of a religious community and their contemporary meanings and relevance, (3) negotiation process – during this process religious communities decide which aspects of a new technology they will accept, reject, or need to reconstruct in order for the technology to be compatible with the community’s beliefs and way of life and finally (4) communal discourse of religious communities. During the evaluation of interviews, we are using a combination of reception and ritual theories of communication and media (Carey 2009). We are interested in the process of meaning-making viewed through an interpretive cultural studies framework. We seek the intersections between individual and social creation of meaning through media usage.

The Internet is not a completely separate space; it is a part of everyday social life; it is also a central part of religious existence. Scholars have sought to investigate religious groups and their activities on the Internet, to see what aspects of traditional religious practice can be transmitted online and to what extent religion is transformed as it is adapted to new digital technologies (Campbell 2005). Now religious practice, discourse, and engagement have become embedded both in online and offline contexts in society. Campbell (2012) summarized comparative work on how Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant communities use the Internet and its impact upon religious authority and self-interpretation. By adapting the RSST theory and research methodology, a Hungarian survey was carried out that was the result of an analysis of the 777 blog, - Faith is not a private matter – digital content hub (blog, FB site, Instagram, YouTube channel) (Andok & Vigh 2018).

Conclusion

The purpose of the article was to present in a comprehensive way the change that has taken place in the research of the relationship between religion and the media over the last decades. Embedding the question in media history context, the paper presented the major theoretical directions and researches in the television period: the interpretive turn and the uses of gratifications research. Then five of the different typologies were described and evaluated. Finally, three major contemporary theoretical frames were dealt with which are decisive in today's research: public theology, lived religion and Religious Social Shaping of Technology. The article covered the methodological questions and explored in detail the Hungarian researches related to international directions.

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The Mediated Data Model of Communication Flow: Big Data and Data Journalism

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Abstract: In recent decades, journalism has undergone considerable transformation, initially fuelled by the digitalization of journalistic work flows and subsequently by the introduction of the Internet, its services, and its effects. Since contemporary journalists employ multiple digital tools and services to gather, administrate, and process information for public consumption, new types/genres of journalism have emerged. Among these, data journalism is one of the most prominent, introduced due to the availability of data in digital form and also to the abundance of efficient online tools that help users analyze, visualize, and publish large amounts of data. Indeed, it is not only the journalistic profession that has changed, but the communication process itself, which has been fundamentally altered to meet the public's current needs and demands.

This paper introduces and examines the *mediated data model of communication flow* to describe these new norms in the mass communication process. Using big data as a case study and moving on to data journalism, we provide a theoretical overview of the model, employing the theory of the two-step flow of communication as a starting point, while attempting to shed light on the current communication process between journalists/media and their initial sources of information.

Keywords: Mass communication, Data Journalism, Open Data, Big Data, Mediated Communication

Introduction

Although communication science was officially recognised as a scientific field of study in the 1980s (Berger & Chaffee, 1987), the complex nature of the mass communication process was acknowledged as early as the late 1930s. The next few decades were crucial and academically productive in examining the role of mass communication and the relationship between the media and their public. Between 1940 and about 1960, Paul Lazarsfeld and his team at the Bureau of Applied Social Research conducted a series of panel studies on the role of mass communication in decision-making (Katz, 1987). The theory of the two-step flow of communication, initially introduced in 1948 by Lazarsfeld, Berelson & Gaudet, showed that the flow of mass communication was less direct than was commonly supposed, with the final

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message significantly affected by opinion leaders acting as intermediaries between the initial source and the information reaching the public.

Since then, communication studies have seen substantial developments and these initial studies have been re-evaluated several times, in the light of prevailing social, political and economic changes. The emergence of media technology and its rapid evolution to today's digital channels of communication and social media platforms have accelerated the pace of news delivery, instantly publishing at the tap of an app a story, comment, photo, video (Cushion & Sambrook, 2016) and/or live broadcasting stories. In the last 25 years, the convergence of information and communication technologies have created many new opportunities in gathering and consuming, but also in creating and disseminating news (Spyridou, Matsiola, Veglis, Kalliris & Dimoulas, 2013). These can be mainly attributed to the introduction of the internet and its services (Veglis & Pomportsis, 2014).

This article seeks to re-evaluate the process of mass communication in the age of big data. Its main aim is to introduce the *mediated data model of communication flow*, which attempts to describe these new norms. Using as a case study the example of big data and then moving on to data journalism, this article provides a theoretical overview of the mediated data model of communication flow, employing as a starting point the theory of the two-step flow of communication, while attempting to shed light on the current communication process between journalists/media and their initial sources of information. One of the most prominent elements to emerge within the framework of the mediated data model of communication flow is the important gatekeeper role of intermediaries (communication professionals employed by organisations, groups and individuals aiming to communicate data to the public), which seem to have 'replaced' the opinion leaders in affecting the quantity and quality of information that finally reaches the public.

The rest of the article is organised as follows. Section II provides the theoretical background and is divided into three sub-sections. The first subsection discusses the historical evolution of the theory of the two-step flow of communication. The second outlines current theoretical perspectives, while the third highlights the evolution of data journalism in the era of big data. Section III proposes and analyses the mediated data model of communication flow, with examples of the proposed model's application in real communication scenarios presented in the following section. Concluding remarks and future extensions of this study can be found in the last section.

Theoretical Background

Historical evolution of the theory of the two-step flow of communication

The theory of the two-step flow of communication was initially introduced in 1948 by Lazarsfeld, Berelson & Gaudet as a hypothesis to describe the process of decision-making during the course of an electoral campaign (Lazarsfeld, Berelson & Gaudet, 1948). However, Katz and Lazarsfeld's 1955 classic study *Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communication* indicated the significance of the two-step flow of communication. Overall, these initial studies showed that the flow of mass communication was less direct than – even at that time – was commonly supposed, since influences stemming from the media first reach opinion leaders, who, in turn, pass on the information received to their target groups.

Katz went a step further in this analysis, emphasising three distinct strands of the study: the impact of personal influence, the flow of personal influence, and the relationship between opinion leaders and mass media (Katz, 1957). This was also the first academic study to

highlight the importance of word of mouth in the process of political communication and, later on, in the theory of agenda setting, as analysed by McCombs & Shaw (1972) and several other significant scholars more recently (e.g., Rogers & Dearing, 1988; Rogers, Dearing & Bregman, 1993; Scheufele, 2000).

A distinctive element of this research into the two-step flow of communication is the important role of opinion leaders. However, during the 1960s and 1970s, a number of studies pointed out weaknesses in the model. Initially, Deutschmann & Danielson's (1960) work raised several questions, based on their assertion that media information goes directly to the public and is not relayed to any great extent. Based on this study, Troidahl (1966) was stimulated to develop a revised model of communication that raised significant questions regarding the role of opinion leaders.

In 1982, Weinmann summarised the basic controversies and revisions as follows: Westley (1971) referred to the lack of evidence of direct flow; Rogers (1962) emphasised the different stages in the diffusion process and the different sources that could be activated in each of these stages; Lin (1971) highlighted the fact that the model ignored the possibility of a continuum instead of a dichotomy among opinion leaders and non-leaders; Troidahl & Van Dam (1965) analysed how the model ignored the process of opinion sharing rather than opinion giving; finally, Gitlin (1978) pointed out that the validity of applying the same method when measuring consumer decisions and political influence can be questionable. Noting all these weaknesses of the model and applying a cross-level network analysis, Weinmann (1982) managed to modify the two-step model of communication flow, focussing mainly on marginally positioned individuals and emphasising their bridging functional role within the communication flow between different groups of people.

Around the same period as Weinmann's study, another research study focused on the role of individual gatekeepers within the communication process between organisations/groups and their external environment. In this research, Tushman & Katz (1980) showed that these gatekeepers performed a linking role only for locally oriented tasks, while for universally oriented tasks, direct group members' communication played the more central role. This study embraces Tushman's and Katz's (1980) analysis of 'gatekeepers', adapting their role to the context of current mass communication procedures in the digital age.

Current theoretical perspectives

The transforming role of media technology and its active evolution has been the argument and starting point for recent research to re-evaluate the two-step flow of communication. Bennet & Manheim (2006) indicated that, due to technological changes and audience social modification, a newly formed social transformation process can lead from a two-step flow of messages to a one-step flow, involving the refined targeting of information directly to individuals. However, it is not only the decisive role of new technologies and digital practices that essentially affect the mass communication process. Significant changes in political and social contexts can also affect the overall communication process from the initial source of data transmission to the public, as can the dramatic economic transformations of recent years (Bennet & Iyengar, 2008). Regarding the radical changes in the field of media technology, contemporary audiences have direct access to a considerable number of digital sources, ranging from mainstream media to individual blogs and digital social platforms that can directly offer a wide range of information. While these practices in the early 2000s particularly targeted younger demographics to seek co-production of information so they could become part of the mediated communication experience (Graber, 2001), today information seekers of all age groups are extremely

enthusiastic about embracing new networking tools and seem to rely on social/digital network platforms to manage their daily communications (Maniou & Veglis, 2016).

Public engagement in politics has been decisively altered by these technological changes. On the one hand, younger audiences tend to engage in politics when it is perceived in their own terms (Maniou & Eteokleous-Grigoriou, 2014), meaning that politics seems less attractive when it revolves around the old party system and more attractive when it is perceived either as identity politics or community activism (Farthing, 2010). A substantial number of young people engage in political life through ‘participatory politics’, which are interactive, peer-based and not guided by traditional media or political norms such as political parties (Kahn & Middaugh, 2012). On the other hand, the overall audience, from any age and/or other demographic segment, no longer depends on the distribution of information through specific ‘traditional’ sources (e.g., networks, large media conglomerates, etc.) but can have access to hundreds of thousands of formal and/or informal news platforms, depending not only on availability but also on demand (Bennet & Iyengar, 2008). The demand usually seems to be closely connected to the appealing and effortless characteristics of digital information consumption.

This newly formed ‘smart audience’, a globalised, active group of individuals who have incorporated the use of smart technology into their everyday life (Maniou, 2013), seems to have developed new patterns of communication, while at the same time new issues arise regarding the flow of communication and the agenda-setting process within this hybrid media environment. The role of gatekeepers is deemed essential to meet current demands in mass communication and adapts the norms of hybrid salience (Maniou & Bantimaroudis, 2018). The notion of certain individuals acting as agenda-setters is not a new assertion (Weinmann & Brosius, 1994). The literature presents a wide array of evidence in relation to different types of individuals, organisations and institutions that systematically seek prominence in mediated settings. This list, apart from politicians, includes authors, cinema studios, museums, corporations and wineries, to name just a few (Guo & McCombs, 2015; Maniou & Bantimaroudis, 2018), associating in this way the notions of agenda setting and communicating selected messages to ‘*infotainment*’. According to several scholars, this practice may result in encouraging citizens to contemplate politics, formulate their own ideas and speak up in political discussions, actually furthering the practice of democracy (Peters, 2015: 604-605; Crețu, 2013: 126), and facilitating the flow of information.

Big data and data journalism

The journalism profession has been considerably transformed in the last 30 years. This transformation has been fuelled initially by the digitalisation of the journalistic work flow, and later by the introduction of the internet and its services (Veglis & Pomportsis, 2014). In the early days of Web 2.0, users could locate media content through the internet, but this was the same information, in terms both of quantity and quality, as in the traditional media; while new content was – and in several cases still is – available only via paid subscription platforms (van der Wurff, 2008). Today, news seem to have converged at spectacular speed: from smartphones to radios, television sets to tablets, newspapers to computers, the audience increasingly moves between an ever-extending menu of media platforms (Cushion & Sambrook, 2016); nevertheless, the issue of administrating, disseminating and rapidly re-producing information remains the key factor of success for media conglomerates around the world.

Today’s journalists employ many digital tools/services to gather information on breaking news and current events (Veglis & Bratsas, 2017a). Many new types of journalism

have emerged, including data journalism (Veglis & Bratsas, 2017b; Gray, Chambers & Bounegru, 2012). This new form of journalism is based on large data sets (Gray, Chambers & Bounegru, 2012; Uskali & Kuutti, 2015). The introduction of data journalism was helped by the availability of data in digital form, but also by the abundance of efficient online tools to analyse, visualise and publish large amounts of data (Aitamurto, Sirkkunen & Lehtonen, 2011). It reflects the increased role of numerical data in the production and distribution of information in the digital era.

Veglis and Bratsas (2017a) defined data journalism as the process of extracting useful information from data, writing articles based on the information and embedding visualisations (interactive in some cases) in the articles that help users understand the significance of the story or allow them to pinpoint data that relate to them. A significant feature of a data journalism article is the visualisation that attempts to communicate complex information that otherwise would be difficult to convey to the readers.

It is quite obvious that one of the most important parameters in successful data journalism articles is the acquisition of data (Kayser-Bril, Valeeva & Radchenko, 2016). The data sets can be limited in size and thus able to be managed by regular PCs; or they can be big data, which cannot be stored in a regular machine and require more advanced computer resources. The term big data was introduced in the last decade of the 20th century, defined as data sets of a size which cannot be captured, curated, managed and processed by commonly used software running on standard personal computers (Snijders, Matzat & Reips, 2012).

A more detailed definition was introduced by Kitchin (2014): big data is huge in volume (terabytes or petabytes), high in velocity (being created in or near real-time), diverse in variety (structured and unstructured in nature), exhaustive in scope (striving to capture entire populations or systems), fine-grained in resolution and uniquely indexical in identification, relational in nature (containing common fields that enable the conjoining of different data sets), flexible (can be extended and expanded). Journalists need to learn to work with big data and use them as a tool, an approach to information gathering and reporting. They need to acquire extra skills and utilise special software tools that will allow them to manage, understand and visualise the complex information hidden in the big datasets.

Considerable amounts of data are freely available on the internet in the form of open data. Open data can be defined as data which may be used freely, re-used and redistributed by anyone - subject only, at most, to the requirement to attribution and share alike (Dietrich, Gray, McNamara, Poikola, Pollock, Tait & Zijlstra, 2009). Open Data Initiatives (Attard, Orlandi, Scerri & Auer, 2015; Ramos, 2013) have played a significant role in the availability of open data. Combined with Freedom of Information legislation, this gives today's journalists unprecedented access to data. The open data movement attempts to establish transparency through the online accessibility of government data. These data may concern spending, budget, environmental pollution, etc. Therefore, data from public bodies and corporations are becoming increasingly available. The problem is that in many cases the enormous size of open data requires new methods to extract meaning from the original data, since they require extensive computational power in order to be exploited.

These developments indicate the important role of journalists in the era of big data. Ordinary people have very limited (if any) ability to access and understand the meaning of these big amounts of data. Of course, there are rare exceptions, where data literature users (in many cases considered to be hackers) are able to understand and work with big data. On the other hand, the enormous volume of big data makes it very difficult even for professional data scientists to understand them. In many cases, journalists do not have the time or ability to convey the stories hidden in the data and thus they reproduce press releases distributed along with the data sets.

Today, data journalism does not appear to have gained momentum since it emerged at the beginning of the 21st century (Veglis & Bratsas, 2017a; 2017b). It is common practice for data journalism stories to be categorised as less interesting stories, published on inside pages, or as infographics, which relatively few people look at (Stoneman, 2015), and even fewer read through. Data journalism does not appear to be any closer to becoming mainstream journalism.

The Mediated Data Model of Communication Flow

The overall communication process (e.g., of political communication) could be described as follows: from the initial source, the ‘transmitter’, where the information is produced or actually exists, the message flows through ‘intermediaries’ to the media and finally heads towards the public (target audience), the ‘receiver’. We claim here that the role of ‘intermediaries’ in current societies is not performed by opinion leaders, as described in the initial two-flow communication theory, but has been overtaken by gatekeepers: the professional communication specialists employed by organisations/institutions/individuals to manage their public profile. Initially, their role was recognised in American politics as that of professionals recruited to shape, polish and favourably mediate information regarding political candidates and/or institutions (Wilson 1996:204). Gradually, their role was extended beyond the political arena and into other societal sectors in every Western democracy, delegated to protect their over-exposed clients from damage or to limit it by enticing journalists into story angles advantageous to the individuals/institutions they are working for. As a result, ‘mediated publicity’ has become a 24/7 presence (Gurevitch, Coleman & Blumler, 2009) for organisations/institutions/individuals (politicians, governments, etc.) and their primary concern remains the favourable presentation through traditional as well as new media conglomerates in the current hybrid media environment.

Today, the introduction of information and communication technologies (ICTs) in the field of journalism has considerably transformed the way that a message can be transmitted from the initial transmitter to the receiver. As previously mentioned, there is a wealth of digital data and sources available online. In many cases, those datasets are quite complex (sometimes they can even be characterised as big data) and not easily understood, since they often require filtering, analysis and/or categorisation. Although internet users have access to the datasets, receiving the actual messages/stories they contain is not an easy task, although information seekers (Maniou & Veglis, 2016) can discover such stories on their own (see path 1 in Figure 1). The traditional flow of information is channelled to the audience through media organisations. This path is described by the data journalism workflow (Veglis & Bratsas, 2017a). Specifically, data journalists extract useful information from the datasets, write articles based on the information and utilise static or interactive visualisations (see path 2 in Figure 1). The main target of data journalism projects is to help the audience understand the significance of the story and/or offer them the ability to explore the data and find information that interests them (Veglis & Bratsas, 2017b).



Figure 1: The Mediated Data Model of Communication Flow

The problem is that very often the enormous size of the available data and the intensive competition to be first to publish the story obliges journalists not to explore the data on their own, but to rely on communication specialists (gatekeepers) or press releases that pinpoint areas of interest in the datasets (see path 3 in Figure 1). Similar practices are also used with complex documents, which contain a significant amount of detailed information that is difficult for journalists to comprehend and administer in a limited time frame.

The proposed mediated data model of communication flow aims to describe the first stage of the overall communication process: the flow of information from the initial source through the gatekeepers towards the media. Based on the model, in this first stage the communication process cannot be considered to constitute mass communication, but is better described as a dual communication model, based on a one-dimensional character. The transmitter (the initial source) is the source where the information is produced or resides. This information is aiming to reach the media and, as such, the media (journalists) are considered the ‘receiver’, the target audience. Gatekeepers (communication specialists) constitute the channel (intermediary) through whom the information is filtered in ways that can reach the media (journalists) as favourably as possible for the transmitter. In this model, the group of journalists (media) are encountered by the communication specialists (intermediaries) as a unified audience group, a receiver. The one-dimensional character of this procedure refers to the transmitter’s aim to administrate, communicate and emphasise those aspects of the information that are sympathetic to the transmitter itself.

Figure 1 depicts this flow of information. The focus of the mediated data model of communication is on the information flow from the source towards the media organisations. The size of the arrows indicates the likelihood that each path will be employed to transmit the message or story. It is obvious that the majority of the information flows through path 3. Path 2 is utilised in some cases and often after a time period that a related story has already been transmitted through path 3. Path 1 is employed rarely and mostly by media stakeholders that are not considered traditional media (e.g., bloggers, alternative media, citizen journalists) and have a lesser (or a different) impact on society.

Applications and Current Examples of the Model

In order to better understand the proposed model, some examples will be briefly presented and discussed in this section. All the examples are based on the journalism profession's paramount principle of objectivity, which refers not to the absence of personal bias but rather to the basic journalistic method, a fact-based process of newsgathering (Singer, 2005).

As a first case study, let us consider parliamentary approval of a national budget. When the parliament of a democratic country discusses the national budget, journalists covering the event are given analytical reports, which in most cases constitute a book of hundreds of pages of data describing resources and expenditures as well as proposed investments for each government sector individually (education, health, public organisations, transportation systems, etc.). Complete comprehension of such a large data set would require considerable effort and time, time not usually available to the journalists who need to report the most important (at least) of these data as soon as possible. Thus, the journalists tend to base their articles on the reports which are prepared by the government officials. The way in which these reports are presented to the journalists plays a crucial role in influencing which data the journalists will choose and present to the general public. It is common practice for government officials to present favourable data for each sector prior to the data that may reveal a problematic gap in expenditures or national investments.

Another example involves crime statistics. As shown in the previous case, such data are very complex, while their understanding, critical analysis and reporting is not an easy journalistic process. Usually, such data are accompanied by executive summaries and reports that focus on specific findings on certain aspects of crime. The expected course of reporting involves articles and news stories based primarily on the information in this accompanying material (tables, figures, statistical data, etc.). Besides the element of lack of adequate time, in several cases the lack of adequate technocratic knowledge may lead to misinterpretation. In the case of the national budget, that could be a lack of macro-economic and/or micro-economic knowledge, while in the case of criminal data, it could be related to a lack of knowledge of legal and/or judicial historical artefacts.

A further example would be corporate communication strategies. According to Cornelissen (2004), communication strategies help companies to propagate information in a structured and controlled manner. The ideal communication strategy details the structure of information flow, the message and potential 'vehicles' to carry the message to existing and/or potential clients (Duncan, 2016). In addition, Morsing & Schultz (2006) refer to specific communication actions in terms of articulating an abstract vision that is then disseminated to the target audience (stakeholders and/or potential customers). In this case, the role of intermediaries is performed by communication professionals delegated to provide the media with information presenting a favourable image of the company, such as the dissemination of corporate social responsibility activities (Maignan, Ferrell & Hult, 1999). Corporate data in democratic societies are available to the public. However, due to the volume of data released by the company itself, following company ethics and relevant corporate law, crucial information may lie hidden among these data, which needs filtering and corporate analysis in order to be correctly understood by the affected public.

In the model, the role of gatekeepers ('intermediaries' between the initial source and the media/journalists) is crucial in the process of delivering messages whose purpose is to influence policies (Henisz & Delios, 2004) and/or favourably present certain information to the public. As such, big data can offer a platform for 'managing' information targeting the public through journalists/media, although this procedure may result in implications for the agenda setting process as well as issues of media accountability.

Conclusions

This article introduces and examines the mediated data model of communication flow and provides a theoretical overview of the new norms that have arisen in recent years in mass communication within the hybrid media environment. The study employs, as a starting point, the theory of the two-step flow of communication and adapts this theory to fit the current communication landscape, which involves journalists/media and their initial sources of information. Several current examples regarding the application of the mediated data model of communication flow are provided.

Overall, the present study attempts to adapt a re-evaluation of the two-step flow of communication theory in today's media landscape, which is characterised by an abundance of datasets and intense competition to be first to publish a given news story. The model advances the theoretical framework of communication theory and data journalism, aiming to shed light on the current mass communication process in a complex media environment overwhelmed by big data. The administration of big data, their filtering and dissemination to the public is a challenge every journalist has to face to cope with the public's demand for real news, as opposed to incidents of misinformation.

Undoubtedly, we are living in an era where novel information and communication technologies continuously reshape the media landscape. Communication theory also needs to adapt to the new communication environment in which the tools, stakeholders and media consumers are in a state of flux. To this end, keeping up with all the rapid developments is not an easy endeavour. The proposed mediated data model of communication flow attempts to describe the theory behind the communication and administration of the stories which are hidden in complex data. Future extensions of this study could include the application of the model to real time case studies, in order to access the validity of the model, as well as its ability to include all the parameters which may exist in such scenarios.

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Abolishing Scarlet Letters: A Frame Analysis of Adultery News Coverage in Korea, 1990-2015

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Abstract: Marital infidelity is considered to be abnormal around the world and often becomes an object of social stigma. In South Korea, the criminal penal code prohibited sexual activity outside of marriage to preserve social stability. However, in February 2015, the Constitutional Court abolished the adultery law. This study uses a frame analysis to examine how the Korean news media reported on adultery between 1990 and 2015. Research found that adultery news stories increased with celebrity involvement in extra-marital affairs, as well as during the constitutional deliberations to remove the adultery law in the Korean Penal code. The current study also found that morality and human-interests frames were frequently employed in the articles.

Keywords: news frames, adultery, de-criminalization, South Korea

“From this intense consciousness of being the object of severe and universal observation, the wearer of the scarlet letter was at length relieved, by discerning, on the outskirts of the crowd, a figure which irresistibly took possession of her thoughts” (Hawthorne, 1850).

Introduction

Adultery has long been an object of social stigma throughout the world. Beyond social stigmatization and moral criticism, it is treated as an object of criminal punishment in some countries. In South Korea, for instance, the criminal penal code prohibits sexual activity outside of marriage to preserve social stability. However, in February 2015, the Constitutional Court abolished the adultery law. Korean society has a long history of sexual double-standards in both their criminal and civil codes, as have many Asian countries. Extramarital sex on the part of a male was excusable unless the sexual relations involved another man’s wife. However, female extramarital affairs were subject to legal punishments (Black & Jung, 2014; Cho, 2002; Fuess, 2014).

Supporters for the abolishment of the criminalization of adultery argue that adultery laws promote blackmail and extortion (Feinberg, 2012). They further argue that the laws are outdated, sexist, ineffective, and an unconstitutional regulation of private consensual behavior (Jones, 1998; McKinney, 2005). In spite of the social outrage against criminal punishment for extra-marital sex, Korean courts continued to support the criminal code in the name of social

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stability and protection of vulnerable females. The Korean Constitutional Court has considered the constitutional legality of adultery law five times in the last three decades, but the Court repeatedly dismissed all prior petitions on the grounds that abolishing the adultery penalty challenged the social order and the family system (Black & Jung, 2014; Cho, 2002).

Not only did the courts maintain the existing social status quo, but the news media played the role of “agents of social control” (Althusser, 1971; Altschull, 1984). As a social institution, the media contributed to both sharing stability and shaping morality, which are the core values of any dominant culture. Through a process of recurring selection, emphases, and omission, media frames are transferred to the public (Entman, 1993; Gamson, 1992). Therefore, it is important to examine news frames because they reflect how the media and its journalists think about issues.

By employing frame analysis techniques, the current study examines how Korean news media reported the issues of adultery from 1990-2015 when the Korean Constitutional Court engaged in discussions on the decriminalization of adultery regulations in the Criminal Act (Cho, 2002; Lee, 2016). Specifically, the Court deliberated the issue in 1990, 1993, 2001, 2008, and 2015; they dismissed efforts to repeal in all but 2015. Conducting a frame analysis of adultery is an ideal method to examine how Korean society and the Korean media treated the issue. This study analyzes the news coverage of adultery from six major Korean newspapers in terms of their ideological stances: two conservative newspapers, two liberal papers, and two religious-affiliated papers.

Stoning Adulterer in a Korean Context

Although sexual desire is a basic human instinct, many societies enforce adultery laws that protect sexual morality and maintain the family system. Issues related to sexual morality, such as adultery and prostitution, are examined in terms of social and cultural norms within a society. Adultery has been a criminal act in many countries where religious traditions are influential in society. Specifically, many Asia-Pacific countries have criminal sanctions on adultery, including Burma, Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Korea, Laos, Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, and Taiwan (Black & Jung, 2014).

Adultery is legally defined as “consensual heterosexual intercourse between a married person and non-spouse others” (Frank, *et al.*, 2010; 875). However, recent legislation on same-sex marriage in Western countries demands that same treatment for same-sex marriage and opposite-sex marriage, which extends the definition of adultery beyond hetero-sexuality (Hosie, 2017; Volokh, 2015). Considering that adultery laws punish all extramarital sexual relationships, the term ‘adultery’ seems to be a gender-neutral concept. Although the penal code encompasses the crime being committed to either sex, this practice unequally treats male and female adulterers in many societies. Specifically, females are punished for adultery more harshly than males (Fuess, 2014).

Punishing adultery in a Korean context may trace back to the Chosun Dynasty (1392-1897) which punished both male and female adulterers. Husbands were allowed to kill the adulterous wife and her partner if the husband caught them engaged in adulterous acts (Black & Jung, 2014; Cho, 2002). Paradoxically, the fact that society acknowledged concubines shows that they imposed the majority of sanctions on married females and unmarried males. Thus, the transgressions of married women were subject to scrutiny, while married men became subject to chastisement only when having relations with the wife of another man (Fuess, 2014).

The Japanese Empire ruled the Korean peninsula from 1910 to 1945. According to the Japanese Penal Code, married female adulterers and their partners could be punished based on the husband’s accusations (Cho, 2002). After their emancipation from Japan and experiences

of the Korean War, the adultery law in the Korean Penal code (KPC) was reinstated in 1953. In spite of arguments to de-criminalize adultery, the Korean National Assembly maintained adultery as a criminal act citing the protection of women and morals in society as the cause. Specifically, emphasizing the criminalization of adultery stabilized the sexual morals in Korean society and protected marriage and family institutions (Cho, 2002). To some extent, the criminalization of adultery also reflected on Korea's wish to expel Japanese lewd sexual mores established under Japanese colonial era (Delman, 2015).

Similarly, Korean feminist groups favored the punishment of extramarital affairs in Article 241 of the KPC in the name of minority protection. Since women were considered a social and economic minority, abolishing criminal adultery was a symbolic and psychological shield to protect helpless women (Cho, 2002). To some extent, the adultery law was effective. In a male-dominated society like Korea, divorced women were disgraced, while their male counterparts were not. In this vein, a fear of imprisonment prevented many husbands from philandering (Hailji, 2015).

Ironically, together Confucianism and women's rights advocates in Korea opposed abolishing adultery laws (Black & Jung, 2014). The constitutionality of Article 241 of the KPC has been challenged five times in the past 30 years for its alleged violations of the rights of sexual freedom and to pursue happiness. However, the Constitutional Court repeatedly declared that the crime of adultery fitted the spirits of the Korean Constitution in 1990, 1993, 2001, and 2008 and dismissed efforts to have it repealed. Upon the fifth deliberation on the issue, the adultery code as the traditional conservative norm was removed in 2015. The Court's decision in 2015 reflects a shift in social trends. In a 1991 survey, 73.2% of respondents favored keeping the adultery law in the name of preserving family, social order, and family safety (Cho, 2002). Another survey conducted in 2008 found that 69.5% of the 500 respondents disagreed with abolishing the adultery law (Lee, 2008). However, 63.4% of 2000 respondents objected to jailing adulterers, and 36.6% supported imprisonment for adultery in a 2014 survey (Park *et al.*, 2014). Moreover, the survey found that 36.9% male and 6.5% female respondents had extramarital sexual relations in their marriages. Korean societal mores have changed, and people are more tolerant of their spouse's adultery, and punitive sanctions are no longer in the majority.

In 2015, the Constitutional Court announced that the public conception of adultery was not in line with the penal code, and "Maintaining a marriage and family should depend on individuals' free will and love" (Kim & Lee, 2015). Even though the abolition of the adultery law exempts adulterers and adulteresses from criminal conviction, this does not mean they can avoid all legal responsibility. Namely, they are still subject to civil damage suits. To some extent, removing adultery from the criminal punishment might reflect a global trend to protect the individual rather than the collective (Frank *et al.*, 2010).

Adultery often draws attention from the media. The media's attention to extramarital affairs involving celebrities, political figures and in crimes has increased. Journalists tend to follow the newsworthiness of adultery according to social impact, timeliness, negativity, unexpectedness, human interest, celebrities, and so on (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Harcup & O'Neill, 2001). Constitutional deliberation of adultery is regarded as an event with social impact and timeliness. In this vein, the news media pays special attention to adultery when constitutional deliberations of adultery are underway.

Frames in News Media

In reporting, journalists employ certain frames that present events and issues in a particular way (Neuman, Just, & Crigler, 1992; Tuchman, 1978). At the same time, audiences'

interpretation of the events and issues depends on how the news is framed (Entman, 2004). Thus, the news media defines frames as “persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal and visual” (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7). Similarly, Gamson and Modigliani (1987) argued that the frame is “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them” (p. 143). In order to provide meaning in a simplistic way, highlighting and excluding some facets of events or issues is inevitable (Entman, 2004).

In encoding and decoding frames, cultural and social factors should be considered (Goffman, 1974; Ettema, 2005). Goffman (1974) believed that news messages consist of a set of beliefs shared by the members of a society. Thus, frames are “a central element of its culture” (p. 27), which renders something meaningless into something meaningful. Ettema (2005) also considered news framing as a process of crafting cultural resonance. He further determined that “News must be framed not only to make certain facts and interpretations salient but also to resonate with what writers and readers take to be real and important matters of life” (p. 131). Thus, the definition of media framing is a way for the media to present issues and help the audience, as a cultural entity, to understand, interpret, and evaluate the issue. Specifically, social and cultural contexts are associated with framing when the issues relate to a public nuisance or a moral topic, such as prostitution or adultery (Van Brunschot, *et al.*, 1999; Slattery, 1994). By reporting the issue as a form of sensational news, news media conveys the morals of a community and plays a role in the maintenance of a community’s moral boundaries (Slattery, 1994).

Whose frame?

Framing begins with selecting sources and defining an issue (de Vreese, 2005). Since a journalist cannot observe every event firsthand, they must rely on others for information. Therefore, the description of facts and the interpretation of reality is dependent on the sources, and since the messages are inevitably consistent with the sources preferred frames (Hallahan, 1999), journalists often follow the frames of those sources. In this perspective, the source often becomes a frame provider (Gamson, 1992).

Furthermore, the sources often strategically attempt to maneuver the frames to attain their political and communication goals (Gamson, 1992; Pan & Kosicki, 1993). Specifically, if an event relates to a legal dispute, the corresponding parties make every effort to report their frames to the media. Although journalists function as the gatekeepers, they often play passive roles as transmitters (Campell, 2004). Thus, Tankard (2003) regarded the selection of sources and quotations as the key elements in the identification of frames. Similarly, Shal *et al.* (2002) argued that sources could be cues for the dominant frames. Thus, the relationship between the sources and the frames puts forward the following question:

RQ1: Who are main sources of the adultery reports and how were they different depending on news outlets and news frames?

Thematic and episodic presentation

An emphasis on the role of the sources does not mean that the role of the journalist and editor is passive. As a result, the role of the media is more active because they can choose the ways to present the news. As general news presentation devices, the thematic and episodic frames closely connect with the attribution of responsibility (Iyengar, 1990). Defining responsibility for a social problem is central to the news making process because it shapes public concern which shapes laws and policies. Iyengar (1990) determined that the function of the news media is to shape people's perceptions about who is responsible for specific social problems.

A dichotomized view of an individual problem versus a social problem describes a social problem. After analyzing the U.S. metropolitan news media, Kim and Willis (2007) found that personal causes and solutions significantly outnumbered the societal attributes of the responsibility to report public moral issues. Likewise, the media prefers to approach the reporting of prostitution as an individual persons' problem rather than a societal problem (Kovaleski, 2006). By criticizing problematic individuals, the media regards society as healthy in general with the exception of those involved in adultery. Thus, the following question can be put forward:

RQ2-1: Between thematic and episodic frames, which frame was more frequently employed in reporting adultery?

RQ2-2: who were the main sources in thematic and episodic frames?

The dominant frames regarding Adultery

Beyond news presentations, it is important to explore the general constructs of news story content. Several dominant news frames are discussed as representative examples of generic frames, which are applicable to any topic (de Vreese, 2005). By contrast, context or issue-specific frames indicate those which are pertinent to only specific contexts or issues. Neuman, Just and Crigler (1992) identified four dominant frames in U.S. news coverage: conflict, economic consequences, human impact, and morality. These four frames closely associate with traditional news values: conflict, deviance, consequence, and human-interest (Price, Tewksbury, & Powers, 1997; Shoemaker, Danielian, & Brendlinger, 1991). Likewise, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) confirmed that the prevalence of the four frames in European media dealt with European meetings composed of governmental heads of the EU countries. They further analyzed the "attribution of responsibility" to Neuman and friends' (1992) frame categories.

The frame analysis relies on a single type of frame that may not reveal the media biases used to report certain issues (de Vreese, 2010). Thus, the combinational analysis of two or more types of frames more effectively illustrates the media's portrayal of issues. Since the generic frames for both the thematic and episodic frames deal with news story presentation, they combine easily with other frames. For example, An and Gower (2009) found that among the five generic frames suggested by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), morality, human interest, and attribution of responsibility frames were used more with episodic frames rather than with thematic frames. Based on these studies, the researcher puts forward the following research questions:

RQ3-1: Among the five generic media frames, which ones are most frequently employed in reporting adultery?

RQ3-2: How does the frequency of main frames in reporting adultery correspond to the frequency of the thematic and episodic frames?

Valenced news frames

News frames are utilized when journalists have a certain slant or bias on an issue and induce others to see from their point of view (Entman, 2007). Thus, another important examination of news coverage relates to the media's attitude toward a certain issue. In this vein, de Vreese and Boomgaarden (2003) suggested using *valenced news frames* which analyze whether media frames are "indicative of 'good and bad' and (implicitly) carry positive and/or negative elements" (p. 363). They also illustrated how the European media portrayed consequences of EU summits as either advantageous or disadvantageous and the relationship between the valenced news frames and public support for EU enlargement.

Similarly, Shah and his colleagues (2002) discovered three frames used to document the Clinton's sex scandal with Lewinsky in 1998: 'Clinton behavior scandal (Clinton's efforts to avoid discussing his relationship with Lewinsky)', 'Conservative attack scandal (the actions of Republican elites)', and 'Liberal response scandal (the defense of Clinton and Democrats)'. These frames inherently valenced and took the sides of both Republicans and Democrats. In making judgments, the manner in which the information is framed is important, because people's evaluations tend to be more favorable when a key attribute of an object or people is framed positively rather than negatively (Levin & Gaeth, 1988).

Similarly, Uysal and Inac (2009) examined the Turkish media's news coverage of adultery disputes in 2004 from three stances: positive, negative, and neutral perspectives on banning adultery. In 2004, Turkey pushed to join the European Union by removing the adultery penal. Uyal and Inac (2009) found that the Islamic media had a more favorable attitude toward banning adultery than the mainstream media because of their religious convictions. Similarly, Schuck and de Vreese (2006) coded *valenced news frames* of EU enlargement with 'positive', 'negative', and 'neutral' or 'balanced' in order to examine the effect of *valenced news frames*.

As a result, this study discusses whether news reports criminalizing adultery in Korean slanted toward a certain perspective.

RQ4: How are valenced news frames regarding adultery presented between positive or negative stances?

Frame changes in a longitudinal scheme

One interesting question is: how have Koreans' public perceptions changed over the last 26 years? If media is a reflection of social and moral trends in a society, the media may report the issues in line with public trends. Downs (1972) determined that media and public attention to issues cycles through 3 stages: emerge, gain public interest, and fade away. Brimeyer, Muschert, and Lippman (2012) found that the volume and core frames of layoffs in the U.S. were different from 1980-2007. Similarly, Trumbo (1996) found that the media salience and framing of climate change fluctuated over time. As a result, public perception of global warming as a serious issue differs due to the volume and framing of news coverage. Specifically, media coverage more powerfully affects policy makers, rather than the public in general (Trumbo, 1996). Thus, it is important to understand how the valenced news frames of adultery in Korean news media evolved and changed over time. Based on the preceding information, the following question can be posed for this study:

RQ5: Have the valenced news frames concerning adultery changed over the 26 years from 1990-2015?

Methods of Research

Sample selection

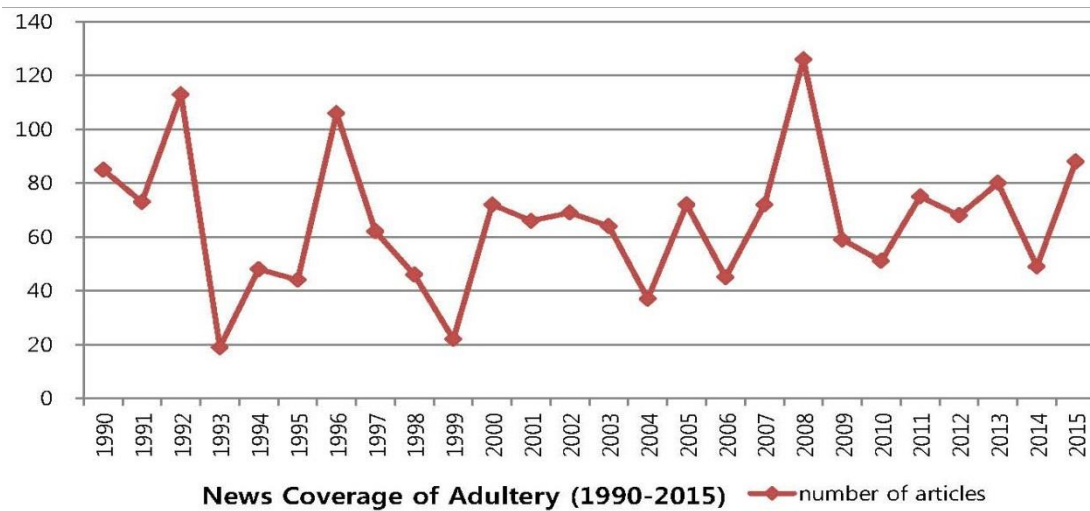
The current study began by selecting newspapers to identify news frames regarding adultery coverage. South Korea has ten nationwide newspapers and all ten newspapers have been published in Seoul metropolitan area (Korean Press Foundation, 2016). Among them, the researcher selected four newspapers for content analysis due to their ideological differences: *The Chosun Daily*, *The Joongang Daily*, *The Hankyoreh Daily*, and *The Kyunghyang Daily*. Based on the ideological spectrum, *The Chosun Daily* and *The Joongang Daily* are representative of conservative papers, while *The Hankyoreh Daily* and *The Kyunghyang Daily* are representative of left-leaning papers (Korea Press Foundation, 2016; Kwak, 2012). Additionally, two newspapers (*The Koomin Daily* and *The Segye Daily*), closely related to religious groups, were chosen because marital infidelity or committing adultery is inversely associated with religiosity (Burdette, et al., 2007). The Full Gospel Church, one of Korea's mega churches with 480,000 members, publishes *The Koomin Daily*. The Unification Church and the late Reverend Moon founded *The Segye Daily*. Moon's family currently owns the newspaper company.

Samples and unit of analysis

Using the newspapers' websites, the current study searched for adultery-related newspaper articles from these papers, limiting the news stories to those that appeared after January 1990 and before March 15, 2015. The search included articles using the terms: "adultery," "extramarital sex," "love affair," and "sexual infidelity." The period was set because of the Korean Constitution Court deliberated by the constitutionality of the adultery regulations from 1990 to 2015 (Cho, 2002; Lee, 2016). The search results yielded 1711 stories used for analysis. Since the unit of analysis is the individual news article, 1711 analysis units composed this study.

As Figure 1 indicates, news coverage of adultery fluctuated during the study period of 1990- 2015. Surges of more than 100 adultery articles in a year occurred three times within the period of 1990- 2015 (See, Figure 1). The first surge of media coverage began in 1992, the second in 1996, and the last was in 2008. Considering the constitutional deliberations of the adultery law in the Korean Penal code were processed in 1990, 1993, 2001, 2008 and 2015, the figure 1 shows that the legal disputes of adultery criminal law itself did not much explain the adultery-related article surges.

Figure 1: The Volume of Adultery News Coverage from 1990-2015



Coding categories

The current study coded articles for several different variables. For the first variable, *news format*, the coders determined whether the article was a news report or opinion piece. The coder considered the article as opinion piece if the article appeared in an op-ed section or editorial section. Coders also determined whether the stories were about a *criminal case*, *civil case*, *legislation disputes*, *social trends*, and *the others*.

Next, the coder determined the types of adultery, decided by the sex and marital status of the adulterer and his/her partner. Finally, the coders carefully examined the articles and determined whether adultery related to other crimes such as violence, homicide or murder, blackmail, sexual crime including prostitution, and the others. This study categorized the sources as: 1) adulterer herself or himself; 2) spouse or family members of adulterer; 3) partner of adulterer; 4) police officer; 5) prosecutor; 6) court or judges; 7) lawyer or legal experts; 8) non-governmental organization; 9) man on the street; 10) professors or researchers; 11) private detective agency; 12= etc.

The study employed several categories to help identify news frames in adultery articles. As proposed by Ivengar (1990), the articles were categorized into one of two types of presentations: episodic or thematic frames. The operational definition of episodic frame is a story presented with concrete instances or specific events. Journalists employ episodic frames to make a story more compelling and to draw the readers' attention by offering a specific examples or anecdotes. The following article in *The Chosun Daily* provides an example of an episodic frame.

Actress Kim Ye-bun has been arrested on charges of adultery, the Seoul Central District Prosecutors Office said Friday. Kim is charged with three counts of extramarital intercourse with a Korean-American businessman identified as Kim at his home between April and June 2004. Kim Ye-bun started her career when she was crowned Miss Korea in 1994 (Feb. 11, 2005).

On the other hand, the thematic frames explain the issues in a broader context. Thematic frames included articles with general or abstract context. An example of this is found in a story in *The Hankyoreh Daily*:

The Constitutional Court has declared the law allowing for the prosecution of adultery cases constitutional once again. The "adultery law" has existed since 1953, for what is now more

than half a century. Many observers think its days are numbered since five justices, a majority, found the law to be constitutional, but the 5 to 4 decision does indicate that there is still considerable opposition to abolishing it. In 1990 and 1993 the vote was 6 to 3, and in 2001 it was 8 to 1 in favor of finding the adultery law constitutional (Oct.31,2008).

Based on journalistic news values, reporters tend to employ the five dominant frames identified and analyzed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000): *conflict, human-interest, economic consequence, morality, and responsibility*. The following is the description of each of the five frames as they were used in the Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) study:

Conflict frame. News is framed as a conflict. The frame indicates the competition and conflicts among individuals, groups, or institutions, or nations (Neuman *et al.*, 1992).

Human-interest frame. News describes the individuals and groups affected by an issue. In order to capture the audience's interest, this frame personalizes, dramatizes, or emotionalizes the news.

Economic consequence frame. Reporting economic gain or loss inherently draws public attention. Thus, the media tends to the economic consequences of an individual, group, institution, or nation.

Morality frame. Through religious tenets or moral prescriptions, the media stigmatize an individual or group. This may even include the government.

Attribution of responsibility frame. This frame questions whether the responsibility of a cause or solution is attributed to the government or to an individual or group. In a context of the legal disputes about adultery, the attribution of responsibility frame is often associated with cause of divorce.

The current study also examined valenced news frames toward criminalizing adulterers: positive or negative. Positive valenced frame which is against crime of adultery can be discussed with 1) maintaining spousal fidelity and 2) a shield for protecting women. In contrast, abolishing criminal adultery can be favored in terms of 1) the general trend in the developed world, 2) worries over excessive state intervention into private matters, 3) criminal adultery often being associated with other crimes, and 4) skepticism on protecting the family system and protecting women with adultery law (Cho, 2002).

Inter-coder reliability

Two graduate students majoring in journalism participated in coding the 1711 stories. The coders first trained on detailed code protocol (*see* the Appendix). Next, they coded 20 articles and compared their coding sheets, checking for discrepancies. The coders repeated the procedure twice until the minimum coefficient of the inter-coder reliability reached over 0.80 before coding the real sample. They conducted content analysis of 120 stories (7%) among 1711 stories. The inter-coder reliability using *Cohen's Kappa* statistic yielded a coefficient of 0.88 (main sources), 0.89 (types of adultery), 0.95 (adultery-related crimes). In addition, the coefficients of frames were 0.84 (the dominant frames), 0.88 (thematic and episodic frames), 0.86 (valence frames on adultery), 0.86 (rationale for negative valence), and 0.85 (rationale for positive valence). The overall inter-coder reliability was 0.88, and lowest coefficient was found in the five generic frames (0.84) and the highest one was found in adultery-related crimes (0.95).

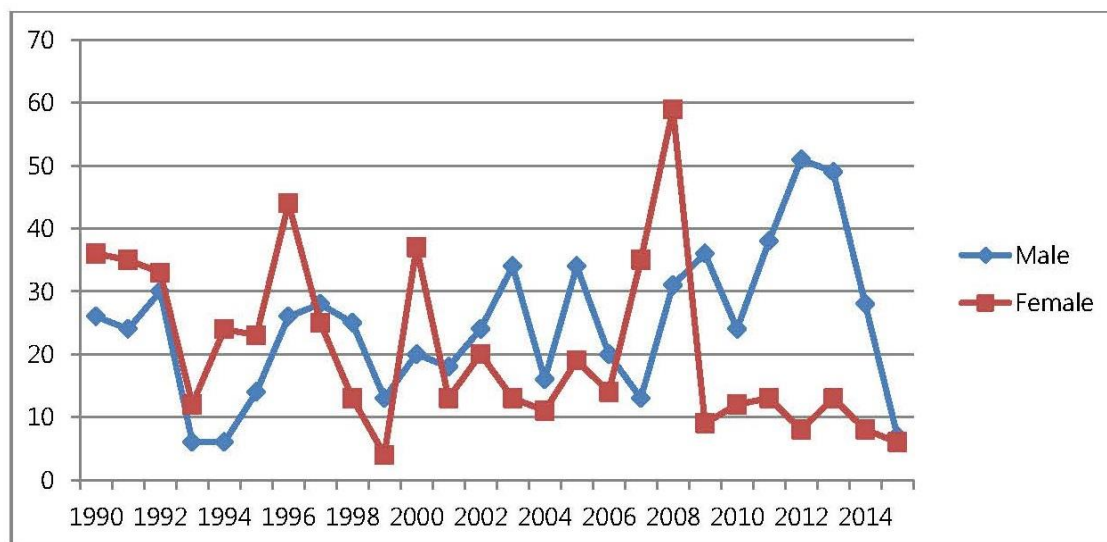
Findings

Characteristics of adultery news coverage

Among 1711 adultery-related stories, 1161 stories (67.9%) were news reports and 550 (32.1%) stories were opinion or editorials. The majority of the adultery's patterns concerned married-males and unmarried females, 379 stories (22.2%). The researchers assessed 260 articles concerning married females and unmarried males (15.2%). Then 160 cases involved both married males and married females (9.4%). Finally, 864 cases (50.5%) did not contain information describing the sex or nature of the relationships between the individuals involved. Moreover, 482 stories (28.2%) were related to other crimes such as homicide (10.5%), blackmail (8.9%), violence (2.7%), prostitution (0.6%), and others (5.5%).

The question of who committed adultery in news coverage may disclose how media consider the issue. Among the 1711 adultery-related articles, adultery committed by a married-male (641 articles, 37.5%) was more frequently reported than adultery committed by married-female (539 articles, 31.5%). Additionally, 531 articles (31.0%) did not identify the sex of the adulterer. Interestingly, the first half of the study period (1990-2002) had more frequent female-adulterer articles than male. On the contrary, second half period (2003-2015) contained more male-adulterer reports than female ($\chi^2 = 40.629, p < .001$, See, Figure 2).

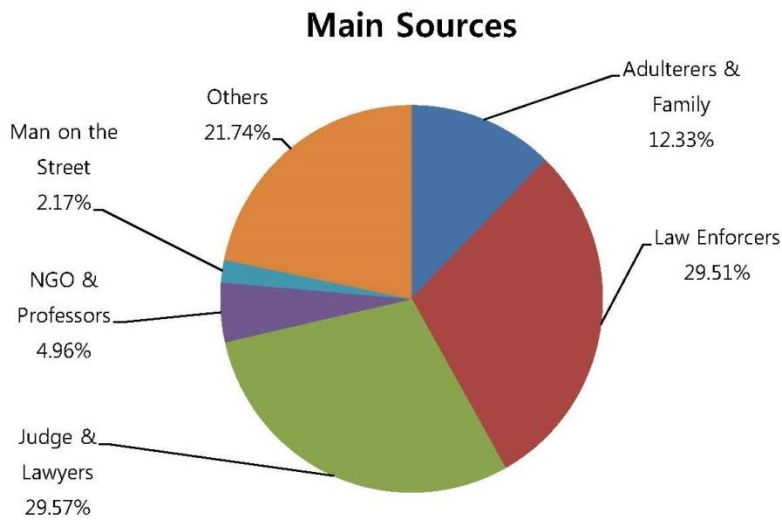
Figure 2: The Adulterers in News Coverage from 1990-2015



The Main sources of stories

The first research question addressed the main sources. Results of the main sources from each news story are in the Figure 3. As expected, law enforcers (29.51%) or courts (29.57%) as main sources dominated over other sources. Six of the ten stories were in the process of legal sanctions from sources such as police officers, prosecutors, lawyers, and judges. This may reflect that reporters identified extramarital affairs in the process of criminal punishment. By contrast, the adulterers, their partners, and family members, including spouses, amounted to 12.33% of total main sources.

Figure 3: Main Sources



Although news outlets depend heavily on law enforcement such as policemen and prosecutors and judges and lawyers, their percentages ranged from 52.5% (*The Chosun Daily*) to 67.3% (*The Segye Daily*). Specifically, *The Segye Daily* had a high percentage of law enforcers as their main sources than did other newspapers. At the same time, *The Joongang Daily* and *The Kyunghyang Daily* had more quotations from NGOs and professors at universities than did the other newspapers.

Episodic and thematic frames

The second research question inquired about the application of episodic and thematic frames in news presentation. Table 2 indicates that although 82.1% of the reports employed episodic frames ($x^2 = 21.922$, $df = 5$, $p < 0.01$), the use of episodic frames increased in certain media outlets such as *The Chosun Daily*, *The Kookmin Daily*, and *The Segye Daily*. By contrast, the proportion of thematic frames was higher in *The Joongang Daily*, *The Hankyoreh Daily* and *The Kyunghyang Daily*. Iyenger (1990) suggested that the prevalence of episodic frames may relate to individual solution by punishing the individual committers. In contrast, the thematic approach often suggests social remedies.

Table 1: *Episodic and Thematic Frames among Korean Newspapers*

	<i>Conservative Papers</i>		<i>Liberal Papers</i>		<i>Religion-related Papers</i>		Total
	The Chosun Daily	The Joongang Daily	The Hankyoreh Daily	The Kyunghyang Daily	The Kookmin Daily	The Segye Daily	
Episodic Frames	262 (86.5%)	197 (76.4%)	197 (81.1%)	302 (77.6%)	212 (87.6%)	235 (85.1%)	1405 (82.1%)

Thematic Frames	41 (13.5%)	61 (23.6%)	46 (18.9%)	87 (22.4%)	30 (12.4%)	41 (14.9%)	306 (17.9%)
Total	303 (17.7%)	258 (15.1%)	243 (14.2%)	389 (22.7%)	242 (14.1%)	276 (16.1%)	1711 (100%)

$$x^2 = 21.922, df = 5, p < 0.01$$

Interestingly, articles employed their sources differently, according to the thematic or episodic frames used ($x^2 = 304.443$, $df = 5$, $p < 0.01$). News articles with episodic frames used law enforcers as their most frequent sources. Specifically, the episodic frames were frequently observed when the main sources were law enforcers (98.4%), adulterers or family members (89.6%), and judges or lawyers (81.6%). For instance, out of 505 articles, which employed law enforcers as sources, 497 articles (98.4%) used episodic frames. In contrast, episodic frames were least used when the main articles sources were Non-government organization (NGO) or professors (30.6%). Similarly, when the main sources for adultery-related articles were ‘man on the street’, 53.1% of the articles used episodic frames.

Table 2: *Episodic and Thematic Frames in Terms of Main Sources*

	Adulter-er	Law Enforcer	Judges & Lawyer	NGO &	MOS	Others	Total
Episodic Frames	189 (89.6%)	497 (98.4%)	413 (81.6%)	26 (30.6%)	17 (53.1%)	263 (70.7%)	1405 (82.1%)
Thematic Frames	22 (10.4%)	8 (1.6%)	93 (18.4%)	59 (69.4%)	15 (46.9%)	109 (29.3%)	306 (17.9%)
Total	211 (12.3%)	505 (29.5%)	506 (29.6%)	85 (5.0%)	32 (1.9%)	373 (21.7%)	1711 (100%)

(NGO = Non-Government Organization; MOS = Man on the Street)

$$x^2 = 304.443, df = 5, p < 0.01$$

The Dominant frames

The third research question sought to determine a difference among newspapers in terms of dominant frames. A mix of *the morality* frame and *the human-interest* frame dominated news coverage of adultery in Korean newspapers. Table 4 shows the hierarchy of frames in terms of frame frequency, $x^2 = 37.648$, $df = 25$, $p < 0.05$. The most frequent frame was morality frame (36.3%), followed by *human-interest* frame (29.5%), and *conflict* frame (15.5%). The least frequently used frame referred to *economic consequences* (3.0%) of adultery. Notably, religion-related newspapers, such as *The Kookmin Daily* (38.8%) and *The Segye Daily* (43.5%), used *morality* frames most frequently.

Table 3: *Main Frames According to Newspaper Titles*

	Conflict	Human Interest	Morality	Responsibility	Economic Consequence	Others	Total
The Chosun Daily	38 (12.5%)	94 (31.0%)	105 (34.7%)	46 (15.2%)	17 (5.6%)	3 (1.0%)	303 (17.7%)
The Joongang Daily	45 (17.4%)	73 (28.3%)	92 (35.7%)	37 (14.3%)	9 (3.5%)	2 (.8%)	258 (15.1%)

The Hankyoreh Daily	43 (17.7%)	78 (32.1%)	83 (34.2%)	31 (12.8%)	4 (1.6%)	4 (1.6%)	243 (14.2%)
The Kyunghyang Daily	73 (18.8%)	123 (31.6%)	127 (32.6%)	58 (14.9%)	8 (2.1%)	0 (0%)	389 (22.7%)
The Kookmin Daily	32 (13.2%)	67 (27.7%)	94 (38.8%)	37 (15.3%)	7 (2.9%)	5 (2.1%)	242 (14.1%)
The Segye Daily	35 (12.7%)	69 (25.0%)	120 (43.5%)	41 (14.9%)	6 (2.2%)	5 (1.8%)	276 (16.1%)
Total	266 (15.5%)	504 (29.5%)	621 (36.3%)	250 (14.6%)	51 (3.0%)	19 (1.1%)	1711 (100%)

$\chi^2 = 37.648$, $df = 25$, $p < 0.05$

Table 5 demonstrates that the proportion of episodic frames varied among the five dominant news frames, $\chi^2 = 38.343$, $df = 5$, $p < 0.01$. Indeed, *responsibility* and *conflict* frames were mostly presented with episodic frames, 94.4% and 82.8%, respectively. In contrast, the number of episodic frames decreased when paired with *economic consequence* frame (76.5%) and *human interest* frame (77.0%).

Table 4: Main Frames According to Episodic and Thematic Frames

	Conflict	Human Interest	Morality	Responsibility	Economic Consequence	Others	Total
Episodic Frames	220 (82.7%)	388 (77.0%)	504 (81.2%)	236 (94.4%)	39 (76.5%)	18 (94.7%)	1405 (82.1%)
Thematic Frames	46 (17.3%)	116 (23.0%)	117 (18.8%)	14 (5.6%)	12 (23.5%)	1 (5.3%)	306 (17.9%)
Total	266 (100%)	504 (100%)	621 (100%)	250 (100%)	51 (100%)	19 (100%)	1711 (100%)

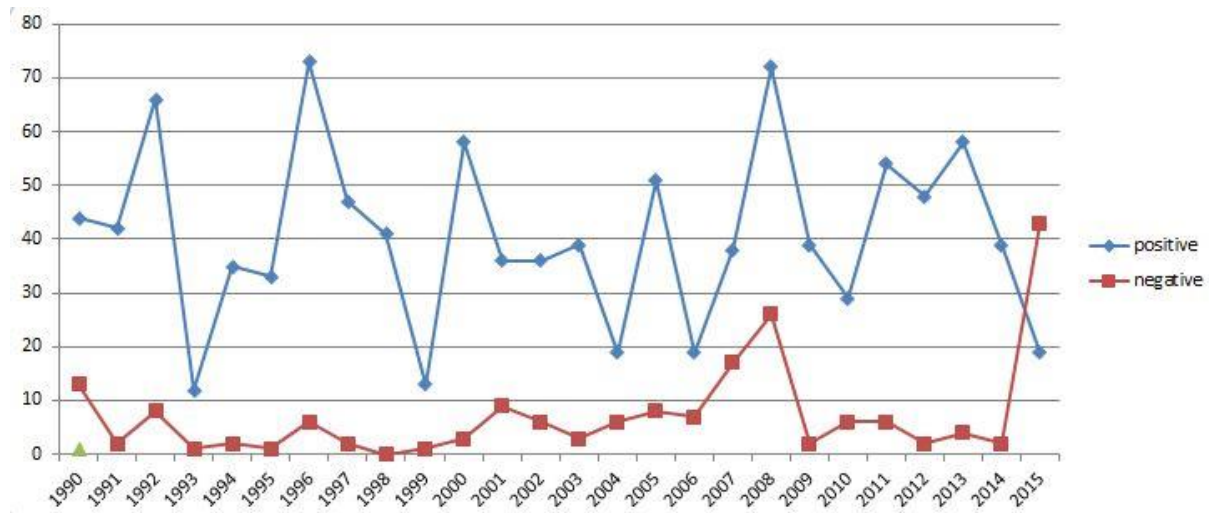
$\chi^2 = 38.343$, $df = 5$, $p < 0.01$

Valenced news frames on criminalizing adultery

Approximately one fourth (26.8%) of the total articles in this study did not express a media slant on the criminal punishment of adultery in Korean Penal Code. With the exception of 457 balanced stories, 1,246 articles (73.2%) disclosed their stances on the criminal punishment of adultery in either a positive or negative light. Among the articles, 1,060 news articles (89.1%) favored criminal punishment and 186 articles (10.9%) opposed it. Among the 1,060 positively valenced frames toward criminalizing adulterers, there were supporting criminal punishment for moral responsibility (80.8%), protection of minority in a society (7.4%), maintain social order or monogamy (11.8%) including religious belief. In contrast, among the 186 articles with negative stances toward criminal punishment, there were apprehension over public force's abuse (34.0%), privacy invasion and sexual freedom (45.4%), world trends and doubt over effectiveness (20.6%) including criticism over male dominant society.

Figure 4 shows that the valenced news frames surged in the year of 1993, 1996, 2001, 2008, and 2015 when the deliberation on criminal code was processed. In addition, the graph demonstrates that the valenced news frames on criminalizing adulterers were mostly positive until 2015 when the adultery law was abolished by the Korean Constitutional Court.

Figure 4: The fluctuations of the valenced news frames on criminalizing adultery, 1990-2015



Discussions and Conclusion

Regardless of gender, race, culture, or nationality, married people expect sexual exclusivity of their spouse. Marital infidelity is deemed bad around the world and the object of harsh criticism. Nonetheless, adultery is a widespread phenomenon in every society (Zare, 2001). In South Korea, the criminal penal code prohibited sexual activity outside of marriage to protect women as a social minority and to maintain social order. The news media serves as an agent of social maintenance, but over the last generation, Korean society witnessed the empowerment of women's rights and the dilution of sexual mores (Black & Jung, 2014).

The number of people indicted for adultery has dramatically decreased since 1985, when the Korean government first started tracking the figures. Over 53,000 Koreans were indicted on adultery charges and 35,000 jailed for the crime in 1985. The figures are down to three adultery charges and 198 individuals jailed for this offense in 2006 (Lee, 2008). In 2014, only 892 people were indicted on adultery charges and no one was jailed for this offense (Rush, 2015). Thus, the research expects that news coverage about adultery will show how the media treats the issue as well as how society views the issue. Specifically, the media frames are directly linked with how the news media defines issues, diagnoses causes, makes moral judgments, and suggests solutions (Entman, 1993). Based on frame analysis, the current study explores how Korean newspapers reported the issue of adultery from 1990-2015.

Although extramarital sex itself often becomes an intriguing story, the current study found that the volume of news stories about adultery has fluctuated over the period from 1990-2015. It is difficult to determine why journalists pick up on such stories, as there is no formula to predict news value with the exception of the "hunches" upon which journalists conventionally depend (Gans, 1979). The fluctuation of articles may relate to the Constitutional Deliberation of adultery-related criminal laws, which were highly debated at the time. At the same time, increased adultery news may be involved with famous people such as politicians, actors, and sports stars. For example, the famous actress Ock So-ri was indicted for the criminal offence of adultery and her lawsuit dominated the Korean nation's newsstands (Lee, 2008; Park, 2008).

To some extent, the criminalization of sexual intercourse between a married person and non-spouse other is characteristic of a pre-modern society, which opens up the possibility for the government to intervene in private sexual activities between individuals (Feinberg, 2012).

Nonetheless, criminal laws regulating extramarital sexual activity remain important to maintaining social order and the family system across many cultures. In Korea, even women's rights advocates have argued to maintain adultery-related criminal laws to provide vulnerable women with protection under the 'umbrella' of the law. Considering that Confucianism, which rigidly contains male-dominated philosophy, has structured Korean society over 500 years, it would appear in this instance that Confucianism and women's rights advocates are 'strange bedfellows' (Black & Jung, 2014).

The current study found that the amount of news stories about adultery increased when celebrities were involved in extra-marital affairs and constitutional deliberations of the adultery law in the Korean Penal code were processed. Specifically, valenced news frames on criminalizing adulterers surged when the legal disputes of adultery law were underway. Moreover, newspapers' slants over punishing adulterous crimes were mostly positive until 2015, at which time adultery committed by females was highly newsworthy compared to adultery committed by males. This tendency may reflect a double standard in Korean society and Korean journalists' tendency to chastise female adulterers more harshly than males.

Entman (2004) argued that framing is a process of issue selection and issue salience. Specifically, the main sources often become the framers of the news articles themselves. The main source in the study was law enforcement, such as policemen or attorneys. The fact that more than half of the main sources used in news coverage are law enforcers indicates that most adultery-related news stories come from legal proceedings, such as legal punishments or divorce suits. Considering the characteristics of adultery includes personal intimacy and secrecy, news reports may not reflect the prevalence of adultery in a society, as their documentation is only the "tip of the iceberg."

Among the five dominant frames suggested by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000), the *morality* and *human-interest* frames dominated the period of 1990-2015. Specifically, religious newspapers were more likely to employ the *morality* frame than other news outlets. Furthermore, most of the Korean news media favored the episodic frame to report issues on adultery. Iyengar (1990) determined that the high number of episodic frames reflected how the media attributed adultery to individuals rather than society. As a result, the remedy is sought at individual levels instead of societal levels. Indeed, the media has attempted to single out individuals to be blamed for adulterous acts.

Although the news media labels any involvement in adultery as bad, they blame the females involved more often than the males. Moreover, according to the news stories women were more likely involved in other crimes, such as blackmail or homicide, because the adultery committed by a husband is an ignorable deviance unless related to a crime. Additionally, attitudes toward abolishing adultery laws in the KPC changed from a negative to a positive during the period of this research. The six decade lifespan of criminal law regarding adultery ended in 2015.

Regardless of the findings, the current study has limitations. First, frame analysis is highly subjective. Although the study secured a high level of coder agreement, the inter-coder reliability does not guarantee objectivity; rather, it demonstrates that the coders meticulously followed instructions. Second, the findings demonstrate a descriptive explanation for how the news media reports on the issue of adultery. Thus, the findings do not present a direct causal relationship between the news stories and public attitudes toward adultery. Finally, the current study did not include television news stories about adultery, in spite of its vast societal and cultural influences. As a result, the portrayal of adultery in Korean newspapers only describes a small representation of news reporting. A future study must include how television news reports on the issue of adultery.

Adultery laws serve as an expression of the ideal behavior and embody social values that nations and states are willing to endorse or enforce (Fuess, 2014). In this view, Korean

criminal legislation contained effective penalties for adulterers that changed in the early 2000s when sexual liberation was widespread in Korean society, owing to globalization and the proliferation Internet technology. While rapid modernization frequently clashed with traditional conservative norms (such as Confucian philosophy) in the 1990s, Korean family and societal values continue to stabilize. As a result, the abolishment of the adultery law is a good indicator of modernization in Korean society. At the same time, the news media plays a pivotal role in redefining the issue of adultery and reconstituting societal mores related to marriage and extra-marital sex in Korean society (Frank, *et al.*, 2010).

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Key design elements of daily newspapers: Impact on the reader's perception and visual impression

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Abstract: Existing studies of newspaper design point to an interaction of form and content through the impact of visual format on the impression, perception, and understanding of the content. This paper aims to further explore the topic, i.e., the impact of design elements (layout, color, photographs, and front page) of the daily newspapers on the perception and visual impression of readers. The purpose of the paper is twofold. The first part briefly presents summarized theoretical considerations of newspaper design from a perspective of the marketing approach to the newspaper as a specific type of product. The second part is devoted to the primary research undertaken in order to explore and understand readers' perceptions of design elements of the daily newspaper on the Croatian market. The research findings confirmed the assumptions about the link between layout style and photographs on the one hand and the perception of the content, the interaction and the effect of color on the perception of the product (newspapers) character on the other hand, and the assumption of the role of front page design as a sales argument. Findings add to the existing knowledge with insights from the new research context—Croatia, and as such might help in increasing the understanding about the visual perception and behavior of readers from the emerging European market. Also, findings might serve as the basis for future improvements in the visual ergonomics of newspapers.

Keywords: design, daily newspapers, perception, visual impression, Gestalt

Introduction

In the early 21st century, requirements of the media market brought about a large number of innovations in the newspaper industry, more than at any time before. What we are currently witnessing is a process of fresh newspaper creation and design which involves changes to the format, concept, and product approach (Gavranović, 2006), leading to conclusions about growing awareness of the importance of design as an element crucial to the survival in the market nowadays.

Recent premises about the importance of design in newspapers have been related to the thesis that "form follows function" in the sense of subordination with regard to the content, as

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the standard product offering of newspapers, while competition and technology have for some time been regarded as the major catalysts of change in this sphere of economic activity.

Studies on newspaper design point to the interaction of form and content through the influence of visual format on the perception and interpretation of the content. More specifically, isolating and varying certain elements of design on the page may lead to changes in the way content is observed, perceived, and understood, resulting in a new, optimized order of noticing and viewing time, thereby also indirectly affecting the overall impression of the newspaper among readers.

As reported by Moses (2000), an average reader perceives 80% of graphic elements and 75% of photographs in newspapers and notices 56% of headlines while being aware of just 25% of the newspaper text, of which only 13% is read in detail. The text is the last thing being observed in a newspaper. All of this points to the conclusion that the reader's experience of newspapers is superficial and—to a large extent—visual.

Most of the existing academic research dedicated to the design and to the strategic role it has for the newspaper industry was conducted in developed markets. Studies aimed at researching readers' perceptions and attitudes about newspapers and related topics in the context of emerging markets are still rare. Lincényi and Fabuš (2017), in one of the few studies devoted to the mentioned issues in the context of emerging markets, point to the necessity of survival and the irreplaceable role of newspapers, especially the daily newspapers, having an important influence on public opinion. Building on the aforementioned points, this paper aims to reduce the existing gap and to further spread the understanding of the actual issues related to the product design, existing in the field of newspaper strategic marketing management.

Interdisciplinary nature of design as a process of a product's (newspaper's) visual creation

Rapid expansion of mass media in the late 20th century influenced a cultural transition from a verbal to a visual discourse, turning contemporary into a postmodernist visual culture (Boz, 2003). Visual messages possess a certain form, structure, convention, and their own syntax rules. Their understanding within a particular cultural context and syntax analysis, along with the evaluation of aesthetic criteria and intuitive understanding of the Gestalt, form the foundation of visual literacy (Messaris and Moriarty, 2005; Bamford, 2003; Chang, Dooley and Touvinen, 2002), where the familiarity with visual communication is crucial to a successful design of any visual form. According to Moriarty and Barbatsis (2005), the complex and abstract nature of the design is a methodological intersection of the disciplines belonging to the first and second generations of social and natural sciences.

The complexity of visual creation is manifested through design, assuming each idea and intellectual conceptualization of things, processes, and systems, while also taking into account social, cultural, psychological, environmental, ethical, and aesthetic aspects of the identity of the environment in which it arises. The impact of design is integral and interdisciplinary along the entire course of social reproduction and is valued according to rational criteria, such as functionality, cost-effectiveness as well as its technical and economic reliability and aesthetic sensibility (Kapetanović, 2005; Archer, 1984). Through contextuality and interdependence of various parts, i.e., elements of the visual field create an organized, meaningful whole while ambiguous elements are subconsciously perceived as the easiest, most correct and symmetrical structures in a given situation (law of Prägnanz) (Lidwell, Holden and Butler, 2006; Smith, 2005).

In addition, visual creation is based on the knowledge and appreciation of universal design principles which exist within a broader field of visual communication and culture, including visual rhetoric and semiotics, aesthetics, graphic and product design, and the Gestalt principles of visual organization. Actually, visual forms are a system of signs and symbols which gain their meaning in correlation with other objects. More specifically, in the presence of symbolism, human intervention, and audiences, they turn from a visual to a communication artifact (Foss, 2005).

Graphic design, as a separate sphere within the field of visual communication, is based on communication through signs and symbols aimed at constructing a functional message through a picture (as a simultaneous and spatially organized medium) and a written word—language (as a sequential and temporally organized medium), creating visual harmony. It is the ultimate goal and challenge in graphic design to use visual communication tools effectively via identification, information, and presentation in order to contribute to the Gestalt effect, prompting a psychological and aesthetic response which might be greater than the sum of its parts (Pibernik, Brozović and Šimić, 2006). The main premise of graphic design is composition, so any change in size, color, positioning, etc., generates a different response among recipients. Building on the previous, product (newspaper) design must use an optimal combination of structural, functional, and aesthetic features within the limits of end use, production materials, and production processes to clearly communicate the basic characteristics of the product (newspaper). The functional characteristic relates to the benefits expected from the product (newspaper) on the one hand, the structural ones to the possibility of fulfilling the functional promise on the other hand. The aesthetics are considered to be the "language" (in accordance with the semiotic principles), and its features are selected for the purpose of giving sensory appeal to the product (newspaper), more specifically the perception of style. Product (newspaper) acceptance depends to a large extent on the success it achieves in identifying the aesthetic and semantic code of the target audience (readers). This statement best describes the motivation for and the tendency toward a market-driven form, a common approach to the aesthetic factor in product (newspaper) development (Parr, 2004).

Newspaper design

A complex approach to designing a daily newspaper as a printed graphic product reflects a wider understanding and appreciation of the matter, method, and logic of its functioning—starting from the history and symbolism of newspapers themselves via objective constraints (deadlines, format, type of paper and printing press, etc.) and production constraints (publication profile, frequency, rules of newspaper reporting) to the adherence to certain universal rules, i.e., design principles and the Gestalt principle, in order to achieve the main media function—that of easier readability, clarity, and visibility of information.

George-Palilonis (2004) observed the existence of a gap between the visual rhetoric and newspaper (graphic) design, stemming from a historic separation between words as a communication tool and design as the artistic effect, as well as a relative youth of the visual rhetoric and recent evolution of newspaper design as a visual language.

Visual culture and a visual orientation to new media—primarily television and the Internet—have led to new trends in newspaper design which, according to Garcia (2000; 2004), become more refined, direct, and visually focused. One may note a resizing of large formats, reduction of the amount of text along with an increase in the size of photographs and information graphics, an emphasis on the white space and turning toward a modular layout format. Furthermore, the influence of the Internet is noticeable in print through a sense of navigation, summarized information, and some kind of tabs. Cooke (2003) identifies the

changes in newspaper design which were induced by the continuous development of the media context (television news presentation) and those which were a result of the shift of newspapers' design management from editors to experts in the field of newspaper layout and design (who helped in understanding the newspaper design from a usability perspective). Recent comparative analysis of the front page elements of seven U.S. major metropolitan newspapers, conducted by Kim and Chung (2017), showed how different approaches in design are desirable, and individual newspapers should consider whether to adopt or not design hubs in order to better visually connect with the audience. De Vries (2008) argues that news publishers are still not sufficiently exploiting the potential of modern visual communication, despite the efforts of newspaper designers who point out visual communication as the underlying element of newspaper design.

Taking the 19th century as the onset of newspapers in the form we know them nowadays, one may conclude that the historical development of newspapers has undergone a long cultural transition from the Victorian style to modernism. From a vertical layout, which had symmetry but no hierarchy and was characterized by long, narrow columns, overcrowded by massive uppercase headlines, "screaming" the obtrusiveness of the content, to a clear, simple, and hierarchically functional modular design of the second half of the 20th century (Barnhurst and Nerone, 1995). According to Vizcaíno-Laorga and Jiménez Reusta (2018), design and redesigned features of the newspaper as product reflect the characteristics of the economic (competitive), political (ideological), cultural, and technical environment of the respective market through the various historical periods of the newspaper industry's development.

The newspaper page contains a certain number of graphic elements, which may tentatively be divided into mutable and immutable (Kosić, 2008), while Holmqvist and Wartenberg (2005) and Holmberg (2004) in identifying newspaper design elements use terms "local and global elements." Studies confirm that the size, positioning, object and photograph axiality, etc., for example, affect the visual behavior of readers; that is, they contribute to a quicker perception and cognition of the content. Visual behavior while reading newspapers is defined through a temporal order of observing individual components of the spread, dwell time on a particular area, reading depth, etc. (Holmqvist and Wartenberg, 2005).

A study by Garcia and Starck (cited in George-Palilonis, 2004; Holmqvist et al., 2003; Johansson, 2004) yielded two key discoveries in the perception of newspapers: the first refers to the finding that people do not read but scan newspapers. The other is the existence of a so-called entry or access point—a dominant element on the page as the place of initial perceptual approach (reader's attention), more precisely, the point at which scanning stops and readers "enter" the content more deeply.

Holmqvist and Wartenberg (2005) used an eye-tracking study to examine the perceptions of so-called local design factors on 34 spreads out of 17 newspapers. Its results showed that, on average, respondents first noticed the object on the right as expected, as a result of turning the pages with the right hand, the Western-style perceptual sequence from left to right and the Gestalt laws of optical weight. In his research, Holmberg (2004) confirmed the general dominance of the left over the right-hand side of the newspaper page with regard to the dwell time—61.3% vs. 38.6%.

In socio-semiotic and perceptual psychology, visual space is seen as a semiotic space, implying that the meaning is devised through the interaction of visual and verbal units as means of expression. Visual layouts form a kind of grammar in which left-right, up-down and center-margin positions are associated with other different information values: the most general information must be on top of the visual field, with more specific information at the bottom; the most important information must be in the middle of the visual field and that which is less important "in the periphery"; in addition, the right-hand side is associated with new, yet

unknown information, and the left with that which is already known (Holmqvist et al., 2003; Holsanova, Rahm, and Holmquist, 2006). Holmquist's et al. (2003) study confirmed that larger objects are noticed earlier (with longer viewing times compared to smaller ones) whereas the objects with axial (horizontal, vertical) characteristics are observed much earlier and viewed longer than those of undefined shape. However, there is no difference between vertically and horizontally laid out text (Holmqvist and Wartenberg, 2005). Thus, although images serve as a powerful initial element or point of entry in the text, the evidence (Holmberg, 2004) also shows that text and images are processed separately. That segregation occurs due to the different nature of information and to the different timing of its perception at the same time. Images are decoded in the early stage of the processing while, semantically, text processing occurs at a later stage. Evidence shows that images have a positive effect on the way in which readers create mental models of the text content.

In researching the contemporary newspaper design's contributions for sustainable development, Matos and Delfino (2014) have found how modern newspapers offer more pleasure and relaxation to their readers, because of being easy to read and persuasive, but most of that is achieved with the increased negative environmental impact.

The theoretical contributions presented here point to a complexity of the causal and reciprocal relationship among form, perception, and cognition of the content in a visual environment, stressing the importance of each detail and giving scope for further research and findings on it.

Primary research on the effect of newspaper design elements on readers' perception and visual impression

According to the behavioral paradigm, isolating and altering certain design elements of daily newspapers leads to changes in readers' observation and perception which, in turn, enables identifying an optimum order in which they will view the newspaper page and the time spent on it. This suggests that more research on the relationship between the visual format of daily newspapers and human perception is necessary.

Hypotheses development

A successful newspaper design concept respects the universal principles of balance, contrast, rhythm, unity, and harmony. Zappaterra (2007) elaborated on the direct factors of design which appear on newspaper pages: space, dominance by shape, form through color, tension, repetition and flow, variations in size, contrast, balance, and depth. The order of elements in design assumes a synergy of the innate unconscious Gestalt of human perception, rules of composition and rhetorical-semantic targets while also ensuring the integrity and visual recognition, achieved by a definition of major elements in the visual field that do not require frequent interventions. In newspaper design, according to Kosić (2008), these are immutable graphic elements (newspaper head, imprint, layout style, headline typography, etc.).

Readers' experience is largely visual, holistic; within their cognitive system, they use certain visual clues (design factors) which determine their movement in the visual-spatial environment (entry points). Their perceptual attention is initiated by the dominant picture (as an area with the highest concentration of ink) in as many as 90% of cases, followed by the main headline. Placing the visual element alongside text (e.g., picture caption) increases the chances that the text will be read three times (Holmqvist et al., 2003; Moses, 2000). In this research, we focus on these specific dimensions and propose the following research hypothesis:

H1: *The elements of newspaper design, based on the universal principles of visual design and innate principles of visual organization, affect to a large extent the perception of daily newspapers and their overall visual impression among readers.*

Color (Bohle and Garcia, 1986) makes a newspaper appear more interesting, pleasant, exciting, and powerful. Color is subliminal in its character; it arouses initial interest and serves to create a rapid emotional appeal and help orientation in the visual space. Newspaper color, from its initial appearance in the 19th century until the 1970s, was primarily related to entertainment and primitive simplicity, as the two concepts often associated with tabloids. Reputable newspapers contained no color in a bid to maintain the impression of seriousness and professionalism. Color causes an emotional rather than an intellectual response. Its rise in the print media occurred with the advent of *USA Today* in the early 1980s which, due to the abundant use of color, earned the disdainful nickname of "Technicolor Tabloid" (Rock and Hovland, 1995). Even though color is an integral part of newspapers and magazines, studies show that—as an element of design—it does not have a very high impact on readers. It serves largely as a quick emotional appeal, acting to stimulate the initial interest and capture the gaze while not really encouraging deeper interest in the content among readers (Holmqvist, and Wartenberg, 2005; Rock and Hovland, 1995). In addition to physical characteristics, the psychological values of color also affect the interpretation of the content/message and are conditioned by experience and socio-cultural learning. In line with the findings presented here, we propose the two following auxiliary hypotheses:

H1a: *The presence of bright colors on newspaper pages contributes to the perception of a "newspaper for the masses."*

H1b: *Newspapers with high-profile reading audiences use pastel colors on their pages.*

Newspaper layout is a place in which the relationship between form and content becomes most prominent, and it determines the dynamics of the main elements on the page. Middlestadt and Barnhurst (1999) explored newspaper layout through the application of the main principles of art and design. News has a structure of points and lines that form the layout: vertical, horizontal or diagonal. While horizontal lines express stability, verticality in art expresses the dynamics, life, and achievement and diagonal lines add most visual energy. Vertical layout can express vitality, relevance, authority for so-called hard news related, for example, to politics or to the economy while horizontal layout can express calm and relaxation of so-called soft news related to arts and humanities, for example. Vertical layout aids one of the two innate tendencies of receiving textual information: top-down, which is achieved through long and closely spaced vertical columns, with headlines possibly placed within a single column and so on. Characteristic of the Victorian era newspapers, it is also noticeable today in the renowned daily the *New York Times* (Kim and Chung, 2017). With photographs and headlines usually kept to a single or a minimum number of columns, the overall impression is intellectual, sophisticated, and serious, adhering to the Gestalt principle of continuation and running contrary to that of symmetry. Horizontal layout appeared in the 1970s and is quite the opposite of the vertical version. It panders to the other innate visual tendency: left-right, which is reflected by proper positioning of the elements—text, headlines, and images set in a maximum number of wide but short columns. The leading story is located in the upper left or right corner, with the multi-column text and headlines, large rectangular photographs, and white space. This layout contributes to the transparency and whiteness of the space, giving an overall impression of

simplicity, readability, and clarity. Horizontal layout is considered a textbook example of good Gestalt, of which symmetry is the strongest principle (Smith, 2005). Modular layout is based on the universal principle of design—modularity (Lidwell, Holden and Butler, 2006), a combination of horizontal shapes with vertical "entries" as a complementary element. More specifically, the content is located in squares, taking into account the sound Gestalt rule. White space gains special prominence in headlines and is used as a design element. This kind of layout is characterized by the dynamics of space, readability, and clarity. It is the most commonly used design today which also imposed a new trend in the size of photographs and the number of front page stories (Harrower, 2008). Building on the aforementioned, we hypothesize that:

H2: *Newspaper layout style affects the reader's perception of the importance/credibility of the content.*

As the newspaper layout can change the attitude of the newspaper toward content, so can the same effect be achieved by the photograph selection, content, juxtaposition, combination, and cropping. A magazine-style ideology of photograph treatment is a noticeable trend in newspaper design (Zappaterra, 2007). Due to its semantic-visual nature, photographs have the strongest impact on the readers' attention and is considered a dominant element of the newspaper design. A good photograph should effectively illustrate the content of the story, provoke an emotional appeal, foreshadow action, and allow the reader to identify with people in the story (Jurković, Jurković and Rončević, 2006). The position of the image, its size and content, in conjunction with the text, may contribute greatly to a powerful rhetorical-semantic echo of the content. There are five key functions of visualization as a text supplement: decoration, representation, organization, interpretation, and transformation (Holsanova, Holmberg and Holmqvist, 2006). Newspapers rely increasingly on the photographic element as a narrator, with a notable decades-old global transition from a text-driven to an image-driven context.

Among other Gestalt principles, the principle of closure is very powerful from the aspect of content. In cropped photographs, showing an incomplete figure, people will complement the incomplete information themselves due to an innate tendency of Gestalt closure and will consequently see the figure as full (Ozerkan, Kartopu, and Ayar, 2006). The perception of a photograph as the primary element on the page may be explained by the Gestalt figure-background principle: readers unwittingly see the photograph as the largest element in the visual field (the largest concentration of ink) while anything else is perceived as background. However, there is still insufficient empirically tested data to confirm the potential of the content and size of the photograph, which is why we propose to test the following research hypothesis:

H3: *The content and size of the photograph accompanying the text contributes greatly to the observation of the respective story.*

Strong expressive qualities are attributed to color which is among the most powerful elements of design and art. The understanding of color is crucial to an effective composition and spatial illusion. Color may stimulate the interest of potential customers (readers) and, ultimately, increase the appeal and purchasing power of the product (Funk and Ndubisi, 2006; Samara, 2005).

Color's appearance and layout on the page have been proven to affect the reader's navigation through the newspaper and the dwell time on the page; color also provides aesthetic pleasure and serves as a landmark in a complex visual environment of the publication—therefore, newspapers often base their content orientation on the so-called color coding (Holmqvist and Wartenberg, 2005; Samara, 2005). The prevailing Gestalt principles related to

color on the newspaper page are symmetry and similarity. Thanks to the principle of similarity, the use of one color in certain elements on the page and subsequently in various sections enables the reader to visually and cognitively link information, facilitating a visual orientation (Smith, 2005). On the basis of these observations, we posit that:

H3a: *Color photographs leave a stronger impression than black and white photographs.*

The front page of any publication, including newspapers, must be original, recognizable, informative, and distinctive at the same time (Zappaterra, 2007); it reflects the personality of the entire publication (Ames, 1989). A revolution in newspaper design, which culminated in the mid-1970s, had a particular impact on front page design (Barnhurst and Nerone, 1991) through the application of horizontal layout, smaller number of columns and articles, more simple headline typography, appreciation of the white space and the appearance of impressive, visually clearly organized elements. According to a study of the trends in the U.S. front page design authored by Utt and Pasternack (2003), the 1980s emphasized the color trend, modular design, and the arrival of large, dominant photographs while 1990s placed the focus on the integration of text and images. The simplicity of design and the clarity of navigation were another trend of the late 20th and the beginning of the 21st century. Most daily newspapers use color on a daily basis, with one dominant front page photo in most cases, with the 6-column page becoming almost a rule. López-Rabadán and Casero-Ripollés (2012) consider a front page to be the most relevant strategic issue in newspaper management and point to its ability to raise and steer readers' attention towards chosen issues. Furthermore, they elaborate on the impact of the front page highlighting how other media (TV and radio) present reviews of the news appearing on the front pages of the most relevant and important newspaper. Thereby, the evidence reviewed here suggests that front page design is an important factor for newspapers' sales, which is why we hypothesize that:

H4: *Front page design is one of the main factors in deciding to buy a daily newspaper among readers.*

Methodology

In order to obtain information concerning the status of the phenomena and to test the hypotheses about the effect of certain design elements on the visual impression and perception among readers on the Croatian market, the one time, descriptive research study was conducted. Data were collected through face-to-face interviews of a convenience sample of 40 respondents. The sample consisted of Croatian citizens, both male and female readers of daily newspapers with the reading frequency of several times a month (including regular and occasional readers), aged between 25 and 40, with academic qualifications as a minimum, residing in the City of Zagreb and the Zagreb County. The demographic characteristics of the respondents are shown in Table 1.

Table 1- *Respondents' demographic characteristics according to gender, age, education, reading frequency, and place of residence*

VARIABLE		N	%
SEX	M	16	40,00%
	F	24	60,00%
AGE	25-30	25	62,50%
	31-40	15	37,50%
EDUCATION	Univ. degree	37	92,50%
	Ph.D./M.Sc.	3	7,50%
READING FREQUENCY	every day/almost every day (5-7 times a week)	24	60,00%
	3-4 times a week	17	17,50%
	1-2 times a week	4	10,00%
	several times a month	4	10,00%
	Rarely	1	2,5%
COUNTY	City of Zagreb and the Zagreb County	40	100%

Given the descriptive nature of the research, for the purpose of expressing attitudes and measuring visual impressions according to the proposed hypotheses, newspaper spreads and front page printouts of three foreign newspapers and the proposed design of a national daily were presented to respondents along with the questionnaire.¹ The mixed questionnaire was structured relying on the findings in previous research (e.g., Utt and Pasternack, 2003). Apart from five introductory questions related to the respondents' demographics, the questionnaire consisted of 28 questions. Of these, seven were dichotomous, four open, and eight closed multiple-choice questions. Nine questions were used to measure attitudes. Individual face-to-face interviews lasted 45 minutes on average. As recommended by Morgan (1998), in the research design with a mixed method approach (survey with included open-ended items), the results from two types of methods (quantitative and qualitative) were integrated. First, a simple statistical analysis (mean, standard deviation, and mode) of the quantitative data was made, and then the qualitative data was used to interpret those quantitative results.

Research results and discussion

The first main hypothesis assumed that isolating and altering the characteristics of certain design elements in the visual field, i.e., on a newspaper page, affects readers' visual impression and perception, as evidenced by a change in the temporal order of observing, dwell time and,

¹ Front pages of *USA Today*, the *New York Times*, *The Guardian*, available at <http://www.newseum.org/todaysfrontpages/flash/>; the spreads and front page of *Večernji List* were (based on the preliminary design guidelines, authored by local graphic designer Mirko Ilić - these materials were used solely for the purpose of scientific research

finally, by a change in the comprehension of the contextual content. Newspaper design was found to be considered an important or exceptionally important product characteristic by 36 out of 40 respondents. They were asked to give an opinion on the effect of each of the seven graphic elements on their impression of the daily newspaper, measured by statements on a Likert scale from 1 ("does not affect at all") to 4 ("affects completely"), where 5 related to the impossibility of giving an opinion ("I don't know/cannot evaluate"). Results are presented in Table 2 showing photographs as having the strongest impact on the overall impression of a newspaper among readers (mean 3.650, stand. dev. 0.622237), followed by the entire front page² (mean 3.45, stand. dev. 0.814925) and color (mean 3.275000, stand. dev. 0.846940). Then, headline font and layout follow, with (mean 3.225, stand. dev. 0.659740) and (mean 3.225000, stand. dev. 0.861945) respectively. Format's impact on the impression of newspapers is penultimate (mean 3.100000, stand. dev. 0.900142). The newspaper head/logo ranked the lowest (mean 2.675, stand. dev. 0.858965).

Table 2 - *The impact of elements of newspaper design to the perception and overall visual impression of daily newspapers among readers*

	Mean	Median	Mode	Min	Max	Stand. Dev
FRONT PAGE	3.450000	4.000000	4.000000	1.000000	4.000000	0.814925
HEAD/LOGO	2.675000	3.000000	2.000000	1.000000	4.000000	0.858965
HEADLINE FONT	3.225000	3.000000	3.000000	1.000000	4.000000	0.659740
PHOTOGRAPHS	3.650000	4.000000	4.000000	1.000000	4.000000	0.622237
COLOR	3.275000	3.500000	4.000000	1.000000	4.000000	0.846940
LAYOUT	3.225000	3.000000	4.000000	1.000000	4.000000	0.861945
FORMAT	3.100000	3.000000	3.000000	1.000000	4.000000	0.900142

These results corroborate the conclusions of previous research on the primary (and strongest) perception of the photographic element in the visual field of the newspaper page. The reason behind the order in which this one, and then the remaining elements, are perceived lies in the Gestalt figure-background principle. The newspaper head/logo has subliminal effects, and it scored lowest of all the elements in the survey, as expected, since it is considered an immutable graphic element which does not change on a daily basis (unlike, e.g., photographs), and serves for product identification at the point of sale. That is, one might attribute its (in)effectiveness on the respondents' general impression to the constant appearance of the newspaper head/logo, which the user does not perceive thanks to being used to it. Based on theoretical findings in the first part of the paper and the survey results presented above, the conclusion is that hypothesis H1 is confirmed.

Two auxiliary hypotheses are related to the element of color and its contribution to creating a certain perception of the product. Respondents were asked to state their associations at the mention of two groups of colors—those of the bright/warm and cool/pastel palette. For the most part, bright and warm colors are associated with summer, happiness, and joy. Cool and pastel colors are mostly associated with cold/winter, composure, and clothing. Furthermore, respondents were presented two sets of color palettes, drawn from two front pages of *USA Today* and three from the *New York Times*. Isolated as an element, it was evident that

² Front page is examined here as a design entity, rather than a set of elements (photographs and headlines).

the front page of *USA Today* was dominated by warmer and more intense colors, with lighter and cooler shades prevailing on the front pages of the *New York Times*. These two newspapers were selected as the extreme examples of different applications and approaches to color in the presentation of content. When asked on a scale of 1 to 5 to assess the degree of liking the color palette as a separate element of the corresponding front page with a visible contextual view (where 1 equaled total statement negativity ("I do not like it at all") and 4 total positivity ("I like it a lot") while 5 related to the impossibility of giving an opinion ("I don't know/cannot say")), 22 respondents (55%) said they liked the *USA Today* palette a lot, with 17 respondents (42.50%) saying that they somewhat liked the *New York Times* palette. In the introductory questions of the questionnaire, respondents were asked to express their perception of the profile of these two newspapers, where *USA Today* was described as a "political information newspaper for the masses" and the *New York Times* as a "corporate, conservative and serious" newspaper. According to the respondents, colors correspond to newspaper profiles since the "USA Today is for the masses, for everyone; colorful; television-like/possessing TV appeal" while the *New York Times*' "color reveals the character of a serious conservative newspaper; intended for older readers." In addition, respondents were asked to express their opinion on the matching (positive or negative) between the newspaper color palette and profile. According to the survey, 33 (82.50%) and 34 (85%) of the total number of respondents, respectively, perceived the two color palettes to be "highly appropriate" to the profile of newspapers such as the *USA Today* and the *New York Times*. When it comes to the *USA Today*, color is perceived as an element to attract attention; it is associated with warmth, joy, accessibility, and entertainment. As to the visual presentation, the content is secondary. In the case of the *New York Times*, visual presentation is secondary while the content takes the foreground since the use of cooler and pastel colors in the Gestalt sense implies coldness, aloofness, and seriousness, so the selection of such a color scheme emphasizes the seriousness of the content. These results are in accordance with previous theoretical considerations (e.g., in O'Connor, 2013). Color as a design element affects the perception of the profile of the newspaper, so auxiliary hypotheses H1A and H1B may be concluded to have been confirmed.

In order to test hypothesis H2, two *Crna kronika* (Crime and Calamity) section spreads—CK1 (horizontal) and CK2 (vertical)—from the Croatian daily *Večernji List* were presented to respondents. Identical in content, they differed only by the layout of the story headlined "Neighbors rescue ailing granny from a flaming house."³ Respondents were asked to scan both versions of the text briefly in order to gain insight into their content and to spot the differences on the proposed spreads. Furthermore, they were asked to look at each version as a separate entity (headline-picture-text) and, taking note of the story content, to choose one version in terms of the following dimensions: "impression of the content—impressive," "impression of the content—credible," "visibility of the elements," "clarity of the elements" and "general impression." Survey results (presented in Table 3) showed respondents to be more inclined to the horizontal layout on as many as four out of the five dimensions. The first, "impression of the content—impressive" dimension referred to the evaluation of the strength of the impression that the content left on the respondents; more precisely, which version presented a more stirring text. According to the results, 22 respondents (55%) decided that K1 (horizontal) was more impressive than CK2 (vertical). Unlike the first dimension, the second one showed the opposite result. It referred to the assessment of belief in the truth and meaning of the story. The same number—22 respondents (55%)—considered the vertical version (CK2)

³ CK1 (horizontal) version had a picture 18.5x9 cm in size, positioned along the entire headline, while the text below was broken into two columns 9 cm wide with justified body text (an intervention in the original layout, specifically for the purposes of this research); CK2 (vertical) version included a cropped 11x14 cm photo, zoomed in on the old woman and partly on one of the firefighters. It was positioned to the right of the body text and both appeared across two 3.5 cm wide columns; dimensions in the 1:1 scale; text justified.

to be more credible than CK1 in this case. The third and fourth dimensions related to the perception of design elements. In both cases, respondents chose the horizontal version (CK1) for better visibility (26 respondents – 65%) and clarity (22 respondents – 55%). Overall, the horizontal version also appeared more visually impressive in general (26 respondents – 65%).

Table 3 – Respondents' choice and inclination towards dimensions of horizontal (CK1) and vertical (CK2) spreads

	CK1		CK2		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N (CK1+CK2)	N (CK1+CK2)
Impression of the content—impressive	22	55	18	45	40	100
Impression of the content—credible	18	45	22	55	40	100
Visibility of the elements	26	65	14	35	40	100
Clarity of the elements	22	55	18	45	40	100
General impression	26	65	14	35	40	100

Asked to comment on their selection, respondents said that the "photograph on CK1 is twice the size of CK2, which greatly contributes to the visibility, and also to the impression of content importance." The respondents favoring the vertical version described it as "clearer, journalistically more concise" and "dramatic," with the horizontal version appearing to be "more tabloid-style, school-like, essayistic." This is largely due to the two-column layout as well as the blown-up picture. The respondents who were more inclined to the horizontal version described CK1 as an ergonomic version, whose layout enabled better readability, gazing from the picture to the headline and then the text, without breaks (as in CK2). In addition, they said that the horizontal version seemed "more serious and yielding to the perception that there is more content." From the above results, it can be concluded that the choice of the horizontal version by the majority of respondents is attributable to the significance of the photo size, which creates a (Gestalt) illusion of the content importance, contributing also to better visibility and clarity, while the two-column layout creates the illusion of more text, which in turn creates the illusion of additional seriousness and credibility of the content. Due to its visual design, the vertical version splits the space—narrow vertical columns break up the gaze, which runs on to the photograph at the same time, turning reading into a dynamic process. One potential reason for a higher inclination to the horizontal version by female respondents may lie in the fact that the layout of the horizontal version is also present in women's magazines, together with large pictures intended for women as a consumer public. In accordance with research results and a visible change in the perception and impression of the two different newspaper layouts, hypothesis H2 was confirmed.

The third main and auxiliary hypotheses concern the effect of photographs as a graphic element on the perception and visual impression of a newspaper page. Respondents were given double page spreads B1-B2, B1-B3, B1-B4, and B3-B2, which they had to compare directly according to the given dimensions. All four versions were identical in content, differing only in the primary photograph of the story headlined "Mimi kept her affair with JFK secret for 40 years." Pages B1 and B2 contained a two-column photo.⁴ The B1 version also showed J.F.

⁴ 11 x 17.5 cm in size, 1:1 scale

Kennedy as the President, with an American flag behind him as he gave a speech. On the B2 version, he was shown in a family setting, with his wife Jackie and two children. By comparing the two printouts, respondents were asked to choose and evaluate one version according to their "impression of the content," "visibility of the elements" and "general visual impression." Results showed the selection of photographs to be affecting their perception of the content. These stories were also observed as a combination of headline-picture-text. On two of the three dimensions, respondents selected printout B2. As regards the "impression of the content" dimension, they described themselves as being more strongly impressed with the version of J.F. Kennedy appearing in the picture with his family (24 respondents—60%). B2 was also described as a version with very visible elements (23 respondents—57.50%). However, on the last dimension which evaluated the visual perception, 21 respondents (52.50%) opted in favor of spread B1.

Asked to provide an explanation of their choice, respondents who favored spread B2 said they were more shocked by the content alongside a picture of the story protagonist in a family context. Here, J.F. Kennedy was not perceived as the President but rather as an "ordinary man who had a love affair," which made the whole context that much more of a "powerful political scandal." The respondents who were more inclined to spread B1 believed that a stronger impression of the content was produced by the picture of J.F. Kennedy as the President because he is a "public figure, and so much more does his private affair seem politically scandalous, as it affects the image of his authority as president." In addition, they described the choice of the photograph of J.F. Kennedy with his family (B2) as "inappropriate for a serious daily, making it seem more gossipy, sensationalist in this context." It may be concluded that the content of the visual element, a photograph, in this case, affects the rhetorical and semantic perception of the textual content. Respondents were most impressed by the picture of J.F. Kennedy with his family, which can be attributed to the implanted cultural and social norms, labeling adultery as socially unacceptable behavior. But the highest general impression score was still that of J.F. Kennedy's photograph as the President, which can be explained by the innate image of the president as an exemplary untouchable and unquestionable authority, the national leader, so any violation of such an image results in a condemnation.

The next couple of spreads (B1-B4) were aimed at exploring the impact of size on four dimensions: "impression of the size," "impression of the content," "visibility of the elements" and "general visual impression." B1, as already mentioned, contained a large picture⁵ of J.F. Kennedy while B4 contained an identical, but a smaller picture⁶ of the President of the size equal to the secondary picture in the story. On three of the four dimensions, results showed the respondents to be more strongly impressed by version B1, i.e., that with a larger photograph. It was selected by 29 respondents (72.50%). But when it came to the impression of the content size, putting the picture into context with the content, respondents were more impressed by spread B4 (21 respondent or 52.50%). The elements contained in version B1 proved to be more visible (31 respondents – 77.50%), also producing a stronger visual impression (25 respondents – 62.50%). The respondents favoring version B1 explained that the "photograph size suggests content importance" and "contributes to easy reading and visibility of the content." On the other hand, the respondents who were more inclined to version B4 believed equally large photos of J.F. Kennedy and his lover Mimi Beardsley to be giving an impression of equality, equal involvement, where J.F. Kennedy is seen as a "president who committed a political scandal and an ordinary man who had an affair." In addition, smaller photographs feed the illusion of seriousness of the content by leaving more room for extra text, as a characteristic of serious newspapers, while large photographs seem sensationalist by being more obvious in the first

⁵ 11 x 17.5 cm in size, 1:1 scale

⁶ 7.5 x 9.5 cm in size, 1:1 scale

place. The results indicate that the size of visual elements affects the perception of the textual content. Larger pictures were found to affect the perception of importance and visibility of the content while smaller ones contributed to the perception of equality.

The last couple of spreads (B3-B2) were intended for a direct comparison of the spreads showing a picture of J.F. Kennedy with his family, where B2 contained a color photograph and B3 an identical black and white photograph. Three dimensions were investigated: "impression of the content," "visibility of the elements" and "general visual impression." According to the results, an overwhelming majority of respondents chose the version with a color photograph. Spread B2 had scores of more than 90% on all three dimensions. Respondents explained their choice by custom. They were accustomed to seeing color photographs in newspapers while a smaller number of respondents who favored the black and white photograph said it "evoked an event from the past." Thus, the results indicate that color photographs leave a stronger impression than black and white ones, which can be explained by custom and expectations. The presence of color is a characteristic of modern newspapers; it is customary, part of the reader's visual experience. Black and white photographs are rare, indeed; in most cases, they relate to the content from the past, so their appearance may be expected to result in a perception of "retro content." Accordingly, it can be concluded that hypotheses H3 and H3A were confirmed.

The last, fourth hypothesis refers to the front page and its impact on the consumer-reader behavior. Asked to express a subjective view of the importance of the front page, respondents said that the front page is an essential element of the newspaper since its very appearance sells newspapers. The front page is seen as the newspaper's "packaging," and it determines the character of the newspaper. When asked to what extent a front page affects the decision to buy a daily newspaper, 21 respondents (52.50%) answered that it "completely affects," with as many as 34 other respondents (85%) giving an affirmative answer to the question about the purchase of that day's daily newspaper on account of the content and look of the front page. Respondents were then asked to rank graphic elements of the front page in the order in which they are observed on a scale starting from 1 (most visible / important) to 9 (least visible / important element on the front page). For an authoritative presentation of the order of ranking, mode was used as the frequent occurrence of the number in the series, and the share of the most frequent number in the sample. The results (presented in Table 4) show that 17 respondents (42.50%) chose the main photograph as the most visible element of the front page (mode 1). It was followed by the main headline (mode 2, 18 respondents – 45%); smaller headlines (mode 3, 12 respondents – 30%); teaser/topic above the head (mode 4, 8 respondents – 20% incidence); format (mode 5, 8 respondents – 20% incidence), color (mode 6, 9 respondents – 22.50% share in the total); with information surrounding the head/flag and newspaper head/logo sharing grade 8, as the most common number in the series (9 respondents – 22.50%). Ranking last was advertisement/feature or gift announcement with grade 9 (13 respondents – 32.50%). The research results are consistent with those from López-Rabadán and Casero-Ripollés (2012) and Kim and Chung (2017) and point to the confirmation of hypothesis H4.

Table 4 – *Ranking of the graphic elements of the front page*

Graphic elements of the front page	Mode	Number of respondents (%)
Format	5	8 (20%)
Newspaper head/logo	8	9 (22.5 %)
Main Headline	2	18 (45%)
Smaller headlines	3	12 (30%)
Color	6	9 (22.5%)
The main photograph	1	17 (42.5%)
Teaser/topic above the head	4	8 (20%)
Information surrounding the head/flag	8	9 (22.50%)
Advertisement/feature or gift announcement	9	13 (32.50%)

Conclusion

A successful design of any visual form is based, in the case of a graphic product like the daily newspaper, on the appreciation of the interdisciplinary and complex nature of design and respect for the universal principles of visual organization—Gestalt.

Previous studies on reading habits and perception point to the impact of design elements on the visual behavior of readers. Specifically, isolating and altering the characteristics of mutable and immutable elements of the newspaper page design, due to universal Gestalt principles of visual organization, produce changes in the observation, perception, impression, and understanding of news, as reflected in the changed order of observation and dwell time on the page. The object size, positioning, and axiality foster not only earlier perception but also cognition of the content as well; color has a subliminal emotional appeal and serves as a landmark for orientation in the visual space, with its positioning next to the headlines tripling the chances that the text may be read, etc.

Based on the findings presented on the effect of design elements on perception and their visual impact, with a special emphasis on newspaper design, one may conclude that their meaning and effect are exceptional and should in no case be ignored. Every single element, even the smallest element of a newspaper page can affect the perceptual and cognitive processes as well as the visual impact. The universal design principles, Gestalt, visual communication, and a number of other disciplines result in a generally accepted understanding, awareness, and access to the visual design of daily newspapers. This is also evident from the results of primary research conducted on the Croatian market and described here, which can be considered indicative and serve as a basis for further research on perception and design.

Regarding implications for newspapers' marketing managers, the findings might (should) form the basis for further and more detailed improvements of the visual ergonomics of newspapers.

Finally, the current situation in the market of print media does not leave much room for halting a decline in circulation and readership. But such a trend can surely be mitigated if strategic thinking is applied. Design is but one factor which may contribute to it.

Research limitations and future research

This research is not without limitations. A convenience sample based on availability was used for the purpose of the research. The size and structure of the sample may be considered to be a limitation of this research and are not directly comparable to the available databases of reader preferences. Therefore, the results obtained by the research cannot be generalized, nor are they representative of the Croatian population. The methodology may be viewed as an additional limitation. The research design and combined method that was used relies heavily on a self-assessment of the respondents' visual experience while the accuracy of the results might best be checked by using a reliable and efficient but expensive eye-tracking method, recording the respondents' eye movements.

The research may be considered as indicative and serve as a basis for further research in the field of perception and design, which it is both desirable and necessary to conduct in a professional and controlled environment, preferably on a representative number of respondents. Future research using a combination of traditional and neuro-marketing research methods is desirable too.

It is recommended for the purpose of better newspaper preparation and placement on the market to conduct extensive research on the habits and attitudes of target audiences, and to take into account the results of such research since it is obvious that everything in the environment affects the perception, and thereby also the visual impact. Detail is everything, and only such an approach may foster successful business operations, founded on the marketing business philosophy and orientation, in the observed economic activity.

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Večernji List archives

PRILOG 1: UPITNIK

UPITNIK

Za potrebe primarnog istraživanja u sklopu
magistarskog rada na temu
“UTJECAJ ELEMENATA DIZAJNA DNEVNIH NOVINA
NA PERCEPCIJU I VIZUALNI DOJAM KOD ČITATELJA”

PDS Marketing
Ekonomski fakultet
Sveučilište u Zagrebu

UPITNIK BR.:

DATUM RAZGOVORA:

VRIJEME POČETKA:

TRAJANJE (min):

IME I PREZIME ISPITANIKA:

IZBOR ISPITANIKA

A) spol:

ZAOKRUŽITI KATEGORIJU:

• MUŠKI	1
• ŽENSKI	2

B) dob:

TOČNA DOB ISPITANIKA U GODINAMA: !__!__!

ZAOKRUŽITI KATEGORIJU:

• 10 do 19 godina	1	ZAVRŠITI RAZGOVOR
• 20 do 24 godine	2	ZAVRŠITI RAZGOVOR
• 25 do 30 godina	3	
• 31 do 40 godina	4	
• 41 do 59 godina	5	ZAVRŠITI RAZGOVOR
• 60 do 74 godine	6	ZAVRŠITI RAZGOVOR
• 75 godina i više	7	ZAVRŠITI RAZGOVOR

C) stupanj završenog obrazovanja:

• završena i nezavršena OŠ	1	ZAVRŠITI RAZGOVOR
• SS i VŠS	2	ZAVRŠITI RAZGOVOR
• fakultet	3	
• magisterij, doktorat	4	

D) prebivalište:

01 Grad Zagreb i Zagrebačka žup.		11 Požeško-Slavonska	X
02 Krapinsko-Zagorska	x	12 Brodsko-Posavska	X
03 Sisačko-Moslavačka	X	13 Zadarska	X
04 Karlovačka	X	14 Osječko-Baranjska	X
05 Varaždinska	X	15 Šibensko-Kninska	X
06 Koprivničko-Križevačka	X	16 Vukovarsko-Srijemska	X
07 Bjelovarsko-Bilogorska	X	17 Splitsko-Dalmatinska	X
08 Primorsko-Goranska	x	18 Istarska	X
09 Ličko-Senjska	x	19 Dubrovačko-Neret.	X
10 Virovitičko-Podravska	x	20 Međimurska	X

E) Frekvencija čitanja dnevnih novina:

FREKVENCIJA ČITANJA				
Svaki dan/gotovo svaki dan	3-4 puta tjedno	1-2 puta tjedno	Nekoliko puta mjesečno	rjeđe
1	2	3	4	5

OPĆENITO O NOVINAMA

1. Možete mi navesti glavne razloge zbog kojih čitate dnevne novine?

(navedite najmanje jedan razlog)

- A) informiranost
- B) navika/tradicija
- C) sadržaj
- D) pokloni uz novinu
- E) prilozi u novinama
- F) Nešto drugo.

Što? _____

2. **Koje sve DOMAĆE dnevne novine poznajete?** Spontano poznavanje. Pustiti ispitanika da sam kaže koje dnevne novine poznaje. Zaokružiti broj u koloni 1.

3. **Koje sve STRANE dnevne novine poznajete?** Spontano poznavanje. Pustiti ispitanika da sam kaže koje dnevne novine poznaje. Zaokružiti broj u koloni 2.

DOMAĆE DNEVNE NOVINE	STRANE DNEVNE NOVINE	1. POZNAVANJE (spontano) DOMAĆIH dnevnih novina	2. POZNAVANJE (spontano) STRANIH dnevnih novina
1. VEČERNJI LIST	1. USA Today	1	1
2. JUTARNJI LIST	2. Guardian	2	2
3. 24sata	3. New York Times	3	3
4. SLOBODNA DALMACIJA	4. Heral Tribune	4	4
5. NOVILIST	5. FAZ	5	5
6. GLAS ISTRE	6. Le Figaro	6	6
7. GLAS SLAVONIJE	7. Washington Post	7	7
Neke druge? Koje?	Neke druge? Koje?		

4. PROČITATI ONE DNEVNE NOVINE KOJE ISPITANIK NIJE SPOMENUO, A KOJE SU NAVEDENE U TABLICI. Sada ću vam pročitati još neke DOMAĆE dnevne novine, a vi mi recite poznajete li ih barem po imenu? OZNAČI U KOLONI 2.

5. PROČITATI ONE DNEVNE NOVINE KOJE ISPITANIK NIJE SPOMENUO, A KOJE SU NAVEDENE U TABLICI. Sada ću vam pročitati još neke STRANE dnevne novine, a vi mi recite poznajete li ih barem po imenu? OZNAČI U KOLONI 2.

DOMAĆE DNEVNE NOVINE	STRANE DNEVNE NOVINE	1. POZNAVANJE (potpomognuto) DOMAĆIH dnevnih novina	2. POZNAVANJE (potpomognuto) STRANIH dnevnih novina
1. VEČERNJI LIST	1. USA Today	1	1
2. JUTARNJI LIST	2. Guardian	2	2
6. 24sata	3. New York Times	3	3
4. SLOBODNA DALMACIJA	4. Heral Tribune	4	4
5. NOVILIST	5. FAZ	5	5
6. GLAS ISTRE	6. Le Figaro	6	6
7. GLAS SLAVONIJE	7. Washington Post	7	7
Neke druge. Koje?	Neke druge. Koje?		

b. Prema vašoj procjeni, kakav je profil novina USA Today, NYT, The Guardian i Večernji list?

OPĆENITO O DIZAJNU NOVINA

6. Možete mi reći koliko je vama osobno važan dizajn dnevnih novina?

	1. uopće mi nije važan	2. uglavnom mi <u>nije</u> važan	3. važan mi je	4. izrazito mi je važan	5. ne znam/ ne mogu procijeniti
DIZAJN DNEVNIH NOVINA:	1	2	3	4	5

7. Možete mi navesti neke dnevne novine, strane ili domaće, koje, prema vašem mišljenju imaju dobar dizajn, bolji od drugih dnevnih novina?

DOMAĆE DNEVNE NOVINE	STRANE DNEVNE NOVINE	1. POZNAVANJE (spontano) DOMAĆIH dnevnih novina	2. POZNAVANJE (spontano) STRANIH dnevnih novina
1. VEČERNJI LIST	1. USA Today	1	1
2. JUTARNJI LIST	2. Guardian	2	2
3. 24sata	3. New York Times	3	3
4. SLOBODNA DALMACIJA	4. Heral Tribune	4	4
5. NOVLIST	5. FAZ	5	5
6. GLAS ISTRE	6. Le Figaro	6	6
7. GLAS SLAVONIJE	7. Washington post	7	7
Neke druge? Koje?	Neke druge? Koje?		

8. Možete li nabrojati glavne grafičke elemente - dijelove dnevnih novina? Spontano poznavanje. Pustiti ispitanika da sam kaže koje dnevne novine poznaje. Zaokružiti broj u koloni 1.

9. PROČITATI ONE ELEMENTE KOJE ISPITANIK NIJE SPOMENUO, A KOJE SU NAVEDENE U TABLICI. Sada ću vam pročitati još neke grafičke elemente dnevnih novina, a vi mi recite da li su vam poznati? OZNAČI U KOLONI 2.

GRAFIČKI ELEMENTI DNEVNIH NOVINA	Poznavanje grafičkih elemenata novina (spontano)	Poznavanje grafičkih elemenata novina (potpomognuto)
NASLOVNICA	1	2
GLAVA/LOGO NOVINE	1	2
FONT NASLOVA	1	2
FOTOGRAFIJA	1	2
BOJA	1	2
PRIJELOM STRANICE	1	2
FORMAT	1	2
Nešto drugo. Što?		

Utjecaj elemenata dizajna dnevnih novina na percepciju i vizualni dojam kod čitatelja

10. Molim Vas zaokružite odgovor koji po vama najbolje predstavlja utjecaj određenih grafičkih elemenata na opći dojam neke dnevne novine.

ELEMENTI DNEVNIH NOVINA:	1. uopće ne utječe	2. uglavnom ne utječe	3. donekle utječe	4. utječe u potpunosti	5. ne znam/ ne mogu procijeniti
NASLOVNICA	1	2	3	4	5
GLAVA/LOGO NOVINE	1	2	3	4	5
FONT NASLOVA	1	2	3	4	5
FOTOGRAFIJA	1	2	3	4	5
BOJA	1	2	3	4	5
PRIJELOM STRANICE	1	2	3	4	5
FORMAT	1	2	3	4	5

NASLOVNICA

b. Možete li mi reći što mislite o naslovnici novine, koliko je ona bitna?

11. Možete li mi reći koliko naslovnica utječe na vašu odluku o kupnji dnevne novine toga dana (zaokružite jedan od ponuđenih odgovora)

	1. uopće ne utječe	2. uglavnom <u>ne</u> utječe	3. donekle utječe	4. utječe u potpunosti	5. ne znam/ ne mogu procijeniti
NASLOVNICA	1	2	3	4	5

12. Kupio/la bih novine samo zbog sadržaja na naslovnici: (zaokružite da ili ne)

DA / NE

b. Što je to što vam privlači pažnju na naslovnici kad ste na prodajnom mjestu?

13. Možete li reći koje grafičke elemente naslovnice u pravilu najprije uočavate? Stavljati redne brojeve u kolonu.

ELEMENTI NA NASLOVNICI	Uočavanje grafičkih elemenata na naslovnici (potpomognuto)
FORMAT OPĆENITO	
GLAVA/LOGO NOVINE	
GLAVNI NASLOV	
MANJI NASLOVI	
BOJA	
GLAVNA FOTOGRAFIJA	
INFO OKO GLAVE /FLAG	
REKLAMA / NAJAVA PRILOGA / DARA	
TEASER/ TEMA IZNAD GLAVE	
Nešto drugo. Što?	

14. Možete li reći kakav koncept naslovnice preferirate: sa jednog glavnom fotografijom i jednim naslovom koji čine 90% stranice, ili naslovnicu sa 2-3 i više naslova i manjih fotografija? Zaokružiti broj u koloni.

	1. jedna velika fotografija i jedan naslov	2. više manjih fotografija i više naslova
KONCEPT NASLOVNICE	1	2

b. Zašto?

15. Molim ocijenite dva spreada Večernjeg lista, sa različitim konceptom naslovnica. Zaokružiti broj u koloni.

	1. jedna velika fotografija i jedan naslov	2. više manjih fotografija i više naslova
KONCEPT NASLOVNICE VEČERNJEG LISTA	1	2

16. Molim ocijenite estetski dojam predstavljenih isprinta naslovnica, neovisno o sadržaju.

DNEVNA NOVINA	1. uopće mi se ne sviđa	2. uglavnom mi se <u>ne</u> sviđa	3. donekle mi se sviđa	4. izrazito mi se sviđa	5. ne znam/ ne mogu procijeniti
USA TODAY	1	2	3	4	5
THE GUARDIAN	1	2	3	4	5
THE NEW YORK TIMES	1	2	3	4	5
VEČERNJI LIST-prijedlog	1	2	3	4	5

17. Možete mi reći u kojoj mjeri vam se sviđa „glava“ na predstavljenim isprintima naslovnica.

DNEVNA NOVINA	1. uopće mi se ne sviđa	2. uglavnom mi se <u>ne</u> sviđa	3. donekle mi se sviđa	4. izrazito mi se sviđa	5. ne znam/ ne mogu procijeniti
USA TODAY	1	2	3	4	5
THE GUARDIAN	1	2	3	4	5
THE NEW YORK TIMES	1	2	3	4	5
VEČERNJI LIST-prijedlog	1	2	3	4	5

b. Zašto?

BOJA

18. Molim vas kažite mi na što vas asociraju žarke, tople boje? Spontano spominjanje.

19. Molim vas kažite mi na što vas asociraju pastelne, hladne boje? Spontano spominjanje.

20. Na što vas asocira paleta P2? Spontano spominjanje.

21. Uz Na što vas asocira paleta P1? Spontano spominjanje.

22. Molim ocijenite koliko vam se sviđaju predstavljene kolorne palete novina:

KOLORNA PALETA	1. uopće mi se ne sviđa	2. uglavnom mi se ne sviđa	3. donekle mi se sviđa	4. izrazito mi se sviđa	5. ne znam/ ne mogu procijeniti
USA TODAY	1	2	3	4	5
NEW YORK TIMES	1	2	3	4	5

23. Molim ocijenite koliko i po vašem mišljenju smatrate pripadajuće kolorne palete odgovaraju profilu novine: (zaokružite broj koji označava stupanj sviđanja)

KOLORNA PALETA	1. uopće <u>ne</u> odgovara	2. uglavnom <u>ne</u> odgovara	3. donekle odgovara	4. izrazito odgovara	5. ne znam/ ne mogu procijeniti
USA TODAY	1	2	3	4	5
NEW YORK TIMES	1	2	3	4	5

b. Zašto?

PRIJELOM

24. Molim ocijenite isprinte crna kronika 1 i 2: (za svaku stavku stavite oznaku za samo jedan isprint)

CK 1/ HOR		CK 2/VER	
impresija na sadržaj (dojmljivost)		impresija na sadržaj (dojmljivost)	
impresija na sadržaj (vjerodostojnost)		impresija na sadržaj (vjerodostojnost)	
uočljivost elemenata		uočljivost elemenata	
preglednost elemenata		preglednost elemenata	
dojam (općenito)		dojam (općenito)	

b. Zašto?

25. DATI ISPITANIKU DA ISPUNI. Molim unesite redoslijed uočavanja elemenata na isprintima (navedite koje elemente/dijelove redom uočavate, počevši od rednog broja 1...)
CK1



CK2



FOTOGRAFIJA

26. Molim usporedite fotografiju na isprintu B1 i B2 (za svaku stavku odaberite samo jedan isprint)

B1/ JFK, veliki		B 2/ obitelj, boja	
impresija na sadržaj		impresija na sadržaj	
uočljivost elemenata		uočljivost elemenata	
dojam (općenito)		dojam (općenito)	

b. Zašto?

27. Molim usporedite fotografiju na isprintu B1 i B4 (za svaku stavku odaberite samo jedan isprint)

B1/JFK, veliki		B 4 /JFK, mali	
impresija na veličinu		impresija na veličinu	
impresija na sadržaj		impresija na sadržaj	
uočljivost elemenata		uočljivost elemenata	
dojam (općenito)		dojam (općenito)	

b. Zašto?

28. Molim usporedite fotografiju na isprintu B3 i B2 (za svaku stavku odaberite samo jedan isprint)

B3/ obitelj, c.b.		B 2/ obitelj, boja	
impresija na sadržaj		impresija na sadržaj	
uočljivost elemenata		uočljivost elemenata	
dojam (općenito)		dojam (općenito)	

b.

PRILOG 2

ISPRINTI NASLOVNICA I STRANICE

THE NEW YORK TIMES



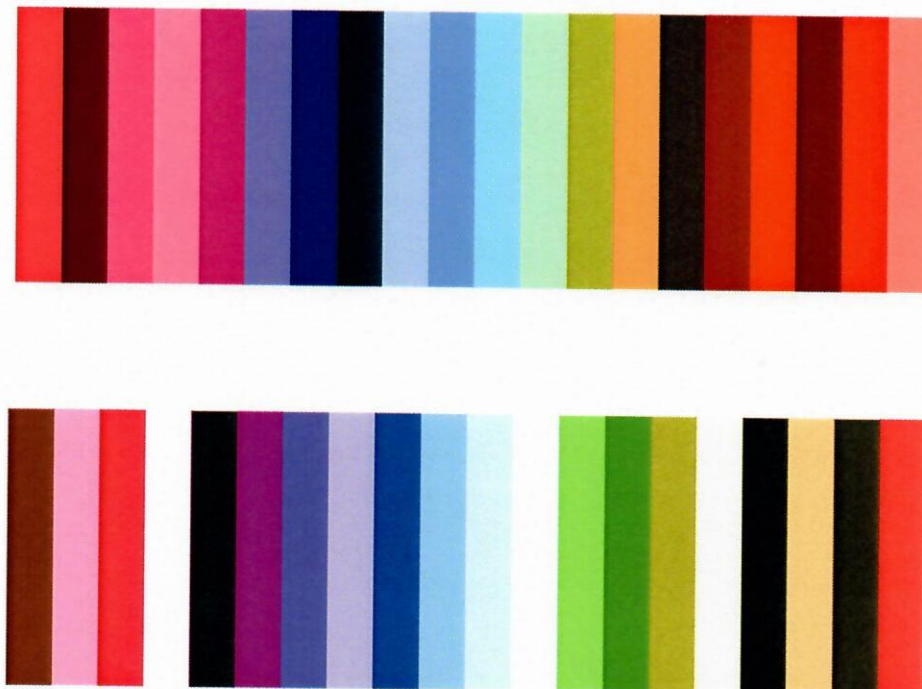
USA TODAY



PASTELNA / HLADNA PALETA BOJA (NEW YORK TIMES)



TOPLA / ŽARKA PALETA BOJA (USA TODAY)



SPREAD CK2 (VERTIKALNA)

SUSJEDI SPASILI BOLESNU BAKU IZ PLAMTEŽE KUĆE

POZAR Epizoda de smrti koja 76-godišnje starice B. P. je započela izvanice Grada



U četvrtak je u jednom od najstarijih dijelova grada izbio požar koji je zahvatio dvokatnu zgradu. U kući su živjela dva člana obitelji, uključujući i bolesnu 76-godišnju staricu B. P. Srećno je spriječen daljnji razvoj požara, a susjedi su uspjeli spasiti bolesnu baku iz plamteže kuće. Požar je izbio u četvrtak ujutro u jednoj od najstarijih zgrada u centru grada. U kući su živjela dva člana obitelji, uključujući i bolesnu 76-godišnju staricu B. P. Srećno je spriječen daljnji razvoj požara, a susjedi su uspjeli spasiti bolesnu baku iz plamteže kuće.

Pomagač: "Ubj ga! Ako nećeš, ja ću!"

MAKON PUKNIJAVE Zrimor iz zapadne su Goras Beles



U četvrtak je u jednom od najstarijih dijelova grada izbio požar koji je zahvatio dvokatnu zgradu. U kući su živjela dva člana obitelji, uključujući i bolesnu 76-godišnju staricu B. P. Srećno je spriječen daljnji razvoj požara, a susjedi su uspjeli spasiti bolesnu baku iz plamteže kuće.

SPREAD B1

Čarolija snovita plesa

TJEDAN SUPTVENOG PLESA Nolez, Dancor i DJXC



U četvrtak je u jednom od najstarijih dijelova grada izbio požar koji je zahvatio dvokatnu zgradu. U kući su živjela dva člana obitelji, uključujući i bolesnu 76-godišnju staricu B. P. Srećno je spriječen daljnji razvoj požara, a susjedi su uspjeli spasiti bolesnu baku iz plamteže kuće.

Mimi je tajnu vezu s JFK čuvala punih 40 godina

SEKS Iznenađujuća ljubavna priča američke



U četvrtak je u jednom od najstarijih dijelova grada izbio požar koji je zahvatio dvokatnu zgradu. U kući su živjela dva člana obitelji, uključujući i bolesnu 76-godišnju staricu B. P. Srećno je spriječen daljnji razvoj požara, a susjedi su uspjeli spasiti bolesnu baku iz plamteže kuće.

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Čarolija snovita plesa

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Djecu nekad treba zaštititi – lažima

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SEKS i naslovna strana...
... i drugi...

Mimi je tajnu vezu s JFK čuvala punih 40 godina



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Povratak Saponice i Radolji i V. Puh: na vede

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Vrijedi samo isprika

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Kajuga godine

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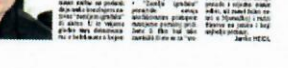
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Čarolija snovita plesa

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Djecu nekad treba zaštititi – lažima

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SEKS i naslovna strana...
... i drugi...

Mimi je tajnu vezu s JFK čuvala punih 40 godina



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Povratak Saponice i Radolji i V. Puh: na vede

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Vrijedi samo isprika

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Kajuga godine

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SPREAD B4

hlc

ANONIMNI SVETCI
Koliko ih ima? Za spas životu koga? Iza



U slučaju nesreće, anonimni svjetci mogu biti spas života koga? Iza

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U slučaju nesreće, anonimni svjetci mogu biti spas života koga? Iza



„Kraljica plesa“ vraća se na pozornicu: Dasi, Theater u ZNK

Čarolija snovita plesa

U slučaju nesreće, anonimni svjetci mogu biti spas života koga? Iza

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U slučaju nesreće, anonimni svjetci mogu biti spas života koga? Iza

SEKS Kneževićeva ljubavna piva mesena

Mimi je tajnu vezu s JFK čuvala punih 40 godina



Povratnik SAPUNICE Z. Raduljić i V. Jakuš na izidu

Vrijedi samo isprika

U slučaju nesreće, anonimni svjetci mogu biti spas života koga? Iza

svačije

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U slučaju nesreće, anonimni svjetci mogu biti spas života koga? Iza

U slučaju nesreće, anonimni svjetci mogu biti spas života koga? Iza

Backstage in the history of media theory: The George Gerbner Archive and the history of critical media studies.

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Abstract: This paper explores the significance of the George Gerbner Archive (<http://web.asc.upenn.edu/gerbner/archive.aspx>) as a resource on the history of Communications and Media Studies. Drawing on historical theory, the paper analyzes a 1973 clash between Gerbner and the International Communication Association over the future of the *Journal of Communication*. Exchanges on this matter revealed conflicting views over how to manage and finance the title. These quarrels manifested surprising drivers behind the US' emergence as a dominant force in global communications research. The letters suggest that much as Gerbner's scholarly reputation is well established, he also exerted considerable influence as an ideas broker. Overall, the case study illustrates the value of complementing media theory with research on the organizational and interpersonal histories behind published work, showcasing the value of the Gerbner archive in this task.

Keywords: George Gerbner, Cultural Indicators Project, International Communication Association, History of Communications Studies.

Introduction: George Gerbner and the backstage of media theory

When George Gerbner died in 2005, the renowned founder of the Cultural Indicators Project (Gerbner, 1969a, 1970, 1973), bequeathed half a century's worth of papers and professional correspondences to The University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School for Communication (ASC). These letters, emails, memos and ephemera are a time tunnel to a pivotal period in media research. Gerbner famously pioneered new ways to conceive how media affected political socialisation. His role as an influential "ideas broker" is less well known. The archive registers the enormous energy he expended on organising a nascent discipline. These records are worth examining, because they lend significant insights to recent work on the global shape of communication and media studies. Over the last twenty years, writers have identified linguistic and geographic power centres in communication research. Their work signals the need for research into the social processes that spawned these hubs. The following paper shows that Gerbner's correspondences with the International Communication Association (ICA) concerning the management of the *Journal of Communication (JOC)* evidenced how these processes worked, and when they took shape. The case study is indicative of the Gerbner

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archive's value as a historical resource that lends useful insights to current questions about the arrangement of communications and media studies.

In their study of peer reviewed journal publications from 1930 to the present day, Günther and Domahidi (2017) noted the ICA's stewardship of peer review as a key driver that has shaped global research excellence. It is reasonable to suspect, then, that when the ASC assumed responsibility for publishing ICA's flagship *JOC* in 1973, installing Gerbner as editor, that this was a pivotal historical juncture in the field's research trajectory. In a decade long tenure, Gerbner skippered a major outlet for peer reviewed communications scholarship in the period culminating in the *JOC*'s classic "Ferment in the Field" edition. No-one could have known at the time of his appointment, but this made the Hungarian émigré a key gatekeeper for the ideas and people who would define the discipline as a global practice.

A file in the archive contains the correspondence between Gerbner and ICA officers, arranging his appointment. The letters therein are more than dry recordings of crossed "t"s and dotted "i"s. They register sometimes heated arguments across 1973 and 1974, indicating that Gerbner came very close to walking away from the editorship; a decision that would have changed the *JOC*'s complexion. The episode, brief as it was, enlightens research on the arrangement of peer reviewed publication in media studies. Over the last 30 years or so, scholars have recognised the ICA and the *JOC* as major power brokers in global research cultures that remain heavily rooted in the English-speaking world, especially North America (Demeter, 2017; Gunther and Domahidi, 2017; Lauf, 2005). At the same time, these writers acknowledge that this imbalance cannot be attributed to intentional bias. Concurring, Gerbner's archive records how North America's scholarly hegemony emerged from hard-nosed, but well intentioned business decisions that were the subject of occasionally intense struggles within what has become the "centre" of global communications research. Gerbner's *JOC* file offers an intriguing historical quirk; the Anglo and US bias in communication is partly down to the dogged determination of an Eastern European refugee to make media scholarship a force to be reckoned with. This informational nugget is indicative of the archive's value. Gerbner's contribution to media theory and methods is well established; but the presence of the archive indicates new directions, where he also stands as a notable historical gateway to the sociology of our discipline.

The purpose of this article is to model how the archive's personal correspondences afford useful insights on the purpose and evolution of critical media research. In illustration, what follows uses the contents of the *JOC* file to answer questions Demeter raised in his analysis of fifteen thousand journal articles from nineteen respected communications journals (2017). Demeter pinpoints the mid-1970s as a crucial period when quality communications outputs began to congregate around core ICA journals. He further suggests that this "fact" invites sociological reflection on the explicit and implicit forces that made things so. What follows details how we might approach this task by applying historical theory to the Gerbner archive, and why it is worth investing time in learning more about a figure whose impact on media research seems to have already been established.

The Question of History

E.H. Carr famously cautioned against focusing history on "great" figures. Historical junctures do not emanate from personal ambitions, tenacity, skill, proclivities or foibles alone; Rome didn't invade Egypt because Mark Anthony was enamoured of Cleopatra's nose (Carr, 1963). Carr's warning is apt, because it is easy to be seduced by Gerbner's hagiographic lure. Refugee, soldier, Nazi hunter, McCarthy victim; the sober social scientist cut a dashing figure. It is easy

to focus on the man himself, and pay less attention to the period that he represented. But that story has been told (e.g. Lent, 1995).

Gerbner's contribution to mass communication theory is even more renowned. Morgan's *George Gerbner: A Critical Introduction to Media Theory* (2012) exploited the archive's collection of Gerbner's published work to map his professional journey across shifting political, scholarly and technological sands. Morgan authoritatively depicted Gerbner as a methodologically catholic researcher who cannily used TV violence to accuse corporate storytelling for impoverishing public culture. Morgan's account is deeply historical, noting how Gerbner's interests were grounded in multi-methodological comparative analyses of diverse cultural industries. His book argued that Gerbner envisaged a critical paradigm that could produce historically informed, sensitive explanations for how media industries spun seductive stories about reality through intricate, frequently unpredictable decision-making networks. Morgan shone a spotlight on Gerbner's lesser known projects; topics such as international differences in popular representations of education and heroism (Gerbner, 1966, 1969b, 1972), the role of confession magazines in harnessing gender discrimination to commercial interests (Gerbner, 1958), and the peculiar tale of how screen regulation and risk aversion in the television industry led to stereotyping of the mentally ill (Gerbner, 1959; Gerbner and Tannenbaum, 1961). Morgan also detailed Gerbner's adventures as a media activist. Gerbner always hoped that the violence profiles would spark popular demand for a richer public culture. In the 1990s, he tried to catalyse such a popular movement, by creating the Cultural Environment Movement.

The quality of Morgan's book threatens to bypass the archive's value as a living resource. What remains to be said? Especially when using scraps of personal and professional documents that were not written for posterity's sake. A little inside knowledge reveals notable discrepancies between those records and Gerbner's real life. Glaringly, there are just two emails to show from over 30 years of work with Michael Morgan. Given such omissions, and that many of Gerbner's confidantes remain active in the field, the risks of being caught out in misinterpretation are high. Archivist Sharon Black shares her frustration in knowing the archive does not capture some of Gerbner's deepest relationships. Hence, using the archive as a resource in trying to write a history of communications and media studies is fraught with risk.

Added to this is the fear that archives skew historical knowledge. Specialists detail a vigorous debate on the nature and purpose of archives dating back more than a century. In the 19th century, the American Historical Association noted an explosion of archiving activities from a diverse range of people and institutions. Much as this enthusiasm represented a historical opportunity, it also threatened to exacerbate the eternal problem of ceding history to those who kept the best records (Birdsall, 1979). Gerbner's digital archive is a variation on this theme; threatening to exaggerate his significance by the simple fact that his records are there.

More positively, what all of this points to is the need to heed Carr's warning on the importance of looking through "great people" into the worlds that made them figures of note. A Gerbner centred history built on published works already exists. However, there are sound theoretical reasons for arguing that this can be complemented by a non "Gerbner centric" corollary, based on his other materials. The value of writing an alternative Gerbner history, focused less on the man himself, and more on the scholarly era that he encapsulated, is illustrated by reflecting on history as a creative pursuit that re-landscapes the past.

Reinventing Gerbner. "Reperiodisation" as a method.

So, anyone using the Gerbner archive is confronted by the absence of key materials, and the presence of experts who lived the history one is trying to reconstruct. Daunting indeed. But

there is some comfort in realising that such is life for the archival historian. So, too, the knowledge that eminent historians do not simply seek to recreate a past that would be agreeable to those who lived it. Truth is surely important. As Eric Hobsbawm observed (1994), history is about things that happened, and the people those things happened to. On the other hand, John Lewis Gaddis characterised history as a narrative process that *creates* periods of historical significance. Where first-hand accounts will always be indispensable, they are not to be gifted “divine rights” in making sense of what has been. To Gerbner and his colleagues, he would offer:

All we can say for sure is that we'll only in part be remembered for what we consider significant about ourselves, or from what we choose to leave behind in the documents and the artefacts that will survive us. Future historians will have to choose what to make of these: it's they who will impose meanings, just as it's we who study the past, not those who lived through it, who do so. (Gaddis, 2002, pp. 23-24)

Gaddis' words are more than a pragmatic account of how history works in practice. Gaddis believed that good historians engage with the past by rearranging conventional historical periods. Hobsbawm's “short 20th-century” thesis (1994)-the notion that the shifts that characterised that age occurred between 1914 and 1989- is probably the most famous exemplar of what we might call “reperiodisation”. “Reperiodisation” enhances understanding of key historical periods by focusing on details that are conventionally deemed to be of little consequence. Of particular interest regarding Gerbner, consider the following Gaddis quote:

This particular form of time travel only works, though, when the historian is prepared to shift scales: to consider how phenomena so small that they escaped notice at the time could shape phenomena so large that we've always wondered why they occurred (Gaddis, 2002, p. 25)

The passage indicates what there may be to say about a man of whom so much has been said. The fact that we already have well-researched and persuasive histories of Gerbner's scholarly impact does not preclude the possibility of undiscovered “key moments” that enrich our understanding of how his work affected the field.

Method

“Reperiodising” Gerbner involves finding “small” archive data rich enough to test the thesis that Gerbner's administrative life impacted his discipline. The *JOC* file, containing correspondence with twenty-six people between the years of 1973 and 1991, is fit for purpose, prima facie. As has already been mentioned, the file details a period where Gerbner assumed a weighty role in organising international media scholarship, in the decade preceding a cornerstone edition of a canonised voice in communications scholarship. Gerbner's ascension is part of the story of how media research came to be organised in a particular way in a pivotal period. Hence, the documents in this file are a suitable database to test the idea that the Devil in understanding Gerbner lies in the administrative detail.

The technique used here “reperiodised” Gerbner by mapping evidence of organisational conflict in the file. The justification for the approach is as follows. We know that qualitative research often seeks “dramatic” moments where the building, defending or breaking of social rules becomes unusually transparent (Geertz, 1973; Van Maanen, 1988). In this case, the idea was to see if conflict evidenced in administrative letters affected how the ICA and the *JOC* went about their work of cultivating excellence. In this regard, the period when ASC assumed responsibility for publishing *JOC*, and Gerbner became its editor, produced eighteen exchanges between ICA officers over how to maximise the publication's impact. These letters and memos

were written between May, 1973, and April, 1974. Mapping these documents, it is possible to see that the “Ferment in the Field” noted in 1983 was foreshadowed by often animated debates over the management of high-quality peer-reviewed research; in other words, the ferment started bubbling ten years before it splashed onto paper.

Disagreements in this episode largely settled around key three key players, and had a particular rhythm, reflecting the unique nature of scholarly work in the US. The drama's main protagonists were Gerbner, Fred Smith, then ICA President, and R. Wayne Pace, who preceded Smith in the role. Pace was a member of a “Past Presidents’ Committee” that Smith convened to oversee the Annenberg transfer. Judging by the archive, Pace’s queries provoked flurries of sometimes irritable exchanges over the *JOC*’s future. These notable squabbles registered influential opinions on how to establish research excellence that continue to affect how scholars go about their work.

The Annenberg Move.

Curiously, evidence from this file suggests that Gerbner became a little alienated from the ICA, even as he took the bridge of its flagship publication. Gerbner believed that handing *JOC*’s operational management to ASC would foster the secure business foundation required of a leading academic publication. Smith initially concurred. But actioning the move sparked months of wrangling, souring the working relationships among all involved. What follows gives a more detailed explanation of the dispute, its chronology, and the details of the critical turning points.

On May 15th, 1973, Fred Smith formally notified Gerbner that an “ad hoc” ICA publications committee had voted to make the Annenberg School publisher of the *JOC*, with ICA “retaining editorial control”. The decision had been made to “ensure the financial, professional and promotional resources necessary to reach the new goal for the journal” (Correspondence, Alfred Smith, May 15 1973, no page). Smith’s correspondence flagged a considerable personal and institutional coup for Gerbner and his organisation. Smith welcomed Gerbner’s incomparable intellectual and editorial leadership’ for a publication charged with stewarding ICA’s medium of intellectual leadership in the field of communication at large, serving not only ICS membership but also reaching all those interested in communication developments in every field”. An enclosed committee memo revealed that the ASC Press agreed to shoulder production and distribution costs and oversee advertising and subscription matters. The deal was good for ten years, although either ASC or ICA could cancel. Smith’s letter was no more than a formality; member of the ad-hoc body, Gerbner knew all about the switch (Correspondence, Alfred Smith, May 15, 1973). However, Smith issued an omen of what was to come. ICA’s publishing commitments were incredibly complex, he warned. Operations demanded four managing committees. This included a body of past ICA presidents “to guide us through a number of large and small problems I would now propose that we need at least three kinds of committees to direct our publications programs” (Correspondence with Smith, May 16, 1973, no page). And so commenced the drama.

Trouble stirred within two weeks, as Gerbner accused Smith of exaggerating the complexity of the move. Gerbner saw no need for the Past Presidents’ Committee, or a member ballot, since ICA rules empowered the board to make executive decisions. “Bylaws give the Board authority to make such arrangements for publication as it sees fit”. ICA did need a new publications committee, given plans for new journals; he suggested members of the Past Presidents Committee, excluding Pace. Gerbner acknowledged the intricacies of reworking financial arrangements; the organisation of cash flow from library subscriptions was a case in point. Nevertheless, the agreement in place manifestly made this an ASC issue; the organisation responsible for all production costs, had the right to maximise revenue schemes. Gerbner saw

the Annenberg move as a pragmatic step toward the economic footing that a top rank publication required. Ominously, he displayed little interest in ICA rank and file feelings (Correspondence, Alfred Smith, May 31, 1973). And with that, Gerbner exited the stage for Europe, as the US school year ended.

But peace didn't last long.

In July, Smith became aware that *JOC* plans had to synchronise with the launching of new ICA venture Communications Monographs. Knowing that several of the Past Presidents were in and around LA, Smith offered to fund a meeting to discuss budgets for each operation (Correspondence with Alfred Smith, July 17, 1973). But just two days later Gerbner left the US, offering instead to host an all-expenses-paid Past Presidents' jaunt to Philadelphia on his return (Correspondence with Alfred Smith, July 20, 1973). Hence, complex questions about how to fit new journal operations within ICA rules arose just as nine-month US contracts expired, and scholars turned their attention to research.

Had the Past Presidents been able to meet, perhaps the bureaucratic tensions that developed could have been averted. Instead, on July 26th of 1973, Pace received legal advice, warning the proposed agreement gave the ASC the power to usurp the ICA as the leading gatekeeper of global communications studies (Correspondence, R Wayne Pace, July 26, 1973). Attorney Farrell Lines unnerved Pace with four observations. First, the Montreal agreement, if actioned, effectively transferred the *JOC*'s "name, good will...income and assets" to Annenberg. Second, although both parties agreed that either could cancel the cooperative arrangement with twelve months' notice, there was no mention of, nor mechanism for, transferring *JOC* back to the association; ASC was entitled to cut ties with ICA and keep *JOC*. Third, ASC enjoyed insurmountable editorial control; School members of the board outnumbered ICA officials. Fourth, Line's reading of ICA by-laws indicated no such major decision on core assets was constitutional without a member vote (Correspondence Farrell Lines, July 26, 1973). In essence, Lines warned the Presidents' committee that Gerbner's confidence about the fortitude of the Montreal agreement was at best premature. The problem for ICA was that the ASC Dean had nothing to lose by being wrong.

At this juncture, Smith's tone with Gerbner became less conciliatory. ICA's President rejected Gerbner's view that the Annenberg move could forge ahead on a tide of good faith. As Summer ended, Smith welcomed Gerbner home, but revealed his concerns about Pace's warnings. By now, he seemed persuaded that relocation could be dangerous. Mentioning communications from Pace, he asked for a more detailed agreement that would secure ICA's future rights to the *JOC* and the monies flowing from it. Although Gerbner had "The green light in general", Lines had persuaded Smith of the need for "one general adjustment in the Montreal statement, and that is to work out some mechanism or procedure for terminating/ the agreement if this ever becomes necessary in the future" (Correspondence, Alfred Smith, August 27, 1973, no page).

Then, September 11th, 1973 saw something of a collective meltdown. Things started with Smith taking on the roles of referee and mildly irked father figure. Smith wrote to Pace, praising his efforts on the ad hoc publications committee, but warning against an apparent plan to halt publication of the ICA newsletter, in protest at the status of the *JOC* quarrel. Coincidentally or not, the same day saw another Smith memo outlining the heavy lifting required of ICA President. Smith was responsible for; auditing finances, arranging budgets and the behemoth that was the annual ICA conference and overseeing the launch of new journal ventures. The administration had become so absurdly labyrinthine, that Smith had formed a committee of committees! And this was business as usual. No matter where the fault lay, the Annenberg transfer overburdened an already overburdened system. Worst of all, the wrangling stopped smart people from doing their day jobs; planning the future of communication. What was the field? What were its questions? What were its methods? Smith was afraid that the

Association was wasting too much time “navel-gazing” (Correspondence, Alfred Smith, September 11, 1973). He was also irritated by the lack of appreciation for his bureaucratic spadework, and how vital such labour was to scholarly goals; “Everyone must be free to do his own thing, to pursue glory, fulfilment, and salvation of the field as a whole. If the members of ICA don't do this planning, it will be done for them by other agencies.” (Correspondence, Alfred Smith, September 11, 1973, no page).

But Gerbner was not for turning. He retorted with an equally stern letter, on the very same day. In it, the ASC Dean offered to terminate ICA/ASC agreement, return *JOC* to ICA, and proceed with a new, independent publication. Gerbner argued again that the agreement had been robust. Much as he respected Pace, and did not wish to cause disunity within ICA, he was dismayed at the lack of appreciation for the service that he and his school were offering. Where Annenberg had moved swiftly to ensure a new quality journal, at a time when such a publication was sorely needed, “The feeling I get...is one of delay, obstruction and bickering. The momentum of Montreal has been allowed to It seems that ICA cannot yet provide optimum conditions for the revitalization of its Journal” (Correspondence, Alfred Smith, September 11, 1973, no page) He remained on the offensive in two communications in November of 1973, complaining that he had received so little support in his editorial role that he could not even tell readers how to subscribe (Correspondence, Alfred Smith, November 2, November 22, 1973-5). Some of the tension arose from Gerbner’s own alarm that the scholarly mission was vulnerable to the most mundane of flaws:

Let me again express my concern over the name and address given for dues and subscription. The uncertainties presents ICA and the Journal with grave risks. of the matter is your responsibility, I have a corresponding duty to safeguard the Journal's financial integrity for both ICA and ASC (Correspondence, Alfred Smith, November 22, 1973, no page).

Matters reached a nadir on April 8, 1974, with a letter to Gerbner from the newly appointed ICA business manager, B Martin Hurley. At the turn of that new year, Smith had finally announced an arrangement for directing a portion of *JOC* subscriptions to the Annenberg Press. Shortly afterwards, Hurley admonished Gerbner’s business acumen. Former chided latter for complicating new arrangements with his „wishful thinking” on how the association’s business operations worked. The Annenberg move only looked „simple” those who knew little of ICA’s daily existence. And, for this reason, Hurley invited Gerbner to contemplate „the share you hold in responsibility” for the problem (Correspondence B. Martin Hurley, April 8, 1974, no page).

Shortly afterwards, Smith wrote to Gerbner, applauding a fine first *JOC* edition under his stewardship. Smith expressed admiration for the clever mix of essays and research articles, the inclusion of scholars and media practitioners, and a laudable international focus (Correspondence Alfred Smith, July 8, 1974). But another note, written by Gerbner a decade later, suggested that the ill feeling from the incident never really dissipated in his long tenure as *JOC* editor. In the Spring of 1984, Gerbner wrote to new ICA President James Anderson to complain about a decade of wrestling with an uncooperative ICA publications committee, a lack gratitude the fact that Annenberg had subsided the organization for a decade, and dismay at a proposed “farming out” of the ICA publications to “a commercial organization” referencing a planned deal between the body and Sage publications. Gerbner was irritated that the decision had been made without consulting him and felt this left no alternative other than to reconsider the deal he had fought so hard to establish in 1973. (Correspondence, James Anderson, March 21, 1984). It is strange, and a little sad, that ten years of work leading to the publication of “Ferment in the Field” ended on such a note. Nevertheless, Gerbner’s sombre exit indicates what this episode, and these records, might say about enduring practices in media scholarship.

Discussion

Archived exchanges show that Gerbner's inauguration as *JOC* editor was beset with tensions over the publication's mission and operation. These quarrels had nothing to do with ideas, and everything to do with management. Gerbner was sure a robust international professional body, fit for matching expanding media challenges, needed to function as a business. His fractious conviction provoked tricky questions about profitability and ownership. The idea that Gerbner clashed with professional colleagues on a managerial level lends a new historical perspective that modifies our understanding of his place in disciplinary history.

This is because the *JOC/ASC* episode lends possible explanations to recent questions raised by research on trends in published communications studies. One theme in these projects has been how communications studies has struggled to marry cohesion and expansion. Since the 1970s, the discipline has endeavoured to build a solid scholarly "core" that embraces internationalisation. To some extent, a peer review journal industry that remains heavily US centred has advanced global research culture. Naturally, however, this has come at a cost, regarding diversity. The upshot is that the story of the *JOC*'s move to the ASC is a tale that puts people, events, conflicts and turning points into the equation of how communication studies remains rooted in the English-speaking world, despite the international aspirations of its practitioners. The Gerbner archive presents us with an "origin story" for the puzzle, hence justifying the idea that Gerbner exists as a valuable historical lens.

History proves that Gerbner was right in thinking that ASC's muscle would improve the visibility and coherence of media research. As Gerbner stepped down as *JOC* editor, Borgman and Reeves (1983) discovered that communication studies was hard to "see" as a discipline, because its scholars were less likely than peers in other fields to reference a common core of literature, published in a common core of respected publications. A strong global disciplinary dialogue was unlikely in circumstances where so many talented practitioners were unacquainted. Hence the desirability of a centralised publishing operation. Journals sponsored by organisations like ICA were vital, visibility wise, and everyone needed that visibility (Borgman and Reeves, 1983).

Twenty years later, research noted that ICA journals are major disciplinary power brokers, and that this hegemony carries many advantages. Bunz (2005) identified *JOC* as one in a suite of ICA and NCA journals that significantly affected success and failure in tenure cases. Ingeniously, her quantitative analysis of the relative productivity of differently ranked professors who publish in these journals indicates that *JOC* and the like exert more than an explicit form of power. Bunz argued that an ICA journal based tenure system worked in the favour of highly research active departments, and this system was in effect a valuable "training ground" for the highly productive professoriat of the future.

Lauf's study of the same year found that these same practices exacted an Anglo centric price. Analysis of forty-three communications journals from 1998-2002 discovered 86% of the content was authored by native English speakers. Lauf also noted correlations between the nationalities of scholars who published, and those who attended ICA conferences. Mass communication journals were the least international in focus in this period. Importantly, however, Lauf attributed this to no malice, but did wonder how far such imbalances could be attributed to structural matters and unspoken realities of scholarly life. In any case, Lauf noted the need for investigation into the social processes that contributed to the patterns he discovered; the genesis of the reality he noted was a puzzle that relied partly on greater knowledge about how scholarly work happened in practice.

Marton Demeter (2017) recently reached the same conclusion. Demeter's quantitative analysis of fifteen thousand articles from seventy-two communications journals between the years of 2013-2017 found broadly similar distributions of power, albeit with a diminishing load

of US based authors. Demeter believed this confirmed the need for deeper sociological investigations into the social conditions that cultivated particular forms of knowledge. It is here that a historical approach to the Gerbner archive connects with this theme.

Bearing these studies in mind, it appears that Gerbner's determination to forge a solid institutional base with real administrative skill and considerable financial muscle had enduring effects on the practice of media research. If current metrics debates note the predominance of US institutions, Gerbner archive holdings suggest that this hegemony was the product of not inconsiderable emotional labour, driven at least in part by a desire to provide a much-needed service. Perhaps more intriguingly, it shows that the Anglo centric centre of communications studies was considerably driven by an Eastern European scholar for whom English was a second language. Additionally, Gerbner presided over the growth of an internally conflicted hegemony that could have moved in a different direction, because of tensions within the centre. Finally, these tensions were exacerbated by the peculiar temporality of the US' academic calendar. Well-resourced as American universities are, it proved impossible to convene meetings outside the timelines of nine-month appointments. Hence, the archive confirms Lauf and Demeter's suspicion that easily discernible power imbalances were likely the issue of less overt, yet influential factors.

Conclusion

This paper has considered the purpose and methods of researching the personal correspondence of a leading scholar of the mass communications era. Examining scholarly biographies has been established as an engaging and productive activity (e.g. Barton, 2001; Lent, 1995; Neurath, 2001; Noelle-Neumann, 2004; Peters, 1996). The Gerbner archive represents a methodological juncture, as an instance where a community of scholars have unprecedented access to a comprehensive, organized data set that offers a glimpse of the interpersonal and organisational variables that built today's media studies.

Gerbner's renown as a pioneering scholar is established. That said, the research presented here pilots the idea that his archive reveals significant interpersonal intricacies that also contributed to the "state of the art" in contemporary critical media studies in less visible ways. The archive records pivotal administrative moments that inform questions about how global communication and media studies came to take a particular shape. Holdings show that *JOC*'s reputation has been built through sometimes bitter bureaucratic struggles between well-meaning scholars; concentrations of power in the peer reviewed research business surface from internal conflicts within the very organisation that so powerfully determines academic excellence. Specifically, evidence from Gerbner's records of his dealings with the *Journal of Communication* suggests that changed editorial and publication arrangements sparked a debate about the management of peer reviewed research. This debate shows a correlation between the power of US based arbiters of research excellence, and pragmatic, well-intentioned business decisions, made with the intention of giving international media scholars a fighting chance of winning an effective voice in debates on media and democracy.

The irony that it is possible to locate the power of English speaking American research in the ambitions of a Hungarian scholar speaks to the historical nuances behind the publishing patterns noted in recent studies. This demonstrates the potential value of historically informed approaches to the Gerbner resource, seeking to understand Gerbner as a "node" in the organization of media research at a crucial time, and seeking to complement conventional chronologies by paying close attention to the minutiae of daily cultural life.

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Theorizing international inequalities in communication and media studies. A field theory approach

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Abstract: In this paper we theoretically interpret empirical results regarding academic habits in communication and media studies. The theoretical framework used is Bourdieu's frame theory throughout the analysis. The purpose of this effort is twofold. First, we argue that the Bourdieusian theory is an adequate theoretical frame for explaining existing data on academic performance and especially on international inequalities in communication and media studies. Second, we will make attempt towards a synthesized theoretical exposition of field theory by connecting main concepts and demonstrate dynamical interactions between them.

Keywords: field theory, communication and media studies, de-Westernization, Pierre Bourdieu, academic capital

Introduction

The history of communication and media studies (CMS) is rife with arguments for and against one of the most salient features of the discipline: its obvious Euro-America centrism. Lots of empirical research have conducted to investigate the measure of this Global North and South bias in the field in CMS: most of them deals with the publication output and the citation scores of different world regions (Demeter, 2017, 2018a; Freelon, 2013; Lauf, 2005; Waisbord, 2015a; Waisbord, 2015b; Wang, 2014). Most researchers consider North America, Oceania, Western Europe and the developed Asia (Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and Hong Kong) as parts of the Global North, and South America, the developing Asia, Africa, the Middle East as parts of the Global South. Eastern Europe has a specific place since it is either considered as part of the Global North (Lauf, 2005) or the Global South (Author, 2018b; Heilbron et al., 2018) and there also are researchers that not even mention this part of the world (Hallin and Mancini, 2005). Based on the recognition that in terms of its history, its economic features and its marginal political position Eastern Europe has much more in common with other parts of the Global South than those of the Global North, we consider Eastern Europe as part of the former.

While we have great bulks of empirical research on this topic, academics in CMS somehow failed to produce a detailed and convincing theory that could explain the dynamics of the processes that leads to the international bias against the Global South. In this current paper we use the Bourdieusian field theory (Bourdieu, 1988; 1998; 2004) to frame the field of

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CMS: we will examine the field-controlling norms (Rothenberger et al., 2017), the habitus of communication scholars and their academic capital that has been collected during their career. Since we would like to provide a coherent picture of the field of CMS, we will not just interpret the most important Bourdieusian concepts through this particularly discipline, but we also connecting and cross-referring the main analytical terms with each other. As a result, we will get a synthesized theory on communication, as a unique academic field with its special types of preferred habitus, norms and capital. We have to emphasize the interpretative nature of our analysis since we haven't attempt to simply summarize or recite the orthodox Bourdieusian theory but we rather consider the basic concepts of field theory as tools that could be used flexibly.

Global North – Global South bias in the field of CMS

Analyzing publication patterns in CMS dates back as early as 1989, when *Communication Research* published its special issue (Vol 16 Issue 4) dedicated to this topic. Later analyses on publication patterns dealt with citation networks in CMS journals (Borgman, 1989; Borgman and Reeves, 1983; Bunz, 2005; Feeley, 2008; Funkhouser, 1996; Rice, Borgman and Reeves, 1988; Rogers, 1999). In terms of publication inequalities, the most important papers were published in 2005, in which Edmund Lauf analyzed the international diversity of 40 SSCI journals in CMS, and in 2018, when (Demeter, 2018a) analyzed the national diversity of communication journals in Scopus. Both research found a very low level of internationality with an overwhelming American predomination. The second best performing region was Western Europe, followed by the developed parts of Asia. The contribution of the Global South (including Africa, South America, the developing Asia, the Middle East and Eastern Europe) was almost unnoticeable. Lauf (2005) found the same bias in terms of editorial board membership of leading journals in CMS: beside the overrepresentation of the US and some Western countries, the contribution of the Global South was minimal or even totally absent.

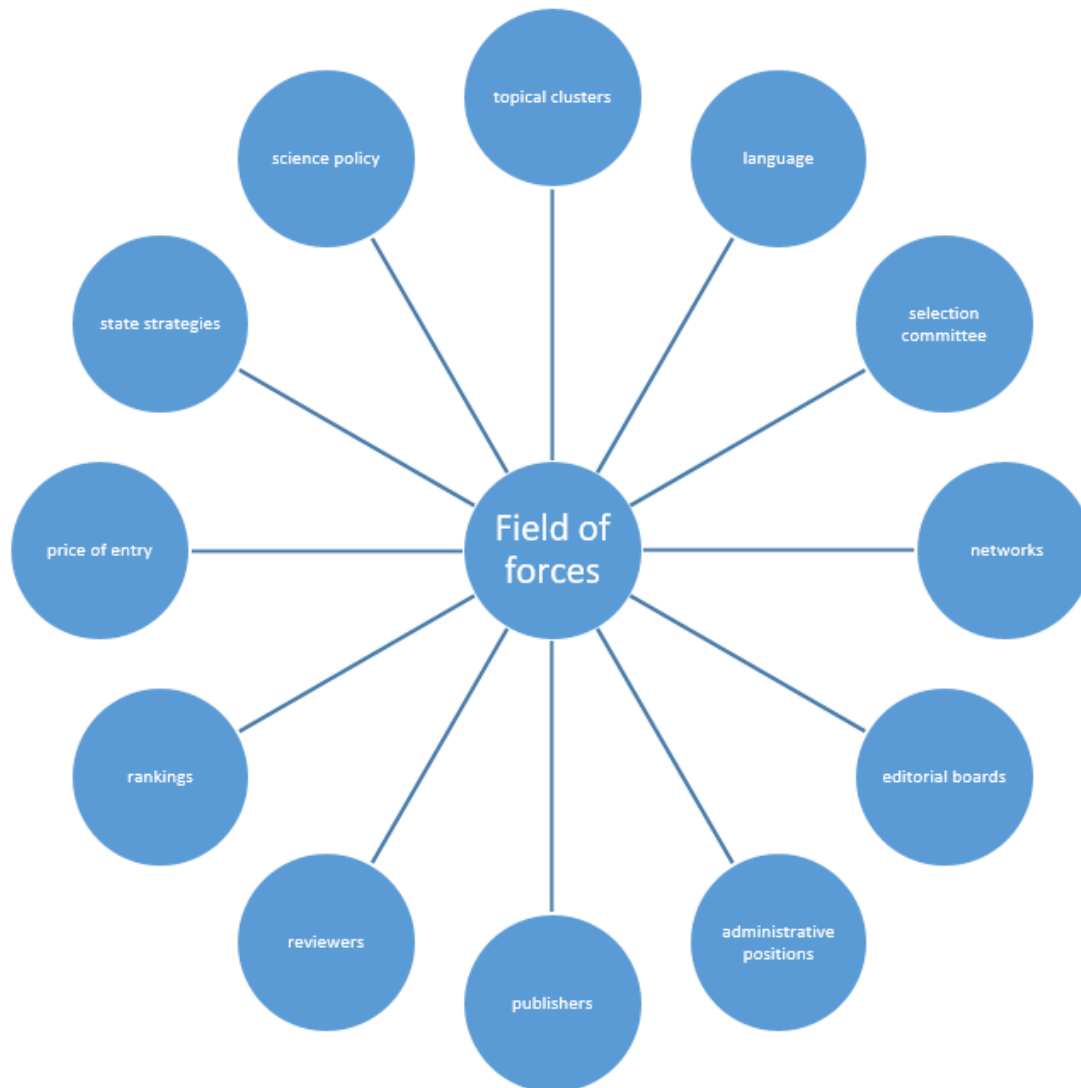
Former research already tried to find at least partial explanations for the phenomenon of the Global North's overrepresentation in CMS. The first type of explanations suggests that beside cultural, linguistic and epistemic factors, the economic indicators of world regions plays critical role in their international publication output. For example, correlations between the GDP, per capita GDP and the publication success of a given region were find in some empirical research (Demeter, 2018a; Lauf, 2005). In short, economic explanations state that economic well-being of a given country determines, at least partly, the publication success of a CMS scholar working in that country. The second type of explanations deals with the historical facts behind the field of CMS (Pooley and Park, 2013; Simonson et al., 2013; Waisbord and Mellado, 2014.) The so-called "received history" of the field (Pooley and Park, 2013) tells us that the discipline begins with the study of propaganda in the US, and all the four "founders of communication studies", namely Kurt Lewin, Carl Hovland, Harold Lasswell and Lazarsfeld – were American, at least in terms of their education. The same authors also point out that most historians of CMS simply ignored the Global South, and this could be conceived as a patterned neglect of non-Western scholarship. In terms of academic institutionalization, the Euro-American precedency is also obvious: the first university-based communication education (mostly in journalism) were established in American, German and French universities in the first years of the 20th century. It was also in the US where "communication was first institutionalized as an academic field in the decades after World War II" (Simonson et al., 2013, p. 26). Finally, we have a political-historical explanation (Lauk, 2015) that deals with the fact that in most parts of the Global South there was a repressive political regime for decades that made the development of CMS literally impossible. The typical example is the state socialism of all Eastern European and some Asian, South American and African countries. In other

counties, there were, and in some cases, there is still military or religious dictatorship. The serious deficiencies in free speech, the absence of press freedom, the prohibition of international traveling and the lack of appropriate language learning led to isolation from the international scientific community especially in the case of the ideologically more sensitive social sciences (Kornai, 1992).

The field of forces in the Bourdieusian theory and in CMS

Bourdieu conducted heroic efforts to emphasize the role that the field of forces plays in academic life, and his later followers dedicated an enormous amount of research to this topic (Bauder, 2015; Bauder et al., 2017; Grenfell, 2008; Gouanvic, 2005; Hilgers and Mangez, 2015; Leung, 2013; Recke, 2011; Rothenberger et al., 2017; Thatcher et al., 2016; Wacquant, 2018; Wiedemann and Meyen, 2016). According to the original Bourdieusian idea, the field is “the space of the relations of force between the different kinds of capital or, more precisely, between the agents who possess a sufficient amount of one of the different kinds of capital to be in a position to dominate the corresponding field” (Bourdieu, 1988, p. 34). The field of forces (the original *le champ* is sometimes translated as field of power or simply force field) has the well-established institutions of the Kuhnian normal science which entails the ruling academic language and rhetoric (Oshima-Hogue, 1999; Liu et al., 2018), high valued affiliations like world class universities and research institutions (Neuman etl al, 2008), leading journals, main publishers, selection committee memberships, administrative positions (Asheulova and Dushina, 2014) or university rankings (Pietrucha, 2018). Therefore, the field of forces consists of many subfields or institutions (Fig. 1) that are tightly interwoven with each other in various ways.

Figure 1. The constituents of the field of forces



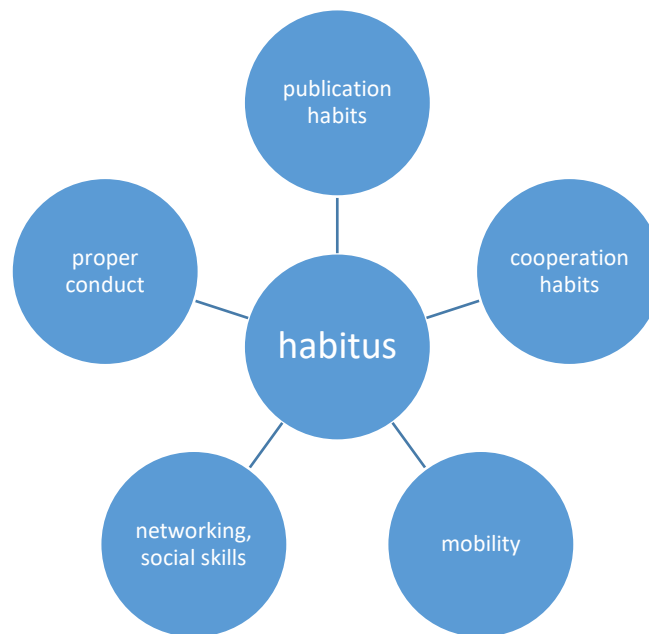
Each subfield of the field of forces holds possession of some institutional power. *Selection committees* can decide the career paths of individual researchers by prescribing the price of entry (Bourdieu, 2004) and the tenure conditions. Earlier in their career, international communication scholars should publish at least one or two papers in leading periodicals, preferably in ICA or NCA journals for a successful tenure application proposed to any acknowledged institution (Pooley, 2015). Because of their almost absolute power in determining career possibilities of young researchers, selection committees play the role of gatekeepers to the field of forces. The earlier mentioned international scientific communities like ICA, NCA or IAMCR play serious roles in the field of forces of CMS, and the bias against Global South authors is well known in case of all these associations (Wiedemann and Mayen, 2016; Zelizer, 2015). Another important factor of the field of forces is *language*, more precisely, the academic English of the international community of CMS scholars. As both Lauf (2005) and (Demeter, 2018a) puts it, leading periodicals in CMS publish English content exclusively. Even if being published, non-English articles suffer from lower citation scores than English papers (Liu et al., 2018). It is obvious then, that this fact results in serious bias against non-English authors since they should learn a second language on a professional level as an

extra investment, and they presumably read and write slower than their native English peers (Horn, 2017). Moreover, beside the language itself, they should also master the Anglo-Saxon rhetoric and academic writing skills (Oshima and Hogue, 1999). Beside language and selection criteria, the field of forces also determines the preferred *thematic clusters* (Freelon, 2013; Günther and Domahidi, 2017; Neuman et al., 2008). Empirical research show that in CMS, some orthodox topics of research are preferred, typically those of with American focus, and research conducted with quantitative social science methods is easier to publish than those of written on non-Western topics and conducted by non-mainstream approaches. The characteristic clusters in CMS are interpersonal communication, race and media, parasocial interaction, multimedia, political communication, hostile media, psychology of communication and agenda setting (Freelon, 2013). Moreover, all these clusters have their “citation universes” and received methodologies. In order to being published, most early career scholars tend to achieve their research in the orthodox thematic clusters, with the orthodox methods and based on the orthodox literature. *Science policy* and *state strategies* works on the macro-level and their effects on the field of forces raises with the decline of the relative autonomy of the sciences. When the state abandons the sciences by cutting their funding, as it has been happened in the case of Russia and many other Eastern European regions, the most talented researchers will try to move towards more prosperous regions. The opposite is true when the state deliberately invests in academic institutions and research programs, like in China, because it results in strengthened academic life (Asheulova and Dushina, 2014). *University rankings* and *journal rankings* like Scopus or SSCI play also important role in organizing the field of forces, since international students and the most mobile international scholars will target the top ranked universities (Pietrucha, 2018). In the case of Shanghai Ranking, research output is one of the most important categories with extraordinary emphasis on SSCI papers. Other rankings like the QS World University Ranking or The Times Higher Education World University Ranking also calculate with the publication output of the employees. Lecturing at the top ranked universities and publishing in the top ranked periodicals results in prestige and a great amount of academic capital. Finally, besides selection committee members, *publishers*, *editorial board members* and *reviewers* also play the role of gatekeepers in the field of forces, since they could determine the publication output of international researchers. We have 293 Scopus-indexed and 79 SSCI indexed periodicals in CMS (in 2017). Most Scopus-indexed and all SSCI indexed journals are published in the Global North (Demeter, 2018a, 2018b), and most editorial boards consist of Global North editorial board members (Lauf, 2005). It means that the field of forces is strongly biased against Global South authors from these respects, too.

The habitus, the norms and collecting academic capital in CMS

Habitus is one of the main concepts of Bourdieu’s field theory, and it refers to some durable and transposable dispositions or tendencies social agents have in order to being active during social actions (Grenfell, 2008). Regarding *habitus* in practice, the most important empirical phenomenon in career development is the mobility of researchers, because it effects on other parts of the habitus like *publication habits* (Aksnes et al., 2013), *proper conduct* (Rothenberger et al., 2017), *cooperation skills* (Henriksen, 2018; Ronda-Pupo and Katz, 2018) or *networking* (Bormann, 2017; Coccia and Bozemann, 2016).

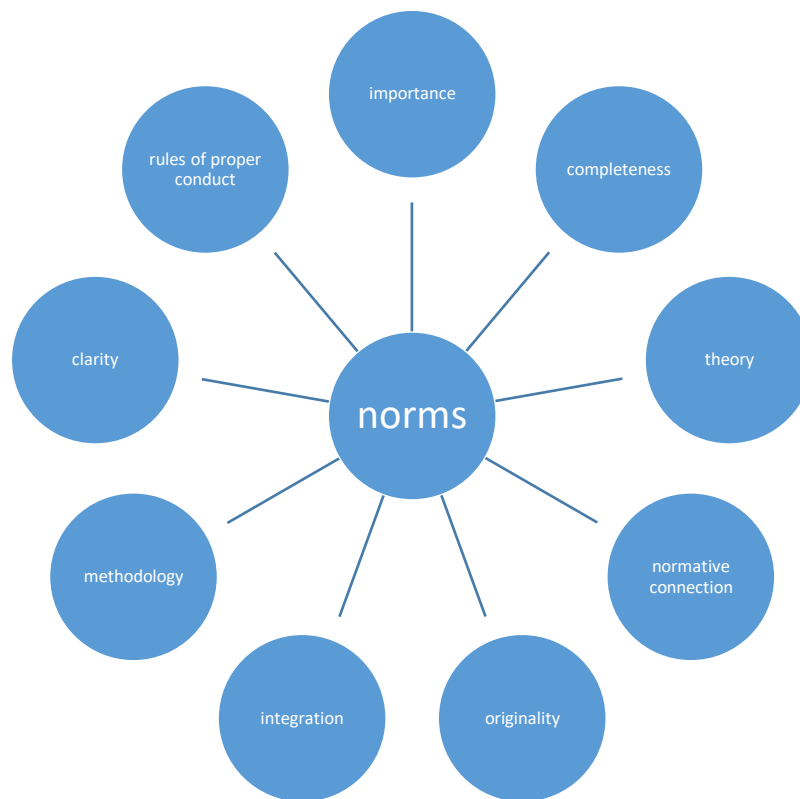
Figure 2. The constituents of habitus



The general rule of mobility is that talent often flows from the Global South to the core as scholars seek out employment in recognized institutions of higher learning in the Global North (Lee and Kuzhabekova, 2017). Mobility, that is, being educated or work abroad raises the symbolic or academic capital of researchers in a great extent, while immobility often results in narrowed career paths. The motivations between mobility include simply economic features like higher salary or better material-technical conditions, but research show that the promotion of scientific visibility – growth in publication output, coauthored international publications or the increase of citation indices – also play very important role (Asheulova and Dushina, 2014; Aksnes et al., 2013). Moreover, internalization, that is, the concept of a neoliberal and global university (Herschberg et al., 2018) became a keyword or norm that most universities should strive for. Mobility as a habitus, therefore, became not just an important source of academic capital for individual researchers, but a valuable feature that international universities support and appreciate as well. For mobility is the most important factor when Global South academics wish to raise their academic capital, it is expected that more mobile authors will collect more capital. Amongst the most obvious examples of “entry level” (Bourdieu, 2004) academic capital like BA, MA or PhD degrees accomplished in the Global North, scientists could collect advanced types of capital in the form of Global North postdoctoral research experience, international grants, Global North affiliations (Shen et al., 2018) and, mostly, publications in leading periodicals (Cole, 1967; Hanssen et al., 2017). Networking, collaboration and coauthorship are also sources of measurable academic capital in terms of both citation and publication output (Bormann, 2017; Coccia and Bozemann, 2016; Henriksen, 2018; Katz, 1999; Ronda-Pupo and Katz, 2018).

The role of *norms* in the Bourdieusian theory was extensively investigated by Rothenberger et al. (2017), but we should still relate them directly to the field of CMS (Fig. 3).

Figure 3. The constituents of norms



Following Neuman et al. (2008) we could state that there are a bunch of norms that play crucial role in assessing a communication scholar's work. We have norms like importance, theoretical integration, methodology, completeness, normative connection and originality. Based on their extensive analysis on peer review decisions the authors find that the most important norms are clarity (of the research paper), methodology and theoretical integration, while importance, originality and normative connection turned out to be marginal as selection criteria which means that, in most cases, reviewers wrote that the paper was important and original. According to their research, however, the most important norms are related to the theory used:

“we have thus far come to the conclusion that theory is king. Without a clear connection to an identifiable theoretical corpus and providing an original contribution to that corpus, pristine prose or magnificent methods do not provide the key to scholarly recognition.” (Neuman et al., 2008, p. 230)

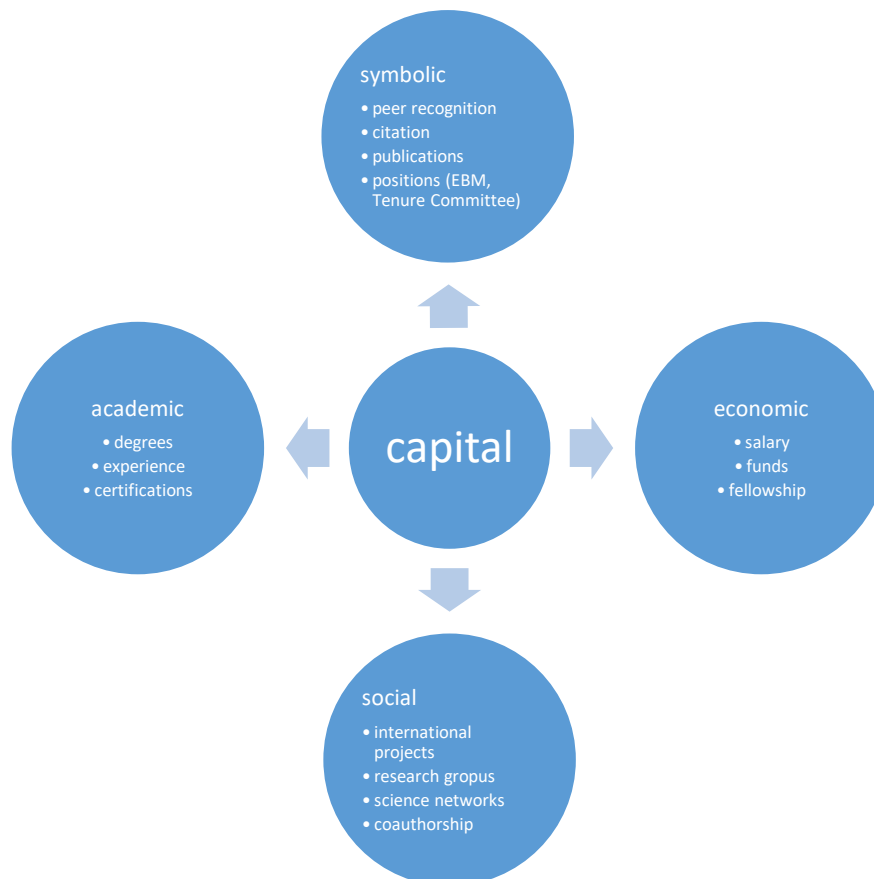
These underlying norms determinate the prospect of scientists to publish their articles in prestigious journals since, in order to being published, they should be familiar with basal norms. In a less extent, the opposite could also be true, for scientific communities could affect serious methodological or epistemic change (Estrade, Hernandez and Schulz, 2018). It is noteworthy that publishing in leading periodicals is not an optional but a necessary assignment when a researcher plans an international career, for the most important condition for professional success represented in tenure and hiring decisions is based on publications in leading peer-reviewed journals (King et al., 2017; Zdenek, 2017). Since most norms are learned through education, and leading journals are published exclusively at the Global North, authors educated in the Global South face significant challenges when trying to publish their research in the most prestigious periodicals (Lauf, 2005). Acquiring and adopt these norms through being mobile

and have Global North education is, therefore, essential to a successful research career (Meyen, 2012; Wiedemann and Meyen 2016). In other words, especially for those academics from the Global South, mobility turned out to be the most effective habitus to collect *capital*.

Bourdieu's notion of capital could be roughly conceived as the extension of the economic sense of the concept, since Bourdieu's purpose is to extend the sense of the term "capital" by employing it in a wider system of exchanges whereby assets of different kinds are transformed and exchanged within complex networks or circuits within and across different fields. He is attempting to relocate the narrow instance of mercantile exchange away from economics into a wider anthropology of cultural exchanges and valuations of which the economic is only one (though the most fundamental) type. It is important to note, however, that other forms of capital such as cultural and social can be seen as "transubstantiated" forms of economic capital. (Grenfell, 2008, p. 102).

On the basis of the literature of Bourdieusian theory we could distinguish four kinds of capital (Fig. 4).

Figure 4. The constituents of capital



The first and most obvious category is the *academic capital* that could be accumulated in the form of certifications, degrees, fellowships, research grants and work experience. Academic capital that has been collected in the top of the hierarchy (typically, in the US and other English-speaking countries) is much more valuable than those of collected in rather peripheral countries (Bauder, 2015; Bauder et al., 2017). Another type of capital is the *social capital*, which consists of demonstrable records of participating in international collaborations, research groups and

science networks, like ICA and NCA in the case of CMS. Also, a quite impressive demonstration of the social capital of individual researchers is the number of their international coauthored papers (Bormann, 2017; Ronda-Pupo and Katz, 2018). Research shows that the increase of social capital in the form of coauthored papers also effects increased citation scores (Henriksen, 2018). Again, since the field of CMS is fairly hierarchical and biased towards Euro-American institutions (publishers, journals, universities and affiliations), researchers from the Global South try to cooperate strategically with Global North authors. By contrast, Global North authors cooperate, mostly, with each other, and their cooperation with Global South authors is rather idiosyncratic (Demeter, 2017). The third type of capital is the *economic capital*, and research shows that this is one of the main factors behind labor migration towards the Global North (Asheulova and Dushina, 2014). Economic capital typically consists of factors like salary, the level of material-technical conditions for scientific activities and the accessibility of external funds. The relatively low level of economic capital tends to effect serious damages on the career trajectory of Global South researchers since they frequently have to undertake other duties beside their academic work and this “divided or parallel career path” often results in leaving academy. Finally, the fourth type of capital is the *symbolic capital* in the widest sense, which consists of many forms and aspects of contemporary recognition. But this is not only a matter of vanity, since symbolic capital could be easily transferred to economic capital. For example, one of the most important manifestations of symbolic capital is the number of one’s citations, which is a very strong trump-card in a job interview or in the course of an academic promotion. Other types of symbolic capital are hierarchical positions in tenure committees or in editorial boards of prestigious journals. In these cases, the capital consists of the power of one individual to give or deny capital to and from other agents on the field. Finally, the number of publications in prestigious journals should be conceived as symbolic capital which, similarly to the citations scores, could be transferred to economic capital through promotion. Furthermore, some institutions prelate the publication of SSCI indexed articles even financially.

The field of struggle in CMS: heterodox and orthodox scholars

The field of struggle is the “place” where scientific revolutions start to develop by the nonconformist activity of heterodox scholars (Bourdieu, 2004). As in the case of any sciences, we can differentiate between push and pull activities in CMS: while the former involves the (mostly critical) activities of yet peripheral “heterodox” scholars, the latter relates to the (mostly conservative) activities of more central “orthodox” agents. Heterodox scholars, therefore, frequently criticize the publication bias towards Global South authors. Typical theoretical frameworks for explaining the phenomenon of scientific inequalities are dependency theory (Ferraro, 2008; Prebisch, 1959; Thomas-Slayter, 2003) and Matthew Effect, especially the theory of the Matthew Effect for Countries (Bonitz, Bruckner and Scharnhorst, 1997). Dependency theories had been invented as a reaction to the popular Modernization Theory of the first half of the 20th century. The first class of dependency theories dates back to Prebisch (1959), who has a Marxist conception on the global economic system. His most important statements were that 1) the center derived (at least partly) its wealth from the periphery 2) the relationship between subdominant and dominant states is an enduring one and 3) the only chance for a dependent area to become a center is that it should break away from the old, dominant center (Love, 1980). As an addition to the existing bias towards Global South authors, we have the Matthew Effect for Countries that says even Global South authors may succeed in publishing their work in leading journals, they will be less cited than their developed country colleagues: A minority of countries, expecting a high number of citations per scientific paper, gains more citations than expected, while the majority of countries, expecting only a low

number of citations per scientific paper, achieves fewer citations than expected. In the spirit of Merton we called this effect Matthew Effect for Countries (Bonitz, Bruckner and Scharnhorst 1997, 408). Authors from different regions of the Global South investigated the nature and possible causes of these inequalities. There are profound analyses on this topic from South America (Jalata, 1993; Perez, 1990), from Africa (Amadi, 2012; Onyancha, 2016), from Asia (Hung, 2016; Myrdal, 1974; Yutisri, 2016) and from Eastern Europe as well (Bruszt and Gerkovits, 2009; Bruszt and Langbein, 2017; Demeter, 2018b). But with the so-called de-Westernization theories of some Global North scholars the “pull effect” also started to play on the field of struggles in CMS (Rothenberger et al., 2015; Waisbord, 2015a; Waisbord, 2015b; Waisbord and Mellado, 2014; Wang, 2014). De-Westernization means, at least theoretically, the critic of West-centrism of the field: “The critique of Euro–American centrism in communication theories has in recent years led to calls for Afrocentric/Asiacentric approaches to research, and the emergence of geocultural theories. The discussion has underscored the urgency for us to re-examine the way cultural differences are handled in academic discourse”. (Wang 2014,373). According to Waisbord and Mellado (2014), de-Westernization should be related to scholars, topics, themes, ideas, methods, experiences, epistemologies, theoretical perspectives and academic cultures. Silvio Waisbord, current editor of ICAs flagship *Journal of Communication* clearly expresses his conception regarding de-Westernization in his 2015s editorial: “JoC also needs to reflect the globalization of ICA and the field of communication. [...] It needs to give visibility to arguments that invite us to rethink conclusions largely drawn from studies conducted in the United States and a few countries in the West. JoC needs to be embedded in the globalized academia to enrich analytical perspectives, broaden research horizons, and connect diverse academic cultures of communication scholarship”. (Waisbord 2015a, 586-587). Notwithstanding, if we take a look on the national diversity of *Journal of Communication*’s publication output before and after the above discussed de-Westernization plans we could not find any significant changes in this respect (Table 1).

Table 1. World regions’ contribution in Journal of Communication in the period 2013-2014 and between 2016-2017

Global North	South America	Asia	Eastern Europe	Africa	Middle East
2016-2017					
US	59 Chile	3 China	2 Poland	1 South Africa	1 Turkey
UK	12 Mexico	2 Singapore	2		1
Germany	11 Colombia	1 Hong Kong	1		
Netherlands	8	Philippines	1		
Israel	6				
Australia	4				
Austria	4				
Spain	4				
Belgium	3				
Finland	2				
Switzerland	2				
Canada	1				
Iceland	1				
Norway	1				
Sweden	1				
	119	6	6	1	1
2013-2014					
US	80 Chile	2 Korea	3		
Germany	12	China	2		
Netherlands	9	Singapore	2		
Austria	3	Hong Kong	1		
Switzerland	3	Taiwan	1		
Australia	2				
Belgium	2				
Israel	2				
Italy	2				
Denmark	1				
UK	1				
	117	2	9	0	0

Data show that the contribution of the Global North is around 90 percent in both time periods, and the Global South failed to raise its publication output. The contribution of the US has been slightly decreased but mostly in favor of other Global North regions, typically Western European countries and not for the benefit of Global South authors. The inequality between different regions of the Global South still holds: the developing Asia (mostly China) and South America have certain contribution in CMS, the participation of other regions like the Middle East, Africa and Eastern Europe was and is still absolutely unnoticeable. We have to admit, however, that since we do not have data on submitted but only on published articles, we could not tell whether this low contribution of the Global South is due to the lack of submissions or the result of high reject ratios towards authors from this region. Nevertheless, even if we could not ascertain the exact causes yet, we could still draw the conclusion that de-Westernization aspirations of the center couldn't raise the contribution of the Global South at this time.

We have just presented a very narrow research that shows de-Westernization is far from being achieved in CMS. Since in this rather theoretical article we do not concentrate on conducting diversified empirical research, we could just refer to other, more empirical studies that show the same strong bias against Global South papers in terms of publication output (Demeter, 2018a; Freelon, 2013; Lauf, 2005; Waisbord, 2015a; Waisbord, 2015b; Wang, 2014).

Beside leading periodicals like the above mentioned *Journal of Communication*, international academic associations also recognized the importance of de-Westernization (Meyen, 2012; Wiedemann and Meyen, 2016; Zelizer, 2015). Nevertheless, their research show that most fellows of the ICA has exclusively American background, and all fellows has very strong, typically educational relations to the Global North. It seems from data that it is almost impossible to become an internationally recognized scholar in CMS without a massive measure of Global North capital.

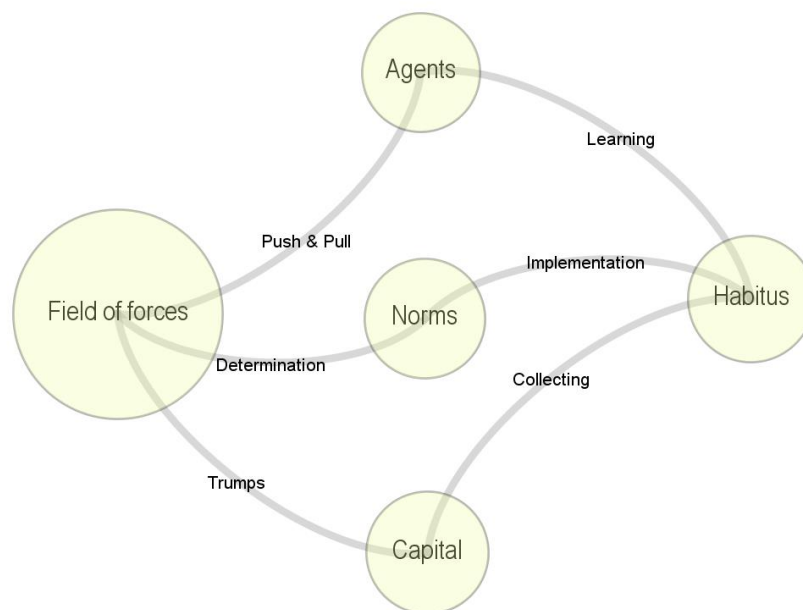
Today, ICA's international leadership is located in world regions closely linked to the United States and educated at U.S. universities or heavily influenced by North American research traditions, even if it includes a numerous contributions from other associations and alternative approaches [...]. National academic environments in U.S.-affiliated countries became Americanized, especially via ICA fellows serving as role models to get scientific capital. Thus, ICA's efforts to expand its leadership are assumed to have an unintended effect of conserving the power structures in the field. (Wiedemann and Meyen, 2016, p. 1489).

It is noteworthy, that Wiedemann and Meyen deals with mostly de-Americanization that means they consider non-American ICA fellows' career paths and found that they have strong and manifold relations to the US. But from their data we could abstract an even more striking fact, namely, that there are no Global South scholars amongst ICA fellows, former and future presidents at all. From the 112 distinguished ICA fellows there are 86 from the US, followed by Germany (4), the UK (3), Canada (3), Israel (3), Australia (2), the Netherlands (2), Singapore (2), and we have 1-1 fellows from Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, South Korea, Japan and Hong-Kong. As the authors accurately observed, "for ICA going international means going to rich, economically strong countries." (Wiedemann and Meyen, 2016, p. 1496). As a conclusion we can say that center-based pull-efforts or de-Westernization attempts in the field of struggle haven't succeed in raising the contribution of the Global South in CMS. There is no significant accession in the number of Global South articles in leading CMS periodicals, and the participation of Global South fellows in most prestigious academic associations is totally unnoticeable.

An attempt to synthesize Bourdieusian concepts

Although the use of Bourdieusian concepts is quite common amongst social scientists, specialists often argue that sometimes it is hard to find satisfactory agreement regarding the correct sense of the original notions (Grenfell, 2008; Shusterman, 1999; Thatcher et al., 2016). The cause of this ambiguity is likely the fact that Bourdieusian concepts tend to define each other mutually, so the linear exposition of his field theory is rather hard to develop. Therefore, we chose a network style exposition for our attempt to synthesize field theory and its main concepts, therefore all the main concepts will be related to each other (Fig. 5).

Figure 5. The synthesized network of field theory's main concepts



In our understanding, there is no central concept in field theory; instead we have four central concepts (habitus, capital, field and norm) plus an additional one, namely, the agent who acts in the social field. Thus we will start our exposition with the agents that could be individual, collective or institutional. On an individual agent we mean individual researchers with appropriate capital for acting successfully on the field by certain norms. If the agent's performance is successful at a given field, then that agent has the fitting habitus. But as individual agents collect individual capital (in the form of citations, for example), collective and institutional agents save collective or institutional capital. Examples for collective agents are research teams and laboratories, while universities, disciplines, countries and world regions and even science in itself could be conceived as institutional agents. For not just the individual researchers but also research teams and whole regions (even as great ones as the Global South itself) strive for being represented in the map of international science, they tend to accumulate capital collectively. The strife or field of struggle where science as a whole competes is slightly different from the situations where the competition runs inside the field of science: here science

competes with other social institutions like health care, culture or sports for a finite amount of state or public fund.

Just like as capital could be collected individually or collectively, habitus could be internalized by either an individual or a collective agent. Since a habitus is always the habitus of an (individual or collective) agent, the concept of the former could not be conceived without the latter. It is always the (physical, cognitive, affective, ethical or institutional) structure of a given agent that support (or prohibit) the development of a given habitus and the whole process, namely, the internalization of the habitus happens on and by the rules of the field of forces. In return, the field of forces consists of, basically, individual and collective agents which play different power roles on the same field. While agents' habitus could be modified by the field of forces via different pull and push effects, norms are much more resistant to change since they are originated and usually institutionalized in the field of forces. In other words, norms control the field of forces while habitus control the behavior of the agents. The function and dynamics of norms on the level of the field is quite similar to the function and dynamics of habitus on the level of the individual or collective agents. Just like agents (of a given field) could be conceived as embodied fields of forces (Bourdieu, 2004) we can say that habitus is the individualized and agent-specific realization of ruling norms.

As it is represented on Fig. 5, we could draw a synthesized network of field theory's main concepts. Since this network should be conceived as a connected graph, we could start the interpretation from any concept. When we select, for example, the concept of agent, we will see its immediate connections with habitus via learning, and with the field of forces via push and pull effects. In other words, the main goal of agents is to get better positions at the field of forces while other agents on the field of forces determine the availability of every possible positions. Since agents could reach this goal by collecting academic capital, they have to learn the appropriate habitus by which it can be achieved as fast as it is possible. This collected capital serve as trumps on the field of forces: the more capital you have the more likely you will get top positions here. Norms, which are the most stable elements of the network control the field of forces by determining the rules of the academic competition on the one hand, and, on the other hand, they serve as models for the appropriate habitus that is the agent-specific implementation of ruling norms.

Conclusions

In this paper we aimed to contribute to the literature of communication theory in general, and to Bourdieusian field theory in particular in two ways.

First, we tried to show that the large quantity of information we have regarding Global North – Global South inequalities in communication and media studies needs to be interpreted in a coherent theoretical framework, and Bourdieu's frame theory proved to be adequate for this role. This is also the first study in which the empirically tested performance of CMS's field of forces was discussed theoretically. In other words, we could theoretically interpret data from former empirical research and, at the same time, we could corroborate field theory through connecting data to the appropriate theoretical concepts of field theory.

Second, we tried to synthesize the main concepts of Bourdieu's field theory to show their relatedness. Our conceptual analysis shown that the linear development of the theory might be extremely hard and even confusing since all the main concepts define each other, so we chose to use a network style exposition. Our attempt to synthesize the theory's basic concepts resulted in a network of concepts in which the connections between the main elements are easy to follow.

Communication scholars – similarly to their peers in other disciplines – tend to function in an unreflective way. Norms, and through norms, habitus are internalized by culture, role

models and education unconsciously. The fact that communication scholars collect academic capital to get better positions at the field of forces could be obscured by popular narratives on the purity and unselfishness of science: that's why Bourdieu wrote that we should not listen to just what scientist say but what they actually do (Bourdieu, 2004). Through the norms which control the field of forces many one-sided practices fixate, and it results in serious biases against agents outside the field of forces. In spite of the fact that the so-called de-Westernization attempts strive to reduce Global North – Global South inequalities we could not see significant changes yet. Accordingly, being familiar with the operations in the field of forces in CMS might be very useful for not just those peripheral scholars who want to raise their prospects but for all those agents at the Global North who strive for a more equal and unbiased field of forces in CMS.

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Graduation-on-Time or a Daydream

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The information presented on university websites is vital for candidates who are planning their studies. This letter tries to draw the readers' attention to the achievability of the minimum graduation time for postgraduate students.

Universities commonly compete to attract students. In achieving their goals of attracting student candidates to study at their respective universities, the process within some universities is to offer postgraduate study to candidates as soon as possible. The information that students might consider as valuable criteria when selecting a university may be the minimum period of study required to graduate. For instance, in a research-based field, a program where a full-time master's degree could be completed in one year and a doctorate degree could be completed in two years would be extremely attractive. Furthermore, it may be more attractive for universities to offer scholarship opportunities and postgraduate arrangements. Accordingly, each offer letter received alongside the information provided on the university's website would enable the candidate to make a decision and register. This would enable the candidates to plan their time, life, and finances for postgraduate education based on the advertised information (mostly from the university's website). The achievability of the minimum graduation time, especially for full-time research-mode studies is of significant concern and the reason for writing this letter.

One problem that can prolong the graduation process is due to the supervisors. Having more postgraduate students, in theory, could help to ease academic promotions and help achieve key performance indicators (KPIs). However, unprofessional professors may in some instances accept any research proposal during their evaluation of research applications, which may cause delays due to several reasons: (i) when, following registration, the supervisor/professor requests the student to rewrite or modify the research proposal based on the professor's expertise; (this might also be due to avoid producing fake graduates, or to screen out customers of scholarly-black-markets as discussed by Sorooshian (2017a, 2017b)) (ii) when the professor requests changes in the research, but he/she is unable to assist in the research study given that the scope does not match their area of expertise.

The next possible delay is the issue of accruing work. This is when the student needs his/her supervisor(s) to read and review the work, but that review is delayed for various reasons. Sometimes the professors are too busy to review and comment on the student's work quickly or within a reasonable amount of time, or it is only a cursory review, not detailed nor comprehensive and lacking comments. Therefore, the correction and resubmission will often consist of several rounds.

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Multilevel evaluations are another cause of delay where some faculties have more than one round in evaluating a thesis, proposal defense, colloquium seminar, comprehensive exam, data defense, Pre-Viva, and Viva Voce. The time before evaluations when examiners need to review the work could equally be a further delay, especially when students are asked to pass an evaluation before proceeding to the next step of the research. Notwithstanding, it becomes much worse when the selection of examiners is undertaken via a separate process. For instance, if a busy third person, for example, the Dean or Deputy Dean of the faculty is responsible for overseeing the selection process for examiners. In this case, the student's work is queued or put on hold until the third person can select an examiner. Then, the administration staff prepares the appointment letter for the examiners, signed by the Dean of the faculty along with the appointment letters whereby only then do the administration staff forward the student work to the examiners.

The authors have observed cases where the examiner (with the delay or without delay) declines the examination task due to their limited availability or by not matching the scope of work with their expertise. The examiner selection process continues and is repeated until the student's work can be examined. Following this stage in the review process by the examiner, it is then time to submit the work along with the corrections suggested by the examiners and seeking their approval which also takes some time if they need time to review the work again after the corrections have been made and before their endorsement.

Having the right examiner can be critical for no delays in graduation (Yahaghi et al., 2017), but sometimes due to the diversity of postgraduate research and the lack of expertise in some faculties, the faculty may ask a professor to evaluate a research which does not fit entirely with their expertise. Again, this may result in irrelevant comments being made during the evaluation process which could possibly mislead the student and cause delays in graduating. Finally, in some cases publishing articles in indexed journals or at conferences is among the requirements of graduation (multiple published articles may be required if students have received university scholarships); so publication requirements can also become obstacles and may cause delays.

Following the study registration, the student may wish to apply for the offered graduate-schemes or scholarships. If the student was successful in being awarded a scholarship from among the competition, and to obtain financial support, often the terms and conditions regarding the sponsorship are misleading and may equally cause delays in graduating. Although financial sponsorship is not the main reason for graduation delays, the terms and conditions that were not apparent nor revealed on the university website at the time of registering might cause delays in graduation; for example, teaching and working for the university. While somewhere on the website additional requirements may have mentioned, for example, eight hours teaching, the site likely never been mentioned the additional time that the student was required to spend in preparation of teaching, marking class assignments, etcetera. Another example could be regarding international students who planned to return to their home country to collect research data but are unable to leave the campus due to their weekly teaching responsibilities and commitments.

Notably, the duration presented by universities in some cases for the minimum graduation time is entirely different from what is observed in reality and is a marketing technique adopted by some universities to attract students. This miscommunication is an integrity issue for higher education. Universities should be encouraged to apply lean service/process models to minimize student wastage time, thereby helping universities to be seen as trustworthy and transparent organizations for students to progress their studies. Also, for university websites, presentation of statistical average and/or domain of actual graduation time for recently graduated students (for example, based on the data from the most recent graduation convocation) is encouraged to lessen the miscommunication issue. Similarly, an

open-access forum on the university website could facilitate unfiltered communication between alumni, current postgraduate students, and postgraduate candidates, for example, to clarify the graduation delay sources, benefits of the reduction of website limitations and miscommunications. Additionally, as a recommendation, the Ministry of Education in each country should control via guidelines and policies all university websites to eliminate dishonest information and to ensure that all the displayed conditions are both feasible and practical.

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2018 Reviewer Thank You

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