Mapping Communication and Media Research:
Conjunctures, Institutions, Challenges

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Preface

This study is based upon research that was originally conducted in the project 'Mapping Communication and Media Research' of the Communication Research Center (CRC) of the University of Helsinki. This collaborative project examined the contents and trends of current communication and media research in nine countries. These countries included Finland, the U.S.A., Germany, France, Japan, Estonia, Australia, Belgium and the Netherlands. Research on these individual countries was conducted between 2006-2008 and issued in a series of country specific reports. The research project was funded by Helsingin Sanomat Foundation, which has also funded similar reports at the University of Jyväskylä on communication and media research in South Korea and the United Kingdom, the results of which are integrated in this study.

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

Each country constitutes a unique context for communication and media research. Thus, research was organised in varying ways in the different examined countries. Clearly, it was impossible to portray

exhaustively all communication and media research in the various countries studied. Instead, the goal of each country specific report was to provide a useful overview of the contemporary communication and media research in each particular country. In this sense, these reports constitute a significant addition to our knowledge of the contemporary 'state of the field'.

However, as Averbeck notes, our knowledge of international comparison of communication studies is still limited. There are some studies that deal – in a more or less isolated fashion – with single countries, but an international comparative perspective remains lacking (Averbeck 2008, 2). This study, 'Mapping Communication and Media Research: Conjunctures, Institutions, Challenges', therefore aims to provide an analytic overview of the research results attained in the individual reports. Several preliminary features should be noted regarding the organisation of the material and research methodology adopted in this study:

First, we have used extensively materials from each of the individual country reports. Rather than burdening this summary report with copious notes indicating citation or paraphrase of these texts, we have preferred to present a seamless integration of this material with our own analytic and critical comments. Researchers and assistants on the individual country reports are acknowledged as contributors to this study, though we obviously accept responsibility for our own selections and judgements in the organisation of the material into an analytic summary. We hope to have provided a critical overview of a collective intellectual project that in its turn will constitute a foundation for future collaborative research.

Second, while the country specific reports contained some material on the media systems and contexts in which communication and media studies operate in the respective countries, this study focuses only upon research institutions and practices. This limitation was adopted due to the fact that, while there exist several recent comparative overviews of

different media systems, a similar 'map' of the institution of communication and media research is lacking. We have nevertheless referred frequently to particularly pertinent facts regarding media systems in the respective countries, as they impact upon research activities. Readers are referred to the individual country reports (a list of which is provided as an appendix) and to Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini's *Comparing Media Systems* (2004) for more extensive analyses of individual media environments and classifications.

Third, we have focused only upon academic research institutions in the respective countries and have therefore largely excluded private media research companies and institutions from our analysis. Academic study and research of media and communications remains the 'fundamental infrastructure' of the field in all countries: it elaborates the most comprehensive research paradigms, trains the majority of researchers and initiates new research initiatives. In this sense, work conducted in universities exerts 'hegemony' over the field in general, including research conducted in private and industry based foundations and institutions (the overwhelming majority of whose practitioners have received their training in academic centres, with which they often maintain official or unofficial contact in their subsequent professional work).

Fourth, as Juha Herkman has noted, "the target countries do not constitute any homogenous group" (Herkman 2008, 146).[1] We have nevertheless attempted to organise the country specific material into representative groupings in each of the chapters, which deal with significant institutional dimensions of communication and media research.

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1.   Herkman continues to note that the countries selected for the country specific reports "are located far from one another, they represent various languages and cultures and in some cases their connections to media and communication research do not appear self evident. The choice of target countries was originally made by the project's sponsor, Helsingin Sanomat Foundation. [...]. The selection of countries indicates the interests of the Foundation, which is no doubt interested in 'new innovative media markets' in South Korea and Japan, the 'world's leading media market' – the U.S. –, various examples of the 'Old World' (France, Germany, Great Britain), and the relationship of these countries to the 'domestic context' (Finland) and its close neighbour (Estonia)" (Herkman 2008, 146f).

These groupings are continental Europe (Germany, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Estonia, Finland), the anglophone world (UK, Australia, USA) and East Asia (Japan, South Korea). We believe that this organisation provides a useful overview of the different institutional legacies and challenges in the different cultural zones.

Fifth, as will become evident in this study, media and communications research is a highly contested field, both internationally and in any given national context. Not only the available data, but also the very definitions and conceptualisations of communication and media research vary significantly according to contexts and countries. Meaningful comparison of research in different countries has therefore proven to be a difficult task. This study does not provide statistically comparable data on the communication and media research of the target countries. Similarly, we have not aimed to provide an exhaustive perspective on media and communications research in the different countries in relation to the themes of each individual chapter or sub-chapter; indeed, for some countries, information for certain key analytical criteria is lacking. Rather, we have attempted to provide different analytic perspectives, highlighting the features of each country that we believe to be most significant for an international comparison of the different institutional configurations of the field. Each sub-chapter constitutes a 'gallery' of different perspectives on the particular criterion under discussion. We have been concerned above all to delineate significant tendencies and initiatives that we believe will continue to have a large impact upon future of study and research in the field.

Sixth, finally, as we have already noted, the selection of countries in this study is by no means exhaustive. A genuinely internationalist survey of media and communications research remains to be undertaken. Adequate analysis of Latin America, Africa, India, the Arab world and the countries of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc are the most obvious additional materials required in order to gain an overview of the contemporary state of media and communication research, in its

variation and unity, nationally and internationally. However, the necessity for further study of cultural zones already included in this project should also not be overlooked: a deeper comparative perspective on the predominantly northern European contexts treated in this study could be provided by studies of 'Southern Europe', or the Mediterranean countries of Italy, Greece and Spain, notably absent from this study; the analysis of Japan and South Korea would benefit from the additional perspective of recent developments in the People's Republic of China, alongside transformations in the media systems and academic institutions of countries such as Vietnam, Indonesia and the Philippines; the Anglophone world, the predominant centres of which are treated in this study, would similarly appear in a different light with the inclusion of such countries as South Africa and Canada.

While the extent of the work that remains to be done in order to gain a genuine international view of the field of media and communication research may appear to be daunting, it nevertheless remains a necessity for the future development of a field of intellectual practice that remains in flux, between contradictions and critical challenges. We believe that it represents the possibility for an intellectually ambitious collective research project, to which we hope to have made a small, initial contribution in the following study.

Juha Koivisto and Peter Thomas

1

An Institutional Success

"I remember one day," said Paul Lazarsfeld, "a friend of mine, in 1937 or so, introduced me to a group of colleagues and said, 'this is a European colleague who is an upmost authority on communication research,' and saw that no one was particularly impressed, so he wanted to press the point and said, 'as a matter of fact, he is the only one who works in this field'" (Morrison 1978, 347).

Viewed from the perspective of the success of media and communication study and research in universities around the world today, Lazarsfeld's story can perhaps seem almost hard to believe. Indeed, as Craig and Carlone have maintained, this field has witnessed an "explosive growth" which is almost unrivalled by any other inhabitant of the modern university (1998, 67). Wolfgang Donsbach, in his recent presidential address at the Annual Conference of the International Communication Association (ICA), aptly summarised recent developments with a thought provoking metaphor: "There are only few other fields with same dynamics in the last 10-30 years: maybe biotechnology or

computer sciences" (Donsbach 2006, 437). A similar judgment has been expressed by a veteran cosmopolitan voice from Finland, Kaarle Nordenstreng. He casts his glance even further back than Donsbach, arguing that there has been record growth of communication and media studies and research in comparison to other disciplines over the last 50 years (2007, 211). Patrick Rössler, the head of the German communication researchers' organisation DGPuK, described the situation in Germany as characterised by an "enormous dynamic of developments in this scientific field", a "multiplicity of concepts and research so extensive that it is difficult to survey", alongside an explosion in terms of study courses (Rössler 2008, 3).

The success story is indeed impressive. Although attention, both within the field and without, has only lately turned to consider the exceptional nature of recent growth in academic media and communication study and research, it is possible to detect the preconditions for this success in previous developments – albeit with the benefit of hindsight. Various 'streams of thought' in different national traditions can be regarded as the intellectual and institutional precursor of contemporary developments. In social philosophy in the USA at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, for example, there was a social-ecological tendency of communication research, which emerged from the intersection of studies on transport modalities, journalism and urban lifestyles. A vital contribution to this development was made by Robert Ezra Park, who had done doctoral work in the early years of the century in Heidelberg, Germany, on the theme of 'masses and the public', as well as by Charles Horton Cooley, who wrote important texts on the significance and growth of communication and the relation of its modern forms to individuality (Cooley 1909/1962, 61-103). Similarly, a sometimes overlooked precursor of the contemporary field can be found in the figure of the democratic pragmatist philosopher John Dewey, for whom communication was crucial for democratic social organisation (on Cooley, Park and Dewey, see Czitrom 1983, 91-121). Perhaps even more significant, however, was an older, and for many years largely "buried tradition" (Carey

2001, ix) of social and theoretical thinking on communication and the press in the German linguistic zone, recovered in Hanno Hardt's *Social Theories of the Press* (2001).

Despite these intimations of future developments, however, the early theoretical explorations did not lead to the foundation of modern communication studies in an institutional sense. The emergence of the field as a legitimate academic activity occurred according to other, more 'pragmatic' imperatives. Decisive here was the role played by the association of the academy with the training and promotion of the distinctively modern art and science of journalism. Formal education in journalism was established as early as the 1870s in several US colleges and universities. Kansas State College provided instruction from 1873, the University of Missouri in 1878, and the University of Pennsylvania from 1893. Until the 1920s, most of these journalism education programs were either adjuncts to English or philosophy departments, or originated in them and remained largely directed by them in institutional and administrative terms. Missouri in 1908 and Columbia University in 1912 set a pattern, followed by others, by establishing an independent professional school of journalism within the larger university setting (Willnat and Weaver 2006, 39).

The first European university courses in journalism were held in Paris as early as 1899. Further courses evolved in the second decade of the twentieth century: 1916 in Jena; 1917 in Warsaw with the founding of the Institute for Journalism at Warsaw University; 1919 in the UK, with the establishment of a training program for journalism at King's College at the University of London; 1920 at the University of Moscow; and, in Italy, in 1929 with the foundation of a Professorship of Journalism at the University of Perugia (Schorr 2003, 21).

It was perhaps in Germany that there occurred the first attempts to define the fledgling new academic programmes in terms of a 'discipline' of proper academic standing. This is not surprising given the strong institutional traditions of university research and education in the Germanic world. The first professorship devoted to mass communication research was established in 1916 in Leipzig under the

heading *Zeitungskunde*. Yet for over half a century there were only a few universities where new professorships were established or where there was more than one professorship dedicated to communication subjects. There was a clear institutional upswing for the field during the Nazi years, but this in its turn led to a certain discrediting of the field after the war. All but three institutes – Munich and Münster restarted in 1946, Berlin in 1948 – were closed down. As it was difficult to find suitable 'uncontaminated' professors, there was also recruiting from other disciplines, including non-habilitated people and those coming from outside the universities. Between 1945 and 1965 there was not a single successful *Habilitation* in the field of communication research. The discipline was "found not to be dignified enough" to produce its own professors (Meyen 2004, 200). It was only in the 1970s and 1980s that there was a clear expansion of the institutions and resources, strengthening dynamics that had begun during the tumultuous years of social transformation and contestation of the 1960s.

The impact of what some historians have defined as the 'second thirty years war (1914–1945) and the sometimes instrumental role of various media and communication institutions within it perhaps also contributed to a relative 'modesty' for a long period of communications and media researchers in nominating their field as clearly demarcated from more traditional academic disciplines. It is notable that even in the mid-fifties, "the word 'communication' was still rarely used in Europe" (Vroons 2005, 495). Indeed, "the now richly seeded field of communication studies [...] was still an unploughed arable land in Europe during the 1950s" (ibid., 514). This situation was quite different from that in the USA, where communications research enjoyed growing prestige in the post-war period (see Peters 1986, 533ff for a summary of these developments; Simpson 1995 and Glander 2000 provide information regarding the crucial military funding of communication research in the context of the beginning of the cold war). Institutional and intellectual measures concurred; communication research was emerging as a significant dimension of the new society and values that would become central to the growth of the USA into a world hegemonic power in the second half of the twentieth century.

Despite these advances, it was not long before Bernard Berelson, one of the central figures in the field, became very sceptical. Already in 1959, he stated: "My thesis that, as for communication research, the state is withering away" (1). Intellectual exhaustion and failure to renew a unified and coherent body of researchers in tune with the expansion of the field seemed to lie behind the malaise: "the innovators have left or are leaving the field" (4). In fact, in some respects it was precisely the success of the field that led Berelson to speak in such pessimistic tones:

> "In sum, then, it seems to me that 'the great ideas' that gave the field of communication research so much vitality ten and twenty years ago have to a substantial extent worn out. No ideas of comparable magnitude have appeared to take their place" (6).

Berelson's concerns, therefore, were fundamentally motivated by the perception of an increasing lack of intellectual and theoretical dynamism of the field. In a certain sense, communications study and research had become a victim of its own success, the early ambitious initiatives of a new research paradigm struggling to establish itself and to conquer new territory giving way to a comfortable occupation of established academic enclaves.

However, alternative voices soon registered dissent with such Cassandra-like predications, buoyed up by precisely the ongoing institutional expansion of the field that had prompted Berelson's untimely meditations. Wilbur Schramm, for example, a leading figure in the institutionalisation of the field and who founded communication research institutes in Illinois (1948) and Stanford (1955-56), responded to Berelson by telling of his own busy institutional schedule with meetings, supervising students, seminars, and so on. He argued that he couldn't "find the rigor mortis in this field" conjectured by Berelson. Furthermore, he wondered "whether Dr. Berelson might have missed a tiny surge of pulse in the body, or even examined the wrong victim" (1959, 7). In the event, it was Schramm's more institutional perspective

that won the day; the continuing and increasingly rapid increase in the number of departments and course offerings in the USA in particular did not prove conducive to voices urging a more self-critical perspective on the field's intellectual and theoretical coordinates.

The decisive move in the 'institutional war of manoeuvre' – in the USA, at any rate – was the delinking of communication research from the departments of journalism, in which it had found its first academic home. As Schorr notes,

> "In parallel [to academic journalist education] – and this is a specialty of the U.S. American tradition in the discipline – quasi in the lee winds of success and with increasing public recognition by empirical communication research, a second tradition of training was established at the undergraduate level as part of the liberal arts curriculum" (Schorr 2003, 22).

This moved against the earlier tendency, in which the institutional expansion of course offerings across the liberal arts and sciences had not been accompanied by a corresponding growth of institutional autonomy and self-governance. Again, Schorr notes that

> "At the undergraduate level it was easy to offer subjects *communication* or *media studies* successfully from different disciplinary perspectives. *Communication* was not seen as a discipline in its own right. For this reason, American universities did not establish independent departments of communication until late in the 50s of the 20th century" (Schorr 2003, 22).

With the establishment of autonomous departmental bodies, the status of communication research was assured of growing prestige – not only in institutional terms, but crucially, intellectually and theoretically as well, as a new branch of the modern academic division of labour. In appearance – and often, in effect – a new science was born: *Mass Communication*. The field continued to grow, both in the USA and

elsewhere, benefiting in particular from the expansion and reforms of the universities in the 1960s (in Germany, for instance, the first chair in a general 'communication science' [*Kommunikationswissenschaft*] – as opposed to earlier, more narrowly focused *Publizistik* orientations – was founded in 1964, at the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg).[1]

Nordenstreng has recently noted,

> "Instead of its withering away as suggested by Berelson in the late 1950s, we have seen an impressive growth of the field, which has brought communication and media studies to the centre of contemporary paradigms of socio-economic development – the Information Society" (Nordenstreng 2007, 219).

In his farewell lecture at the University of Tampere, May 2009, Nordenstreng presented a diagram prepared by Maria Forsman, based on her bibliometric analysis of the Web of Science databases (see Figure 1). The diagram backs up the claims about the extraordinary growth of media and communication studies. The growth has even been more rapid than in biotech or computer sciences. Of the compared fields, only psychology shows larger annual output, but its growth rate has not been as impressive.

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1. The decisive influence of North American concepts of Mass Communication on the German context should not be underestimated. As Averbeck notes, "Nowadays, German *Kommunikationswissenschaft* has to be described mainly as empirical social research on mass communication with strong input from the 'classical' US-American tradition (Lasswell, Hovland, Lewin, Lazarsfeld). In my opinion, the orientation of German *Kommunikationswissenschaft* towards the US was also a remedy to forget the Nazi past as soon as possible, and to find out how to measure 'reality' (and not to built up ideologies...). The rich culturalistic tradition in the field of communication studies in the US came to Germany only from the 1980s onwards or later, when the empirical social science attitude had been tightened. German *Kommunikationswissenschaft* mainly consists of empirical social research in the fields of the uses and effects of mass communication" (Averbeck 2008, 2-3).

Figure 1; Number of publications (books and articles) in different academic fields

Growth of Publications 1965-2008
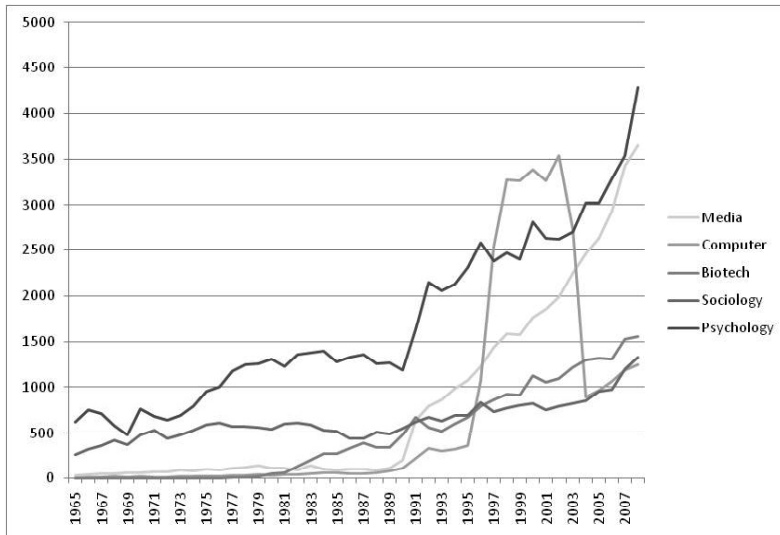
Growth of Publications 1965-2008
eb of Science databases
Bibliometric analysis 22.5.2009
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Using statistics compiled by Craig and Carlone (1998, 71-3), Neuendorf et al. and Schorr similarly make a convincing case for the unprecedented success of this academic new-comer in the post-war period. As the former authors argue, communication research,

> "was not even recognized as a field of study by the Department of Education until 1966. The three decades to follow witnessed a 534% growth

rate in the number of communication degrees awarded, during which time the journalism/mass communication subfield grew 1,500%" (Neuendorf et al. 2007, 25).

Thus, "American universities have conferred over 50,000 communication degrees per year since the mid-1990s"; communication is now ranked "among the eight largest nationally in BA graduate production each year" (Neuendorf et al. 2007, 25, 35). Schorr argues in a similar fashion that

> "the number of bachelor degrees across the communication disciplines rose by 534% between 1968 and 1993. This is more than six times the amount of bachelor degrees in all other academic disciplines (all fields: 84%). The number of master's degrees increased by 288% (all fields: 109%)" (Schorr 2003, 23).

Neither has this success been limited to the USA; other zones of the anglophone world have witnessed a similar expansion. According to the Universities and Colleges Admission Service (UCAS 2008) in the United Kingdom, there are total of 96 British universities offering 983 media related undergraduate courses in 2008/2009. In addition, according to Graduate Prospects (Graduate Prospects 2008), there are 619 taught postgraduate courses in Media Studies and Publishing. The field has grown rapidly in Australia as well: in 1987, journalism was taught in only 11 universities, while students who wish to study journalism in Australia today have 25 universities from which to choose. Media and communication studies, in the term's wider meaning, are represented in 37 universities. Only two Australian universities do not have this area in their curricula.

While such an expansion could be attributed to dynamics specific to the USA and its immediate linguistic zone of influence, it only requires a quick glance at some of the other countries and national traditions to begin to suspect that the growth of communications and media research in the post-war period may constitute an 'international

enigma'. Countries and traditions quite distant from and sometimes resistant to the dominant Anglophone models, such as France, or those with strong traditional academic structures and traditions that are often resistant to change, such as Germany, display similar features of unstoppable growth of communications research and study, at all levels of academic activity.

In France, the growth of the discipline of Infocom (the French equivalent of communication and media studies) can be seen in the growth of the number of teacher-researchers over the last 35 years. There were few teachers or researchers in the field in 1975, reflecting the lack of implantation of communication and media research in an academic environment dominated by more traditional disciplines. However, from 1977 to 2005 the number of posts in Infocom has augmented annually by 10%, starting from 43 teacher-researchers in 1977 up to 663 in 2005 (521 *maître de conferences* and 142 professors, see Figure 2). Astoundingly, the number of academic posts in Infocom has surpassed such fields as philosophy and political science, and is close to sociology and linguistics (Cardy & Froissart 2006, 261-262). Admittedly, a curious feature of the French context is that despite this success, there are still fewer professorial posts (21% of all posts) compared to the average (31%) for all disciplines. Presumably, this hinders to some extent the elaboration of long-term research projects. Paradoxically, however, such a statistic can also be interpreted as another strength: the lower number of professorial posts means that the majority of practitioners are engaged extensively in teaching, which in turns drives the further growth of the field in terms of reaching a critical mass of students and trained graduates (ibid., 267).

Figure 2; Growth of the discipline of Infocom in France.
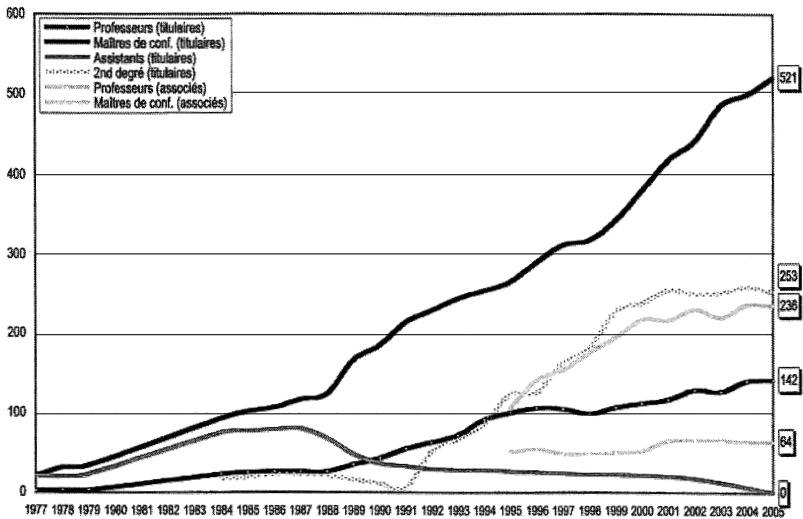
Source: Ministère (DPE A6). Traitement: P. Froissart, 2005.

Similarly, the German context demonstrates a rapid expansion, particularly over the last decade. The number of students in media science courses has almost doubled from the academic year 1995/6 to 2005/6, from 28 000 students to 55 000. This represents a clearly greater degree of growth than has been the case in other study courses in the period (Wissenschaftsrat 2007, 27). The following Figure 3 (ibid., 28) represents the development in the field of communication and media science in comparison to developments in the other humanities disciplines and the total student population over the last ten years.

Figure 3; Development in the field of communication and media studies in comparison to developments in the other humanities disciplines and the total student population in Germany.
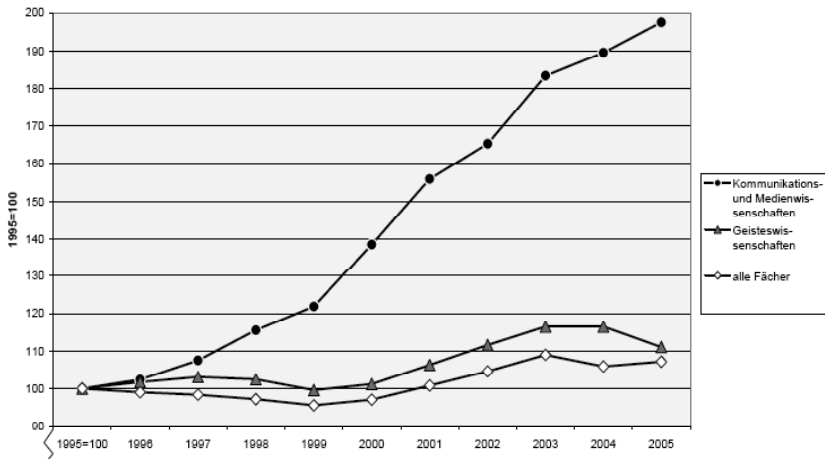
Quelle: Statistisches Bundesamt: Fachserie 11, Reihe 4.1 Studierende an Hochschulen, Tabelle 2 in ausführlicher Gliederung; eigene Berechnungen (vgl. auch Anhang B.1.).

Clearly, the situation has become very different from Lazarsfeld's tale of solitude and isolation. How are we to account for this spectacular reversal of fortunes? In particular, what were the preconditions for this emergence of a dynamic new academic field in a period in which many traditional disciplines in the university have witnessed much more modest gains, if not stagnation and decline?

Craig and Carone provide an interesting perspective that helps us to place these reflections in a deeper optic than the frequently heard assertion of increased student demand and the supposed 'relevance' of the object of study of communication and media research to the contours of the 'information society'. They write that the institutional expansion of communication and media research in the USA

"has not occurred within a fixed structure of categories that constitutes 'the field' as an unchanging entity. Rather, the categories themselves have evolved, and the field has grown perhaps as much by redefinition and

expansion of its subject matter as by quantitative accumulation. Central to this evolution has been the increasing salience and richness of the term 'communication' itself"(Craig – Carone 1998, 78).

In this perspective, we can turn to consider the coordinates of this process of ongoing 'redefinition' and 'expansion'. Several preliminary questions will guide our investigation. Has this process been merely one of 'quantitative' growth of the field through the inclusion of new objects of study – in effect, the 'colonisation' of areas of study previously assigned to other disciplines, which are now suffering from institutional decline? Or has the process involved 'qualitative' shifts and turning points, reconfigurations of the field itself, permitting a more intense elaboration of its study and research programmes? How are we to characterise a research field that continually redefines and reorganises its internal determinants at the same time as it successfully engages with new and different external academic institutional conditions and objects of study? How does it cohere? Can communication and media research be convincingly regarded as a 'discipline' or even 'field' in a traditional academic sense? Or are we perhaps confronted by a different type of intellectual and institutional formation, which calls for alternative categories in order to comprehend its distinctive features?

2

Shifting Intellectual Orders: Discipline or Field?

The 'explosive' success story of communication and media research has often been narrated in overwhelmingly positive terms, for reasons that are not difficult to discern. In a period of institutional reform and transformation of university systems around the world – a period in which many more traditional disciplines have struggled to maintain their programmes of research and, above all, their prestige in the wider society – the 'new-comer' of communication and media study has gone from strength to strength. It has succeeded in articulating its concerns in ever-wider circles of institutional and intellectual influence, consolidating foundational themes and progressively drawing in new concerns to its field of reference and competence. In this sense, the 'success story' has been a source of confidence for many researchers, providing support for further expansive initiatives on both the institutional and intellectual terrain.

However, as we have seen, the history of communication and media research has also included other voices, more cautious and circumspect, sometimes sceptical or even pessimistic regarding the longer

term potential 'costs' of such a triumphant narrative. One moment of such reflections coincided with what can legitimately be regarded as the founding years of the modern, post-war discipline or field, in the 1950s. More recently, the very 'explosive' growth of course offerings and research projects during the last 20 years has prompted further musings of this type. Paradoxically, this expansion has led to what some scholars in Germany have described as the *Unübersichtlickeit* of the field, perhaps best translated into English as a 'lack of clarity'. It points to an inability to gain a comprehensive survey over the entire field, in its internal unity and contradiction.

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

More recently, the theme has been reiterated in an influential scholarly study – significantly, produced by experts from outside the field, who might be expected to be able to adopt a more impartial and therefore totalising perspective, beyond disciplinary specialisations.

> "Recommendations for the further development of communication and media sciences in Germany are dealing with a very heterogeneous, extremely dynamic and thus partially also unclear scientific field" (Wissenschaftsrat 2007, 11).

Similar voices are increasingly heard in other countries as well. In the USA, Craig and Carlone felt the need to confess already ten years ago that "we no longer understand the field very well ourselves" (Craig and Carlone 1998, 67). They concluded that the field has "amorphous", perhaps even menacing, "contours" (Craig and Carlone 1998, 68). In the UK, Boyd-Barrett has argued that any overview of contemporary communication and media research has "to accept at the outset that the 'field' of communication media research is somewhat nebulous" (Boyd-Barrett 2006, 235).

Wolfgang Donsbach's previously cited presidential address at the Annual Conference of the International Communication Association (ICA) is perhaps representative of the presence of this perspective at the international level, even among those who have been impressed by the significant successes of the field and, significantly, particularly among those researchers best placed to gain an international overview. He stated that the "field grows faster than the capacity of the average scholar to process and digest new information and thus keep an overview" (Donsbach 2006, 437). This situation led Donsbach to lament that "we have no clear identity. Our departments have many different names even within one country. And we do many different things" (Donsbach 2006, 439). Clearly, such a lack of disciplinary identity has the potential to harm the further development of the field: lacking any clearly defined disciplinary boundaries, objects of study or methods of research, the field risks falling into eclecticism, swept along by the latest

fashions but lacking its own guiding 'rudder'. With such a perspective, it may perhaps respond successfully to short-term pressures, but it will progressively become less able to elaborate the longer-term projects and programmes that are essential for any real scientific progress.

Donsbach, however, shrewdly notes that the identity or coherence of the field is also important for more immediately pragmatic and 'short-term' reasons. As he notes, a clear disciplinary identity, in intellectual terms, is also important in order "to justify the existence and growth of our field to deans and provosts when we negotiate resources" (Donsbach 2006, 442). In other words, some of the historical factors that marked the slow emergence of communication and media research from the tutelage of other disciplines may still be at play in this period of 'explosive' expansion, impacting upon the field in both intellectual *and*, crucially, also institutional terms. Just as the academy's hesitancy to recognise communication as a discipline in the past may have stemmed in part from the fact that few academic units in communication used the same name (e.g., journalism vs. [mass] communication; communication vs. speech), so the lack of a 'common denominator', within individual countries and internationally, may continue to impede further progress. What are some of the strategies that have been deployed historically in order to address this problem – and challenge – of heterogeneity and pluralism? Do they still constitute a realistic or fruitful response today?

One of the fundamental 'vehicles' for the creation of coherence of the field, historically, has been the concept of 'communication'. Indeed, this is the term most commonly used as an 'umbrella category' in order to group together different strands of the field, even those that do not use the term in their own self-description and self-comprehension (e.g., the term 'journalism', in its original sense, is at a remove from the active dimension of transferral implied in most concepts of 'communication'). What are the origins of this ubiquitous, everyday word 'communication', and how did it come to designate the specific practices and institutions studied in a particular field of academic activity, demarcated from others?

Raymond Williams, an important voice from the founding years of the field in the UK and one whose perspectives continue to reverberate in certain tendencies of contemporary research, provides an important historical perspective on the concept of 'communication'. He writes that

"Communication in its most general modern meaning has been in the [English] language since the fifteenth century. … Communication was first this action [of making common to many, imparting], and then, from the late fifteenth century, the object thus made common: a communication. This has remained its main range of use. Bur from the late seventeenth century there was an important extension to the means of communication, specifically in such phrases as lines of communication. In the main period of development of roads, canals and railways, communications was often the abstract general term for these physical facilities. It was in the twentieth century, with the development of other means of passing information and maintaining social contact, that communications came also and perhaps predominantly to refer to such media as the press and broadcasting, though this use (which is earlier in the USA than in the UK) is not settled before the mid-twentieth century. The communications industry, as it is now called, is thus usually distinguished from the *transport industry*: communications for information and ideas, in print and broadcasting; *transport* for the physical carriage of people and goods" (Williams 1983/1988, 72).

Williams's deeper historical perspective should give us reason to pause before too confidently asserting the term 'communication' as a solution to more recent problems of disciplinary coherence in the academy, whatever 'common sense' usages of the term today may suggest. As Williams makes clear, historically, the very meaning of 'communication' has constituted a problem intimately bound up with the emergence of modern capitalist society, its distinctive division of labour, industry and organising principles of market-based relations. The internal transformation of the term – from a 'making common' and thus aggregation

of disparate elements to a 'transportation' from one discrete instance to another and thus reinforcement of existing divisions – constitutes, rather than a solution, a problem to be analysed. Its uncritical deployment in what remains a limited field of academic activity risks effacing the extent to which the activities we today group together under the heading of 'communication and media' research are not external to this dynamic, but, in a complicated way, constitute one of the effects of this more general problematic.

John Durham Peters, in an influential history of the idea of communication, specifies the way in which the contestation of the sense of communication was further complicated by the emergence of a *theory* of communication, now conceived as an activity according to the coordinates delineated by Williams. Peters argues that

> "the notion of communication theory is no older than the 1940s (when it meant a mathematical theory of signal processing), and no one had isolated 'communication' as an explicit problem until the 1880s and 1890s" (Peters 1999, 9-10).

Peters further notes some of the difficulties involved in the simultaneous limitation and expansion of the term communication to designate those institutions engaged in the professional production and distribution of various forms of 'information' that characterise modern social formations, in one of their significant, productive dimensions. Foremost among these is the arbitrariness of the application of the concept of communication as a designation for information systems. Communication, understood in this broader sense, is in fact to be found everywhere, in all systems of social and communal life, from 'biological' systems to 'mechanical' operations dependent upon the coordination of a multiplicity of factors and actors (Peters 1986, 538-40). However, not only 'information' is communicated, in this broader sense, but also emotions, affects, values and a range of other human signifying and evaluative practices. In other words, as a human practice, communication can in no sense be limited to the activities now studied under this heading

in universities, namely, the industrial organisation and distribution of knowledge and experiences in 'official' institutions subjected to political and/or economic regulation. These are in fact more accurately seen as socially and historically limited forms of organisation of the broader impulse of humans to 'share in' or 'make common' a variety of historically determined experiences and meanings.

Often, the limitation has involved the assertion – less often supported with rigorous theoretical or empirical argumentation – of a 'technical' model of communication, conceived in the sense of a 'transmission' by a 'sender' of a 'message', which then encounters a 'receiver'. There are many variations of this basic model, but all share the feature of abstracting from the ensemble of social practices and the contested social production and circulation of meanings they entail. A similar reduction – though in a somewhat 'milder' or 'softer' form – occurs also in more humanistic or hermeneutic approaches to communication that focus solely on shared 'language', 'code' 'discourse' or 'culture', etc. In both cases, we end up with an "ideology of communication" (Hall 1989). The very attempt to specify the concept of communication, in order to define a discrete field of academic inquiry, results in making it more – not less – amorphous and unable to provide a distinct object of academic study. Communication and media research seems to be caught in an 'infinite regress', where any attempt to resolve its definitional disputes in fact opens up more problems than it settles.

One of the strategies deployed in order to overcome this dilemma was the limitation of the concept of communication to human or social communication. Here, the concept of communication is closely articulated with a concept of meaning, in either an intentional or unconscious form. The signification of the world and the establishment of frames of reference and the diffusion of shared understandings therefore become central. However, this then led to a further problem, in many respects similar to the wide applicability of the more general concept of communication: namely, the fact that meaning as such – the act of signification and its social diffusion and acceptance – pervades all social relations. An important tendency of recent social theory has argued for precisely

such a notion, positing various concepts of communication as keys to unlocking the enigmatic nature of an increasingly complex modernity. This sense of the term ranges from Habermas's 'communicative action' to the systems-theoretical approach of Luhmann. One could even view elements of classical social theory, such as Marx's labour theory of value, with its decisive intermediary of money, as a paradigm of 'meaningful' communication, or the transposition of values from one social context to another. It is difficult to see how a notion of 'meaningful' communication could provide a centre to a specific academic research programme, without very rapidly expanding beyond its borders to encompass all areas of study in the modern academy.

A further difficulty with the notion of meaningful communication consists in the way it posits a division between the 'raw material' of social interactions and the actions or agents that only subsequently 'encode' them with a particular meaning prior to 'transmission' to another participant in the social formation. Yet as Raymond Williams noted in a critique of reductive and mechanical versions of Marx's metaphor of the base and superstructure of a social formation, it is not true that social life can be usefully divided into a foundational or first-order element, on the one hand, and a 'merely' secondary or derivative moment of reorganisation of the 'primary material'. He argued against "mechanical formulations … in which the inherent role of means of communication in every form of production, including the production of objects, is ignored and communication becomes a second-order or second stage process, entered into only *after* the decisive productive and social-material relations have been established" (Williams 1978, 53).

The practical consequence of this problematisation of the applicability of the concept to the type of academic research discussed here was, historically, the specification of the particular *form* of communication propagated by various media institutions: namely, *mass communication*. As have seen, this transition played a decisive role in the post-war years in the USA, when the field established its institutional autonomy, albeit tentatively, thus laying the foundation for further developments throughout the 1960s and up until the present day. To

a greater or lesser extent, this focus was then 'translated' internationally and now constitutes the unifying feature of an otherwise heterogeneous global constellation of disparate elements and perspectives. According to this perspective, 'communication and media research' studies not all instances of human communication, but only those embodied in specific institutions with relations to larger political and/or economic mechanisms, usually in the form of (nation) states, political parties and formations and the market imperative of privately organised commodity production.

Nevertheless, recent developments of communicative practices on a 'mass' basis have also thrown this seemingly more promising and stable concept into crisis. A notion of 'mass communication' is clearly premised upon a distinction of 'mass vs. individual'. Only those practices that have transcended the sphere of the individual and entered into the institutional forms provided by modern societies for 'mass' phenomena fall within the range of this field of study. However, the very development of institutions of 'mass' communication in the new 'information society' increasingly reveals this to be an arbitrary assertion, contradicted by the porous borders between the 'mass' and 'individual' dimensions of social practices in determinate historical conjunctures. Perhaps the most significant example of this tendency has been the explosive growth of the internet. Seemingly a form of 'mass communication', in terms of its standardised forms and techniques of transmission, our short historical experience with the social dimensions and ramifications of 'internet culture' has made it more than apparent that this new technology is simultaneously a new form of social practice. On a 'mass' basis, it opens up new avenues to individuation, and thereby blurs the distinction on which the paradigm of 'mass communication' was founded. Developments in mobile telephony have similarly opened up new vistas, interacting with older informational and communicative practices and often transforming them. New spaces of the 'private' and 'public' are being defined, which are likely to make it necessary to reconsider and reformulate many of the most basic categories used in social scientific research, including that of 'mass communication'.

There have of course been precedents for this development in prior phases of modernity's reorganisation of public and private spaces. As we have seen, in many respects the field of communication and media research has gained a certain chronological continuity precisely by its ability to adapt to these changes by reformulating its object of study. In the current phase of social reorganisation, a particularly promising category – including the strengths of an 'instrumental' or 'technical' concept of communication, while specifying it in certain key institutional and technological respects – seems to have emerged in the ongoing redefinition of the concept of 'media'.

The term 'media' also has a long history of transformation. It originally signified only a 'medium' employed by or for something else, a channel of transmission of an independent content or a form that provided temporary 'shelter' for something on its way to somewhere else. However, just as the concept of communication grew from signifying an institution in which certain activities occurred to mean a certain 'authorised' version of the activity itself, the concept of media was also expanded to signify a very particular mode of transmission. This development occurred from the nineteenth century onwards, solidifying into its still current common usage in the twentieth century. The concept of media functions as a 'meta-concept' for a means of communication and the communicative relations that structure it. It thus allows 'communication' to return to its prior wider meaning, while it isolates and valorises the particular instrumentalist sense that had been ascribed to communication in the sense of a regulated system of transmission.

However, remarkably, similar problems soon arise with this redefinition as well, namely, the tendency to expand into an overly general concept whose very strength of wide applicability turns out to be a weakness in terms of establishing the boundaries for an academic research programme. A 'medium' can "signify a specific system of symbols or signs (language, writing, picture, sound) or a specific type of expression (the medium of literature, in distinction from the medium of art). The expression [in either the singular or plural, as 'media'] can be used for

the material bearers of communicated messages (from papyrus to the internet) or for the totality of social and technical systems of modern mass communication" (Wissenschaftsrat 2007, 11). In fact, there can be no communication without corresponding 'media' that constitute its 'material or social form', just as there can be no society or culture without communication. Thus, when investigated rigorously and coherently, 'media' turns out to be a concept just as wide as that of communication, potentially capable of including a range of practices and institutions that are not limited to the transmission of 'information', 'meaning' or 'code', but which also include such generalities as language (conceived as a medium for the creation of human community) or even money (conceived as the concrete medium for the establishment of a relationship of exchange of values). As in the case of an 'instrumentalist' or 'technical' concept of communication, some of the more widespread 'common sense' notions of 'media' potentially end up obscuring precisely that which they should have clarified, namely, the social reality that underlies the various institutional forms assumed in concrete historical conjunctures. Its usefulness in establishing a rigorous and critical field of social scientific research, beyond temporary questions of institutional concurrence, should therefore be treated with some caution, if not scepticism.

The various problems with notions of 'communication' and 'media' that we have been discussing find their institutional expression in the form of the debate regarding the precise status of communication and media research. Is it a 'discipline', in a strict and traditional academic sense, or a looser 'field', the amalgamation or maybe only *modus vivendi* or a variety of disciplinary approaches? This constitutes an old debate – perhaps *the* foundational debate – of academic communication and media research. As Donsbach notes,

> "This identity crisis has been with us for as long as we have existed in academia. When claims were made to establish communication (then called 'press research' or '*Zeitungsforschung*') alongside sociology in the German academic system, the president of the German Sociological Association,

Ferdinand Toennies, said at the association's 1930 annual conference, 'Why would we need press research within sociology? We don't need a chicken or duck science within biology'. His point really hit communication researchers hard and still does today" (Donsbach 2006, 439).

There have repeatedly been attempts to establish the 'field' as a 'discipline', with its own objects of research, methodology and protocols distinct from those of other social and human sciences. However, these have all run up against the real empirical variety and multiplicity of approaches and perspectives that constitute the everyday reality of research projects. Even Schramm, one of the pioneers of institutionalisation, acknowledged the inevitability of settling for a 'less rigorous' notion of communication and media research, valorising its interdisciplinary dimensions as a positive gain. In the early years of institutional establishment, he poignantly wrote that "communication research is a field, not a discipline. In the study of man, it is one of the great crossroads where many pass but few tarry" (Schramm 1959, 8).

A consensus seems to have been reached early on, which continues to this day: communication and media research is essentially an inter- or intra-discipline. Rather than lamenting this fact, it should embrace the notion of a 'field' of research as a liberating and enabling institutional category, albeit one not without challenges in terms of how the field negotiates its relations with other, more traditional disciplines and their own claims to always limited resources within the overall setup of the modern university. (In this sense, communication and media research displays similar contours to those of 'cultural studies', itself originally conceived as an 'interdiscipline', which has also played an important role in recent communication research). This tendency has been particularly strong in the USA, in both positive and negative dimensions. Kellner adopts a 'realist' perspective, arguing that

"The boundaries of the field of communications have been unclear from the beginnings. Somewhere between the liberal arts/humanities and the social sciences, communications exists in a contested space where

advocates of different methods and positions have attempted to define the field and police intruders and trespassers. Despite several decades of attempts to define and institutionalize the field of communications, there seems to be no general agreement concerning its subject matter, method, or institutional home. In different universities, communications is sometimes placed in humanities departments, sometimes in the social sciences, and generally in schools of communications. But the boundaries of the various departments within schools of communications are drawn differently, with the study of mass-mediated communications and culture, sometimes housed in Departments of Communication, Radio/Television/Film, Speech Communication, Theatre Arts, or Journalism departments. Many of these departments combine study of mass-mediated communication and culture with courses in production, thus further bifurcating the field between academic study and professional training, between theory and practice" (Kellner 1995, 152).

Grossberg, on the other hand, emphasises its more problematic dimensions, albeit ones with hidden possible benefits in terms of spaces for critical perspectives, arguing that "communication as a field in the United States is something of an assemblage struggling to continually constitute its fragile unity" (Larry Grossberg in Dervin and Song 2004).

Similarly anxieties are registered in many other countries. It is notable that in almost all of them the consensus of a 'field' conception of communication and media research constitutes an often unstated precondition of continuing research practice .[1] It is a consensus, however, which is not without its disturbing and uncomfortable elements, contradicted sometimes in practice or only approximated as an 'ideal type', depending on varying relations of institutional force and power in different countries.

Japan presents perhaps the most extreme example of the difficulty of establishing even a sense of a 'field' of communication and media studies. There, media and communication research has been and still

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1. Germany perhaps constitutes an exception in this regard, where pressures of traditional academic conceptions have tended to promote attempts to define a stricter sense of 'discipline'; even here, however, the 'field' conception seems to constitute the practical reality of the everyday working of the institution.

is dispersed into different disciplines, rarely having a department or faculty of its own. Consequently, in Japan the 'field' is in reality constituted only at the level of academic and scholarly associations that create a space for dialogue for researchers who can now be understood – in retrospect, precisely on condition of their participation in these associations – as working in the same 'field'.

French communication and media research presents an even more heterogeneous picture, despite its firmer institutional bases. The combination of information, documentation, and library sciences with communication and media studies, including all of its various approaches, can make the field seem to be a patchwork, when viewed from an international perspective. Some experts even argue that, should the French scholars of Infocom move into the international Anglo-American world, they would be dispersed among such disciplines of information science, media studies, communication science, cultural studies, sociology, political science, literature studies or semiotics (see Jeanneret 2001, 5).

The status of the discipline is a problem also for French Infocom scholars (see Averbeck 2005, 7). There is no great disagreement about the multidisciplinary and transversality of the approaches to Infocom, nor about the importance of the question of communication in the contemporary global world. However, French Infocom scholars debate whether Infocom should be either an independent discipline with pluralistic roots and multidisciplinary approaches, or a phenomenon to be seen merely as an object of research that could be studied by all the traditional disciplines (such as sociology, political sciences, philosophy, etc.). On the one hand, defenders of the independent discipline view say that Infocom can and should consist of multidisciplinary theories and approaches, but that there is a particular angle of communication on all the issues. This is what Bernard Miège calls "*la pensée communicationelle*" (2005). This perspective argues that "Infocom research should not be a reproduction of what is done elsewhere and simply applied to a new object of research". Other voices, however, argue that Infocom is not a discipline, but rather, an object of research. They argue that to gain a theoretically and methodologically solid education, a researcher

must have an education in one 'mother-discipline', such as sociology, history, or political science. Even now, many of those who work in the field of Infocom have backgrounds in some other discipline (see Cardy & Froissart 2002, 354).

Nevertheless, despite the international popularity of a 'field' approach, as peaceful and pragmatic resolution to border disputes that would otherwise bog down very quickly into 'disciplinary trench warfare', even this perspective does not enjoy unanimous consent. Here we can see here how uncertainty over definitions of the intellectual constitution of the objects of study intensifies and overdetermines the institutional anxiety. At precisely the moment when a field definition, focused upon a particularly object of study rather than disciplinary methodology or approach, begins to gain the upper hand, disciplinary concerns return to question even the possibility of demarcating the distinct object required in order to establish the borders of a field. Donsbach once again formulates the issue with admirable clarity.

> "Some say we are a 'field' rather than a discipline, defined by a common object – namely communication. But I doubt that we have even a well-defined object! 'Communication' as the object is much too broad; almost everything in life involves communication" (Donsbach 2006, 439).

We can thus see that communication and media research is characterised internationally by a curious 'dialectic', or what we have referred to as an 'infinite regress'. Each attempt to establish a theoretical foundation for the field, in terms of basic concepts, soon runs up against its own limits and contradictions; indeed, even the notion of a 'field' itself, insofar as it presupposes a basic conceptuality, is revealed to be much more problematic than it appeared at first sight.

In this study, we argue that the 'field' is defined on a social and institutional level, not at the level of 'basic concepts' or disciplinarily, and not even in terms of a supposed common object of study. These perspectives more often than not are less reflective of any real intellectual coordinates than they are expressions of particular institutional

and historical conditions, hypostasised into institutional forms, which then react back upon the organisation of ongoing study and research. We agree with Peters when he argues that "'Communication' has come to be administratively, not conceptually defined" (Peters 1986, 528). If this is the case, what might be the best way to grasp this social determination and definition of communication and media study and research, in both any given national environment as well as in an international comparative perspective?

We have argued that the notion of a general 'field' of study, united by common objects of research, despite its flexibility, in fact contains more hidden contradictions than is often recognised. Might the notion of discourse, as elaborated in recent post-structuralist approaches, prove to be more fruitful?

There are decisive and immediate benefits associated with such an approach. Rather than positing an originary unity, founded upon a common object of study or shared conceptuality, the notion of discourse would allow us to valorise the contingent and ongoing 'dialogue' of communication and media research as a strength. Freed from the need for foundations, scholars working in the field would be able to pursue the different approaches in their own research, which would only then be subsequently unified in the 'discourse' of communications and media studies according to their ability to find a resonance in other projects, or to 'communicate' fruitfully with them.

However, a second glance at such an eventuality reveals some of its potential problems. The notion of 'discourse' runs the risk of unifying the real heterogeneity in the field, subsuming various voices into one 'dialogue' or 'conversation' that may not in fact be their own. This is to say that there are decisive questions of power and influence that lie behind a notion of discourse, as its preconditions, establishing a certain 'discursive field' in which some voices have a greater validity or purchase than others. Such a notion may be justifiable on pragmatic grounds, in the sense that those working in communication and media studies affirm this as their 'own' discourse. Nevertheless, it is hard to see how such a notion would not in effect end up, once again, presupposing

precisely that which is yet to be established: namely, a fundamental unity, conceived as an originary ground, rather than an achieved unity that only emerges from a complex series of mediations.

An alternative, taking into account the real differential power relations that traverse communication and media studies just as any other field of academic research – or, indeed, any other modern social formation – might be found in the notion of an 'institution'. In this sense, communication and media studies could be defined as a particular institutional formation including a variety of perspectives in a heterogeneous *dispositif,* but one that is structured according to determinate power relations and interests. This approach might also seem to overcome some of the theoretical difficulties we have discussed. Unlike notions such as 'discipline' that implicitly assert a conceptual order as an 'essence' present in all activities characterised as communication and media research, the concept of an 'institution' would permit a focus on the contingent power relations and force fields that are only retrospectively unified in a coherent ensemble by collective and individual interests. Similarly, unlike the notion of a 'field', an 'institution' does not presuppose a unity of content or objects demarcated off from other objects; an institution 'merely' includes those elements that are regulated by it, a contingent gathering of elements that becomes necessary only *post festum.* Finally, the notion of an institution would help us to avoid some of the difficulties we have identified in an overly general notion of discourse, precisely because it emphasises the material embodiment and organisation of power relations in concrete social formations, intersected by conflicting interests and values. In this sense, it would help us to pose the question of the particular ways in which the discourse of contemporary communication and media research is structured, directed and finalised according to particular interests and values, including those operative well beyond the clear demarcations of the 'field'.

Nevertheless, the notion of 'institution' also seems to us to be inadequate to capture the dynamic field of forces and interests that make up contemporary communication and media research. There is

the risk that a solely 'institutional analysis' would focus on an 'interior arrangement' to such an extent that the interaction of this institution with other disciplines, fields and institutions – its 'exterior' – might be neglected. In other words, the notion of 'institution', though in a way different from that of the notions of 'discipline', 'field' or 'discourse', also asserts an identity, rather than making possible an analysis of the processes by means of which such 'identity' is formed and maintained. However, contemporary communication and media research is constituted – in both a passive and active sense – precisely as the interaction and intersection of various 'fields', 'discourses' and 'institutions'.

In this perspective, another possible research hypothesis might be Bourdieu's attempt to elaborate a sophisticated 'field theory', combining the strengths of both discursive and institutional paradigms. "Bourdieu's field theory follows from Weber and Durkheim in portraying modernity as a process of differentiation into semiautonomous and increasingly specialized spheres of action" (Benson – Neveau 2005, 2-3). The role of analysis for Bourdieu is then that of analysing the internal arrangements and forces that go together to make up a given field as a contested terrain or *Kampfplatz*. He argues that "in a field, agents and institutions constantly struggle, according to the regularities and the rules constitutive of this space of play (and, in given conjunctures, over those rules themselves)" (Bourdieu – Wacquant 1992, 102). This would seem to be a promising concept to help us to understand the active dimensions of contestation and struggle that we find to be very present in the materials gathered together in this study.

However, as Couldry argues, precisely "how the fields interrelate has always been a difficult question for a research program whose first concern is always with the internal workings of particular fields" (Couldry 2003, 659). Bourdieu tries to overcome this problem by developing a multi-levelled concept of different types or forms of 'capital' (economic, cultural etc) that unite disparate fields. He himself, however, was aware of the abstract and inadequate nature of this solution, noting that "the question of the interrelation of different fields is an extremely complex one. It is a question that I would normally not

answer because it is too difficult" (Bourdieu – Wacquant 1992, 109). Above all, Bourdieu's articulated field theory runs the risk of describing existing arrangements, rather than providing an analysis of their causes, effects and potentials for transformation. The dynamic dimension of the fields in their interrelationship, that is, can be misapprehended by such a 'descriptive' field theory.

We propose the notion of a 'hegemonic apparatus' of Antonio Gramsci as a particularly efficacious concept that has the potential to include conceptually all the elements we believe are necessary to comprehend the articulations of contemporary communication and media research in different countries, in their national particularity and international interactions. However, Bourdieu would seem to have already formulated an objection to such a notion. Perhaps partially in polemic against certain interpretations of Louis Althusser's seemingly similar concept of 'Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs)', Bourdieu argued that

> "I am very much against the notion of apparatus, which for me is the Trojan horse of 'pessimistic functionalism' […] The school system, the state, the church, political parties, or unions are not apparatuses but fields. In a field, agents and institutions constantly struggle, according to the regularities and the rules constitutive of this space of play (and, in given conjunctures, over those rules themselves) […] Now, under certain historical conditions […] a field may start to function as an apparatus. When the dominant manage to crush and annul the resistance and the reactions of the dominated, when all movements go exclusively from the top down, the effects of domination are such that the struggle and the dialectic that are constitutive of the field cease. […] Thus apparatuses represent a limiting case, what we may consider to be a pathological state of field" (Bourdieu – Wacquant 1992, 102).

Gramsci's concept of a 'hegemonic apparatus', however, refers to a more complex notion of apparatus than the image of an instance of almost mechanical determination to which Bourdieu rightly objects. Indeed,

it was precisely by reconnecting with the more active or sensuous dimensions of the word's etymological Latin roots that Gramsci was able to formulate a concept that avoids both reductive determinism and inexplicable contingency. For Gramsci, a 'hegemonic apparatus' is a field of conflicting forces and organisational forms in which and by means of which social and political projects are concretely pursued. It also includes a strong element of 'direction' and 'leadership', indicating the ways in which social and political formations attempt to shape, form and influence the social terrain on which their activities occur (see Bollinger and Koivisto 2001). As an 'apparatus', or articulated system of relational practices, it is 'internally' organised at a certain level of coherence, constituting a discrete social element or 'instance', in the perspective of providing direction and guidance to particular social practices. However, as but one element or 'apparatus' of an overall social hegemonic project, it also acknowledges the 'external' determinants of this organised form, as merely one 'instance' within a larger social formation directing and shaping it, which it directs, shapes and concretises in its turn. Gramsci's notion of a 'hegemonic apparatus' includes the strong emphasis upon struggle and contestation found in Bourdieu's sophisticated field theory, acknowledging the always-unfinished nature of consolidated institutions and relations. It also similarly includes an emphasis upon the concrete materiality and experiential nature of a social formation. It goes beyond it, however, by insisting upon the way in which any given 'field' is internally fractured by other 'fields', thus introducing a dynamic dimension of changing social relations. In particular, it directs our attention to the dynamic and constitutive interrelation of different 'fields', in the sense of the ongoing exchange between different concrete 'apparatuses' in which an overall social and political project is concretised – and contested.

Our guiding thesis in this study is that contemporary communication and media research study, nationally and internationally, is constituted as one such 'hegemonic apparatus', or terrain upon which social and political projects and values are produced, criticised, institutionalised and challenged. It is an intersection of competing values,

interests and forces that have attained to a certain level of articulation and coherence, but remain determined by other social instances in crucial respects. To understand this 'unity', one needs to understand that which lies 'beyond' it – or rather, that which is already 'within' it in complex forms. By placing the emphasis firmly upon the insertion of communication and media research in broader social projects, we believe that the notion of a 'hegemonic apparatus' allows us to comprehend the most important determining instances of the contemporary situation. Even more importantly, by highlighting the institutional, discursive and intellectual forms in which communication and media research itself actively contributes to defining and contesting this situation, the notion of a 'hegemonic apparatus' challenges us to consider the ways in which our own activities as researchers and students may contribute to its transformation.

3

Patterns of Research
Institutions and Organisations

In this chapter we provide an analytic overview of key aspects of communication and media research institutions and organisations in the individual countries surveyed in this study. These key aspects are:

Departments, Professorships, Centres
Doctoral Studies
Gender Relations
Research Funding
Internationalisation and *Dispositifs* of Publishing

We hold these to be key indices of the development of communication and media research, permitting meaningful comparisons to be made across national and cultural borders, both in terms of the 'internal' organisation of communication and media research, and in terms of its 'external' relations with other 'disciplines', 'fields' and the broader academic landscape. As we noted in the preface, the available data for each country in relation to each theme varies widely; while some

themes were treated extensively in one of the country specific reports upon which this synthetic overview is based, they played a lesser role in other national contexts. This is to be expected given that, as we have argued, communication and media research is constituted, in the first instance, discursively and institutionally, and is therefore highly culturally dependent and context specific. We have thus not aimed at an exhaustive treatment of each key aspect in each country. Rather, we have attempted to indicate some of the most significant tendencies and initiatives that define each of these themes in any given national context. Discussions of individual countries thus vary greatly in their length and focus; each section can be regarded as a 'snap shot', taken from a particular angle, which attempts to capture a revealing or pertinent dimension of communication and media studies in the respective countries. Such an approach allows us to gain a clearer picture of the field of forces and interests that traverse and define communication and media research in its institutional unity and discursive multiplicity at the national level. However, it also forms the foundation for a genuinely inter-national perspective, insofar as it draws our attention to the social, political and institutional causes of the similarities and differences between communication and media research projects in the individual countries.

3.1 Departments, Professorships, Centres

This sub-chapter provides an outline of the organisation of academic communication and media research in different national contexts. Out aim is to provide an overview of the various institutional structures and resources that constitute the 'material forms of existence' of communication and media research in the respective university systems. We find that many of these have been strongly determined by national histories and characteristics of a more general import, as is to be expected in

institutions integrated with national governance strategies and markets. For example, it is notable that communication and media research in countries with traditions of strong academic structures and hierarchies (e.g., Germany, France and, to a lesser extent, the Netherlands) is shaped by dominant institutional elements. On the other hand, in a country such as Belgium in which linguistic divisions play such a central role, the organisation of communication and media research is similarly strongly determined by differences in language and culture. Further a field, research in a country such as Estonia arguably remains open, like many other 'new' disciplines in that country, to recent developments and expansion to a greater extent than is the case in more established academic settings. Furthermore, while research in East Asia is heavily shaped by more general relations with the 'West', a view of communication and media research in the anglophone world reveals both its integration with the particular market forms characteristic of those economies and also a remarkable set of 'elective affinities' with other academic disciplines in those national contexts.

This initial survey of the organisational form of communication and media research provides strong support for our guiding thesis regarding the lack of coherence of this 'non-discipline'. As a 'hegemonic apparatus', it is primarily determined by existing institutional-academic and extra-academic social and political formations, particularly those operative at the nation state level, even and especially in their international dimensions. The kaleidoscopic perspective presented in this sub-chapter further confirms the need for more concrete and expansive research into the various levels of institutional 'embedding' in each particular country in order to gain an accurate picture of the primary causes and operative tendencies in communication and media research today. The subsequent sub-chapters will take up this task in relation to particularly significant indices of the potential for future growth and transformation.

Germany

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

The first strategy has been deployed by Ruhrmann et al. (2000). They found relevant professorships in 52 universities, technical universities and *Künstlerische Hochschule* (but not *Fachhochschule)*, comparing the situation in 1987 and 1997. In 1987, there were 97 professorships in communication and media studies, whereas in 1997 the number had increased to 204, including planned professorships. The increase is impressive. Whereas in 1987 there were only 26 higher education institutions where communication and media studies were represented, in 1997 there were 52 of them. In both cases, Nordheim-Westfalen was the leading *Land* in professorships. In 1997, Berlin had lost its second place to Thüringen. The results are presented graphically on the following maps. (Figures 4 and 5)

Figure 4; Communication and media professorships in Germany in 1987
(From Ruhrmann et al. 2000, 286)

Figure 5; Communication and media professorships in Germany in 1997 (from Ruhrmann et al. 2000, 288)

A closer look at the profiles of the professorships reveals that over half of the professorships had a rather general profile of communication or media studies or journalism. The rest is divided between smaller groups: visual communication (including film studies) had a share of 11%, media design 9%, multimedia 7%, and the history and aesthetics of media 6%; media law, media economy, media management,

media technology, media pedagogy, media psychology, and mpecialised journalism [*Fachjournalismus*] all gained less than 5%. These results are summed up in the following chart.

Figure 6; Development of communication and nedia studies in Germany

| Land | 1987 | | 1997 | | |
	Number of universties	Occupied professor-ships	Number of universities	Occupied professor-ships	Planned and ocupied professor-ships
Schleswig-Holstein	-	-	1	1	1
Bremen	1	2	1	2	3
Hamburg	-	-	1	2	3
Niedersachsen	3	5	6	10	16
Nordheim-Westfalen	6	28	9	46	52
Hessen	1	11	3	15	17
Rheinland-Pfalz	2	8	3	11	11
Baden Württenberg	2	5	5	12	14
Bayern	5	10	7	15	17
Saarland	1	1	1	2	2
Berlin	3	16	5	17	19
Brandenburg	1	1	2	3	5
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	-	-	-	-	-
Sachsen-Anhalt	-	-	2	2	3
Thüringen	-	-	4	12	30
Sachsen	1	10	2	10	11
Total	**26**	**97**	**52**	**160**	**204**

(based on Ruhrmann et al 2000, 289)

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

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

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

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

In Meyen's sample, the growth after 1990 should "be attributed above all to the new foundations in the 'new' *Bundesländer*" [i.e., states of the former GDR] (ibid., 198). In Western Germany there were only

8 new professorships between 1990 and 2002. Whereas 86% of the professors in 1970 had some journalistic experience, the figure has now been reduced to one-third. Yet, as Meyen notes, the academicisation of communication studies has not kept pace with growth of the discipline. There are still many non-habilitated scholars who have gained professorships; furthermore, the time between *Habilitation* and the first professorship is short, unlike in other disciplines. It is also interesting to note that less than one-third of the professors had studied communication studies as their main subject, while most of those professors who had studied communication as their main subject were male. Typical would be the defence of the dissertation around the age of 30 and the *Habilitation* nearly ten years later (ibid., 200-2).

Figure 7: Professors of Communication Studies and Journalism in Germany

	1950	1970	1990	2002
Professors	3	7	54	85
-Women	0	1	7	14
-*Habilitation*	33% (3)	57% (7)	51.9% (52)	57.8% (83)
-Practical media experience	66% (3)	86% (7)	36.7% (49)	33.7% (83)
Dissertation at the age of	23.6 (3)	27.7 (7)	30.0 (50)	30.7 (77)
Habilitation at the age of	38 (1)	34.5 (4)	37.0 (27)	38.9 (48)
Waiting time between				
Habilitation and professorship	5 (1)	10.75 (4)	2.9 (27)	2.8 (48)
Age at first professorship	46 (3)	45 (7)	40.4 (52)	41.5 (79)
Main subject	(3)	(7)	(54)	(85)
-Communication Studies		4	20	27
-Economics			9	9
-Philology	1		10	16
-Law		1	5	3
-History	2	1	4	2
-Sociology		1	2	8
-Psychology			2	6
-Political Science			1	7
-Other			1	7

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

According to Meyen, the discipline is dominated by institutes in Mainz, Berlin, Munich and Münster. 80% of the teachers that have studied communication at least as a minor subject come from these four institutes. The relatively new institute in Mainz – founded in the mid 1960s – has surpassed the three institutes that survived the war. This becomes even more evident if we look at the professors that have been born after 1945. Here we have seven from Mainz against four from Berlin. These two institutes are also the leaders when it comes to universities where people have studied communication and defended their *Habilitationen*:

Figure 8; Institutes in which German professors studied

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

(based on Meyen 2004, 202)

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

Based on surveys and internet research, Wirth comes to the conclusion that there are 131 study programmes for communication or media studies in the institutions of German higher education. These programmes are divided between those offering it as a main subject and those where it is present only as a minor subject:
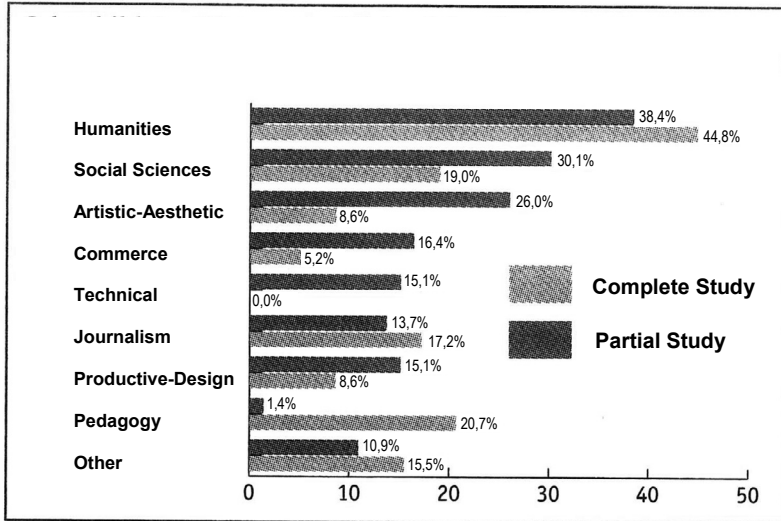
Figure 9; Places of study in Germany

Study programme	Number	%
Main subject at a University - in a CMS department or faculty	28 18	43.8%
Main subject at a *Hochschule* - in a CMS department or faculty	6	9.4%
Main subject at a *Fachhochschule* - in a CMS department or faculty	6 3	9.4%
Only as minor subject (all in Universities)	10	15.6%
Only as an additional subject	14	21.9%
Total	**64**	**100%**

(based on Wirth 2000, 41)

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

Figure 10; Scholarly orientation of complete (n=73) and partial (n=58) study programmes in Germany in percentages

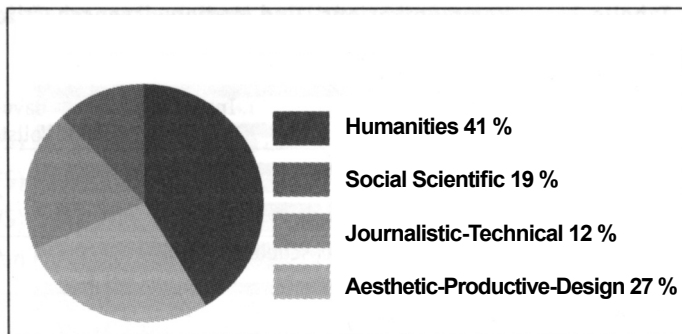|		
Humanities	38,4%	44,8%
Social Sciences	30,1%	19,0%
Artistic-Aesthetic	26,0%	8,6%
Commerce	16,4%	5,2%
Technical	15,1%	0,0%
Journalism	13,7%	17,2%
Productive-Design	15,1%	8,6%
Pedagogy	1,4%	20,7%
Other	10,9%	15,5%

Complete Study
Partial Study

(from Wirth 2000, 39)

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

Wirth estimates that there are 269 professors and 390 other scientific staff in communication and media studies. An average institute has 3.6 professors und 5.5 other scientific staff. However, 35% of all institutes have only one professorship and a further 22% have only two professorships. Only five institutes have more than 10 professorships. The largest institute is the *Hochschule für Film und Fernsehen* in Postsdam, followed by *Kunsthochschule für Medien* in Köln, *Hochschule für Film und Fernsehen* in München, *Freie Universität Berlin* and *Uni-*

Figure 11; Typology of Study Programmes in Germany

Humanities 41 %

Social Scientific 19 %

Journalistic-Technical 12 %

Aesthetic-Productive-Design 27 %

(from Wirth 2000, 41)

versität Leipzig. Whereas there are on average 2.9 professorships in the universities, the *Hochschulen* have on average 6 professorships (ibid., 41-42).

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

Rössler (2004) provides some related, more recent data. According to him, there are circa 20 000 students of communication and media studies in Germany (if we do not distinguish between those who study it as their main subject and those for whom it is a minor subject). More than half of the students are concentrated in six universities: Leipzig, Düsseldorf, Munich, Münster, Bochum and Göttingen. In these six universities, there are altogether 39 professorships in communication and media studies, i.e., 270 students per professorship. Countrywide, the ratio is 174 students per professorship. To characterise this situation as an "overload" (ibid., 20) is perhaps not an overstatement. Even in more journalistically oriented programmes, the ratio is 50 to 1.

However, all these figures also seem to highlight the major role of the non-professorial staff in the daily work of the institutes.

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

France

The history of communication studies in France is relatively short, at least in a strict, institutional sense. Significant research in communication was already being undertaken in the 1950s at the *Institut Français de Presse* (*IFP*), and in the 1960s, in the works of pioneers such as Georges Friedman, Roland Barthes, and Edgar Morin. Friedman studied technological means of communication and mass media culture; Roland Barthes analysed advertisements and mass media in semiological terms; and Edgar Morin begin studying the cinema and cultural industries from a sociological point of view. In 1962 the three of them created a centre for studying mass communication named *Le Centre d'études des communications de masse* (CECMAS) within the famous *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales* (*EHESS*) in Paris (Morin 2004, 77-78; Averbeck 2005, 3). The semiotic and culturalist approach of CECMAS has significantly influenced contemporary communication research (Averbeck 2005, 3).

However, the 'birth of the discipline' in an institutional sense dates to the 1970s, and was connected to the development and increase

in the professions of information and communication in this period (Jeanneret 2001, 5). Among the pioneers were Robert Escarpit, Jean Meyriat, Roland Barthes, Fernand Terrou, and Abraham Moles, a group representing diverse scientific fields. On their initiative the CNU, which then was called CCU [*Conseil consultatif des universités*], started preparing for the founding of a new section in the council of academic disciplines. Meanwhile, the scholars held their founding meeting in February 1972 in the *Maison des sciences de l'homme* (MSH). In this meeting they decided to call the field *Sciences de l'Information et de la Communication* (SIC or Infocom), information and communication sciences. After several institutional procedures, Infocom was officially established by the CCU in January 1975 (Averbeck 2005, 3; Boure 2006, 251; Lancien et al. 2001, 37-38; for more on the history of Infocom, see Boure 2005 and 2006b).

Universities soon implemented teaching programmes at the graduate level. These universities were l'EPHE (which is now called *École des hautes études en sciences sociales*), Bordeaux III, Grenoble III (GRESEC), Paris II (IFP), and Nice. The University of Bordeaux was the first one to give the *maîtrise* degree in communication, in 1971. The doctoral diploma had to wait, until 1984, when the third cycle of Infocom became institutionalised (Lancien et al. 2001, 37-38; Cardy & Froissart 2006, 259). In 1978 the research association in the field, *Société française des sciences de l'information et communication* (SFSIC), was founded. Since then, the SFSIC has organised conferences every second year to bring together researchers, teachers, professionals, and doctoral students of Infocom (Lancien et al. 2001, 39).

By 1993, the number of researchers and university departments had been significantly augmented. Even today, however, the CNRS (*Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*, the premier research organisation in France) has not recognised communication as an independent field of research among its disciplinary sections, although research on various aspects of communication and media does occur within different laboratories sponsored by the CNRS. The importance of communication has not been ignored, but communication and media have continued

to serve as objects of research for many studies within traditional research disciplines rather than as a discipline in itself (Lancien et al. 2001, 39). Debate about the full institutional recognition of Infocom continues to this day.

At least in an operative sense, Infocom is constituted by means of the criteria and process of evaluation of the qualifications of the different levels of teacher and researcher posts undertaken by the 71st section of CNU (*Le Conseil National des Universites*), entitled *Sciences de l'Information et de la Communication*. Infocom is defined in the following terms:

- studies of information and communication, the nature of phenomena and its practices, and the various approaches that are applied to research in the areas including process, production, usage, consumption, and reception of information and communication, processes of mediation and mediatisation;
- studies of the individual and institutional actors in the field of information and communication, the professionals (the journalists in particular), and their practices;
- studies of information, its contents and systems and from the angle of representations, significations or practices connected to them;
- studies of the various aspects of media, communication and the cultural industries.

In reality, these criteria give rise to a great heterogeneity and diversity of research conducted under the name of Infocom. A far from exhaustive list of topics studied would include economic intelligence, territorial intelligence, collective intelligence, medical information, geographical information, automatic data processing of languages, lexicography, infometrics, online services (e-learning, e-commerce, e-governing, etc.), man-machine interfaces, the semantics of the Web, statistics management, cinema, audiovisual spectacles, arts, literary products, editing, design, museums, libraries, archives, other cultural institutions (CP-CNU 2006, 3).

Important Academic Research Institutions. The leading institution in the field of information and communication, the laboratory of *GRESEC* [*Groupe de recherche sur les enjeux de la communication*], is located in the city of Grenoble. Bordeaux has the longest tradition of higher education in communication, and there are lively research groups in the universities of Avignon, Caen, Lille, Lyon, Metz, Nice, Rennes and Toulouse. As with many fields of academic activity in France, there is a concentration of resources and institutions in Paris, both in the universities and in autonomous or semi-autonomous research institutes.

The CNRS has several laboratories that are involved in communication research. *GDR TICS (Technologies de l'Information et de la Communication et Société)* is a research group focused on technologies of information and communication. Its goal is to facilitate interdisciplinary exchange between the social and technical sciences; it also analyses the economic and social transformations associated with the diffusion of technology of information and communication.

Other laboratories include, for example, ITEM (UPR 7, *l'Institut des textes et manuscrits modernes*), which uses the approach of linguistics and literary studies, and LAU (UPR 34 *Laboratoire d'Anthropologie urbaine*), which focuses on urban anthropology and communication studied as part of urban culture and society. Furthermore, in November 2006 the long awaited *L'Institut des sciences de la communication du CNRS* (ISCC) was finally established. The new institute of communication has set itself a goal of developing the field of research in communication studies, creating posts, and research laboratories in connection with French and international universities, and supporting and validating the previous research on communication without disciplinary status.

Belgium

The Belgian university systems are administratively as well as financially managed according to the linguistic division that defines the particularity of the country more generally. Communication and media research in Belgium is also influenced by this linguistic barrier. Further defining characteristics of the field include the relatively numerous and small institutions due to cultural and regional divisions, and the distinction between faculties of the humanities and social sciences between and within those divisions (see Gryspaerdt 1997).

In Flanders, the universities' communication departments are based on the "generalist model", each having several focal areas of research and staff specialised in different fields and approaches. The diverse perspectives and interdisciplinary border-crossing are generally valued, yet each university has its special areas of expertise. The Flemish Interuniversity Council VLIR has conducted an external evaluation of the Flemish communication institutions in bachelor and master education (2007). The best marks in VLIR's report were given to the BA and MA programmes in the Free University of Brussels (VUB), an institution that is also very dynamic in research, especially in the areas of new technologies and methodologies of the political economy of communication and cultural studies. The VUB and the Catholic University of Leuven (KUL) have the longest traditions in communication and media and in the Flanders region. The University of Leuven has the biggest department of communication in Belgium, with an orientation towards traditional anglo-American mass communication research and studies of media effects. Another strong university with a long tradition is the University of Ghent, which is known for its film studies and more recently, for its applied research on ICTs. The communication department in Antwerp is younger and smaller than the others, but is active and growing. Its specialities include television studies. The Flemish community of communication scholars in Belgium is fairly small, but the university communication departments and some polytechnics are grouped in loose cooperative networks. The universities of Ghent,

Brussels, and Antwerp have a joint association, while the University of Leuven is part of the association of Catholic universities.

Universiteit Antwerpen (UA) has a department of communication sciences, with eight professors, seven to eight lecturers, and several assistants and researchers. Communication studies in Antwerp have grown significantly during the past decade years, and the number of lecturers has doubled. Student numbers are very high, considering the size of the staff: the number of students has nearly doubled in recent years. The department provides three master's programmes as well as doctoral education. The first, the MA in communication sciences, has two specialist orientations: strategic communication and visual studies. The second MA programme, in political communication, is a joint cooperation with the department of political sciences; it is the only MA programme in the area of political communication in Belgium. The third programme is the MA of film studies and visual culture. In general, qualitative research approaches are dominant, particularly in the five strategic areas of research concentration of political communication, media policy, visual culture, the information society and media and socialisation.

Vrije Universiteit Brussel (VUB), the Free University of Brussels, is a non-religious university, with a tradition of critical thought that has been inherited also by the department of communication studies. The Department provides BA, MA and PhD programmes in communication sciences, with a strong emphasis upon qualitative analysis. The alternative orientations in the MA are media and culture, information and globalisation, organisational communication and marketing. The department also has two significant research centres: Cemeso (Centre for Media Sociology) and SMIT (Studies on Media, Information and Telecommunication).

The research centre Cemeso focuses on three domains: economy, culture and politics. Cemeso's main theoretical and research focus is the role of media in the transformation of the public sphere. The centre has carried out a number of empirical projects on signification processes and the public sphere, journalism, ideology and intercultural

communication. The focus of the research centre SMIT is on interdisciplinary social scientific research in media, and on information and communication technologies. The research centre is mainly funded by projects of the IBBT, the newly established Interdisciplinary Institute for Broadband Technology in Flanders. The majority of the research conducted in SMIT is applied research commissioned by governmental institutions and industries. SMIT is organised methodologically into three main research areas: policy research, user research and business models. Thematically, SMIT works on e-culture, e-citizenship and e-democracy, mobile communication and new media.

Universiteit Gent (UG) has a department of communication sciences located in the faculty of political and social sciences. In 1964 communication research started in Ghent with research areas in press and audio-visual media. In recent years the department has expanded to include media culture, film studies, corporate communication, media law, media policy, new media and advertising. The department has therefore adapted a generalist model and has six to seven professors. It offers study programmes in communication sciences at the BA, MA and PhD levels. The master's programme has three fields of specialisation: communication management, film and television studies and media and social sciences. Ghent University also offers a separate master's programme in journalism. Within the department of communication sciences there is also a coordinating research centre OMC (Media and Communication). It conducts basic as well as applied research, with a focus on the usages of and the demand side of ICT applications. The OMC research centre studies different sectors within the media: press, film, radio, television, advertising and new communication technologies. Focal areas of research include media policy, media sectors, media messages (selection process, representation, discourse and so forth), public studies, copyright law and "persuasive communication" (corporate and marketing communication).

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (KUL) is a key institution in the network of Catholic universities in Flanders. Within the faculty of social sciences it is the oldest and largest department of communication

in the Flanders region. The department is divided into two research groups and teaching programmes: the school for mass communication research and the centre for media culture and communication technology. The two groups work together in teaching four different MA programmes: media culture, ICT management, marketing communication and media effects. There are eight professors working fulltime. The school for mass communication research focuses on media and health, media and violence, media and schools, media and family, cultivation research, uses and effects of ICT and audience research. The methodological approaches are mainly large quantitative surveys and experimental settings for testing large processes, influenced by the department's historical contacts with North American research. The other research group in Leuven, the Centre for Media Culture and Technology, focuses on popular culture, technology and audience research. Popular culture is broadly defined, and includes, for example, the music industry, film studies and television studies (involving news production, news evaluation, content analysis). The technology research team is mainly business-orientated; for instance, it makes analysis of usability (of web sites and video games and the design of new technologies) for industry purposes. The main difference between the two research centres in Leuven is that the centre for media culture and technology seems to have been influenced by cultural studies in the British tradition, whereas the School for mass communication research is more sociologically or psychologically orientated, in line with one tradition of American research.

Three of the biggest universities in the Wallonian region provide research in the field of communication and media: *Université Catholique de Louvain* (UCL), *Université Libre de Bruxelles* (ULB) and *Université de Liège* (ULg). The universities have recently launched a joint doctoral school with a number of other smaller universities. A significant share – two thirds – of the doctorates of Francophone Belgium graduate from UCL. The Wallonian universities are grouped into three federations. The first, the Academy of the Universities of Louvain, is composed of the large university of UCL and a few smaller ones: *Facultés*

Universitaires Saint-Louis (FUSL), *Facultés Universitaires Notre-Dame de la Paix* (FUNDP) and *Facultés Universitaires Catholiques de Mons* (FUCAM). The second federation is the Academy of Wallonia-Brussels, composed of ULB and the University of Mons-Hainaut (UMH) and *Faculté polytechnique de Mons* (FPMs). These institutions have a pool with five smaller Wallonian scholarly institutions. The third federation, Academy of Wallonia-Europe, includes University of Liège and *Faculté Universitaire des Sciences Agronomiques de Gembloux.*

Université Catholique de Louvain (UCL), located in Louvain-la-Neuve, hosts the most prominent department of communication in Wallonia. The department of communication was founded in 1946 and has around thousand students in study programmes at all levels (BA, MA and PhD). The Department maintains three MA degrees in information and communication in order to educate students as journalists for print and audiovisual media, as communication and PR officers, for human resources, as specialists of "popularisation of science" (e.g., in the educational or cultural sector or as concept designers for multimedia). The department of communication of UCL has also started a school of journalism (*Ecole de Journalisme de Louvain*), granting BA and MA degrees to journalists. The department has some 15 professors, 15 'aspirants (young researchers or researcher-teachers) and 30-40 PhD students. It is divided into two operational units called RECI (*Analyse du récit médiatique*) and RECO (*Recherche en communication*). RECI is organised around three methodological axes: socio-economic studies, a narratological approach and an ethno-sociological approach. RECO has its emphasis on the semiotics of social and cognitive processes. The two operational teaching and research units host three research groups, including *Observatoire du Récit Médiatique* (ORM), focused on the analysis of mediated narratives; *Laboratoire d'Analyse des Systèmes de Communication des Organisations* (LASCO), dealing with Organisational communication; and *Groupe de Recherche en Médiation des Savoirs* (GReMS), which works on the mediation of knowledge in various fields, including communication in cultural and museum sectors and expositions. The department publishes a

journal, *Recherches en Communication*, with articles mainly in French and appearing two to three times a year. The ORM research centre also publishes another journal, *Médiatiques*, focused on the analysis of journalism and the press.

Université Libre de Bruxelles (ULB), the faculty of arts and humanities hosts the department of information and communication sciences, which was created in 2004. The department offers master and doctoral programmes in several fields: information and communication (journalism and corporate communication), information and communication sciences and technologies, the performing arts and cinema and multilingual communication. The staff includes seven professors and 25 researchers and assistants; there are around one thousand students enrolled in the programmes. The research profile of the department includes emphases on information and communication technology, the consequences of evolution and technological innovations and audience studies (for example, studies of users in interactive contexts such as web forums, blogs or newsgroups).

Université de Liège (ULG) is situated in the southeast of Belgium. The University has a department of arts and communication sciences located in the faculty of humanities. The department includes eight professors and 21 researchers and PhD students. The orientation of the communication research in Liège is closely connected to the humanities, particularly philosophy and literature. The emphasis is on cultural dimensions of communication with a critical approach. Four main currents can be discerned: critical information theory (the Frankfurt school, theories of Bourdieu, philosophical media theory, discourse theory); communication theories, sociological orientation (e.g., Bateson, Palo Alto); aesthetic orientation (reception studies); anthropological analysis of images (e.g., question of nature vs. culture).

Facultés Universitaires Notre-Dame de la Paix (FUNDP) is situated in the city of Namur in southern Belgium. FUNDP has three research centres which conduct communication related research: the Interdisciplinary Research Group in Communication and Internet – GRICI (*Groupe de Recherche Interdisciplinaire Communication & Internet*); the

Research Centre in Information and Law – CRID (*Centre de Recherches Informatique et Droit*); and the Interdisciplinary Cell of Technology Assessment – CITA (*Cellule Interfacultaire de Technologie Assessment*).

GRICI is a new interdisciplinary research group created in 2005. It focuses on studies in the use of new technologies of information and communication from a cultural point of view. The group unites researchers from various disciplines who all share an interest in the Internet as a communicative space that generates new forms of social identities and narrations of the self. CRID is focused on European law and foreign law dealing with matters of privacy and copyright. It conducts both basic and applied research into electronic commerce, electronic communication, the information society, intellectual property, and technology and security. The research centre CITA specialises in the assessment of new technologies, especially ICT. Funded by public bodies, the CITA has five research fields: technology assessment, uses analysis in a social-shaping perspective, organisational analysis, technology policy (innovation policy, information society policy) and ethics of computing (ethic codes, uses of self-regulation, child pornography on the Internet). CITA works in partnership with a number of other research institutions at regional, federal and international levels.

Facultés Universitaires Catholiques de Mons (FUCaM) and *Facultés Universitaires Saint-Louis* (FUSL) in Brussels are among the institutions that have more recently established course offerings and degree programmes in or related to communication and media research. It is notable that many of the new initiatives are oriented towards ICT, the internet and concepts of the knowledge society.

Netherlands

The origins of communication and media research in the Netherlands date back to studies on public opinion processes driven by mass media campaigns shortly after World War II. The first lector in press propaganda and public opinion was appointed at the University of

Amsterdam in 1947, which can be regarded as the start of communication research in the Netherlands. Chairs of press journalism were established at the then Catholic University of Nijmegen (now Radboud University) (1950) and at Free University of Amsterdam (1958) (McQuail 1997, 188-189; Communication Research in the Netherlands 2001-2007, iii-iv).

Many of the first generation researchers and teachers were editors of newspapers. They were also influenced by the German *Zeitungswissenchaft*. By the late 1970s and mid-1980s communication science gained an official status as a discipline. The second generation of communication scholars were 'full academics', who had received a formal education in communication and media research. They were influenced by American empirical research and to a lesser extent by the qualitative French influence. An important platform for Dutch communication research was *Tijdschrift voor CommunicatieWetenschap*, the Dutch journal for communication science, which is still the only Dutch-language journal in the field in the Netherlands and in Flanders Belgium.

Until the 1980s, communication and media teaching and research was conducted within established academic disciplines such as psychology, sociology, literature studies and linguistics. Since the 1980s, these fields have quickly become independent and separate disciplines in Utrecht (UU), Amsterdam (UvA), Nijmegen (RU) and Tilburg. In the 1990s, new communication departments were also founded at the University of Twente (UT) and Free University of Amsterdam (VU).

In the faculties of art and humanities in Utrecht, Nijmegen and Amsterdam, the areas of film theory and history had been studied since the 1980s, usually within the department of theatre studies. Since the beginning of the 1990s, film studies, combined with television studies, have become independent study programmes at the University of Amsterdam and University of Utrecht. In the new millennium, the new media (digital games, web-based media) have entered into study programmes. Film and elevision studies have been renamed as 'media studies' and 'media and culture'.

Research Institutes and Schools of Communication Research: an Overview: Communication and media research in the Netherlands is divided into two main fields. On the one hand, communication research is to be found in the faculties of social and behavioural science; on the other hand, media studies are located in the faculties of humanities and arts. Although, historically, there was relatively little collaboration between these two fields, there has recently occurred some crossing of the borders. The following chart (Figure 12) gives an overview of the most important research institutes and schools in both communication research (social sciences) and media studies (humanities) at the national and local level. We will discuss in further detail some of the most significant research institutes.

NESCoR – The Netherlands School of Communications Research is the national communication research school and PhD programme in communication research, which was launched in 1999. NESCoR unites the Dutch universities offering teaching programmes in communication that share the orientation of social and behavioural traditions. The research school includes the Free University Amsterdam (VU), the University of Amsterdam (UvA), the Radboud University Nijmegen (RU) and the University of Twente (UT). NESCoR is thereby related to all bachelor, master, and research master programmes in communication in the Netherlands; all together, they teach on average 2500 graduate and undergraduate students.

NESCoR provides a network in both national and international academic communities, which aims to foster collaboration between the universities. The school has over 90 full members, who are all researchers in communication with a publication track record in international journals and books. The main activity of NESCoR is the English language PhD programme, which includes some 70 students. On average, 15 dissertations are defended annually. Approximately 40 % of the PhD students of NESCoR are from the two universities located in Amsterdam. The school receives funding from the Dutch national science foundation NWO as well as a number of other research foundations. It also conducts contract research for a number of governmental and non-governmental organizations.

Figure 12; Research schools in communication and media studies in the Netherlands

Communication research	Media studies
National research schools	
NESCoR – Netherlands School of Communication Research - Communications, management and policy - Media, entertainment and culture - Persuasive communication - Political communication and journalism	(No national research schools, but Media Studies represented in several interdisciplinary research programmes)
Local research institutes	
ASCoR - The Amsterdam School of Communications Research (UvA) • Persuasive communication • Media, journalism and public opinion • Media entertainment and popular culture	
Department of Communication Science (VU) • Communication: message characteristics and receiver process	
TWICoR - Twente Institute for Communication Research (UT) • Marketing communication and consumer psychology • Media, communication and organization • Psychology and communication on health and risk • Technical and professional communication	
Department of organization communication (RU) • Professional communication • Persuasive and instructional documents • Professional communication in foreign languages	
Local interdisciplinary research institutes, **with separate communication and media programmes**	
NISCO – Nijmegen Institute for Social and Cultural Research (RU)	ASCA – Amsterdam school for cultural analysis (UvA) • Media and Culture • Transnationalism and multiculturalism
IBR – Institute for behavioural research (UT)	OGC – Research institute for history and culture (UU) • Emerging media, comparative media, media culture
Mansholt Graduate School for Social Sciences (WU) • *Communication and space for change*	ILLC - The Institute for Logic, Language and Computation (UvA)

(Based upon Verkenningscommissie Media- en Communicatiestudies 2007)

Media studies does not have a national research school or institute and thus research is conducted within the departments or local research institutes, e.g., Huizinga Institute – Research Institute and Graduate School of Cultural History. Media scholars participate in the following research programmes: conceptual history; identity and representation, political culture, cultural processes in context.

ASCoR – The Amsterdam School of Communications Research is a research institute connected to the department of communication science at the University of Amsterdam (UvA). ASCoR was founded in 1997, and today more than 40 senior researchers are permanently associated with ASCoR. Moreover, its English language PhD programme hosts more than 20 PhD students (in 2007, 28 students). ASCoR offers a four-year international PhD programme in Communication Science.

The ASCoR Research Programme 2006-2010 includes three research programmes: 'media, journalism and public opinion', 'persuasive communication', and 'media entertainment and popular culture'. The approaches in ASCoR research programmes are multidisciplinary: key theories of communication science are combined with methods and theories from, for example, political science, sociology, psychology and history. At the core of the research agenda is the development and empirical testing of theory.

ASCA – Amsterdam School for Cultural Analysis is located within the faculty of humanities at the University of Amsterdam (UvA). This interdisciplinary research institute brings together scholars active in literature, philosophy, visual culture, religious studies, film and media studies. The ASCA curriculum provides PhD training with a broad vision of cultural phenomena and a specialised knowledge of underlying philosophical issues. ASCA currently conducts research specifically focused on media within two programmes: 'transnationalism and multiculturalism' and 'Media and Culture'. The first programme focuses on the role of transnational media (especially film and television) in a globalised and multicultural world. The second programme includes seven projects that all investigate media in its larger cultural context. These projects are: 'digital ontologies', dealing with theories of the

'new media'; 'photography', 'film and displacement', which brings together interdisciplinary research projects concerned with still and moving images and their production, circulation and presentation in contemporary culture; 'the rhizotorium', which explores Gilles Deleuze's thought in relation to audiovisual images; 'cinema europe', dealing in particular with the intersection between cinema and notions of 'the nation'; 'imagined futures', which studies imaging techniques and sound technologies in historical perspective; 'television and popular culture', which aims to understand contemporary television in its present textual, affective, technological, and institutional dimensions, with an approach broadly inspired by cultural studies; and 'the structure and rhetoric of multimodal discourse' looks into multimodal means of various media.

CAMeRA@VU (Center for Advanced Media Research Amsterdam) at the Free University of Amsterdam is an interfaculty institute involving the social sciences, humanities, psychology and pedagogy and science. There are some 30 researchers in the member faculties connected to CAMeRA@VU. Research is focused on (new) media developments, and the psychological approach is dominant. The purpose is to combine new media research with the areas of learning and entertainment, language use and multimodal communication, emotion regulation, health, social interaction and psychological wellbeing. The focus in terms of types of media is on digital games, multimedia, virtual reality, intelligent bots and agents and mobile and static interactive systems.

The Twente Institute for Communication Research (TWICoR) at the University of Twente has recently witnessed rapid growth, with a doubling of the number of tenured staff and a trebling of the number of PhD candidates between 2001-2007. In 2004, it was incorporated into *The Institute for Behavioural Research* (IBR), a new institute that employs both basic and applied interdisciplinary research in the context of problem solving for the 'knowledge society'. Within this new structure, TWICoR functions as a research platform and maintains its membership of NESCoR. The focal areas of TWICoR include new media, marketing, organisational communication, health and risk communication (psychological orientation), textual analysis and

usability research (linguistic orientation). Research programmes such as 'communication and social influencend design', implementation and use of communication means combine both empirical research methods and theoretical approaches.

NISCO – Nijmegen Institute for Social and Cultural Research is a research institute in the faculty of social sciences of the Radboud University Nijmegen (RU). Communication researchers increasingly cooperate with other NISCO members who represent other disciplines in the social sciences, and all recently started PhD projects are supervised by at least one NISCO staff member outside the communication programme. In line with the NISCO mission statement, the communication programme of RU aims to explain the role of mediated communication with regard to the general NISCO themes of 'cohesion' and 'inequality'. Comparative research is strongly encouraged in this programme.

Estonia

In Estonia there are two main universities where the study of social sciences and humanities is conducted: the University of Tartu and Tallinn University. The University of Tartu was founded in 1632 by the Swedes. Tallinn University, on the other hand, was established as the result of a merger of several universities and research institutes in Tallinn as well as the Estonian Academic Library in 2005.

There are currently a total of 11 programmes containing higher educational courses in media, journalism, communication, communication management and other related subjects. The only PhD programme in communication and media is at the University of Tartu, faculty of social sciences, department of journalism and communication. Research activity within these educational units is often secondary to teaching and administration: an additional task to be squeezed in by staff between numerous other activities. Nevertheless, a considerable amount of research is produced and research projects are conducted annually in various departments.

The current total of 30 academic staff oversees 321 students in different bachelor level programmes, 56 students in master level programmes, and 30 students in doctoral level programmes. 1957–2005: 609 students gained a university degree, at one level or another, in journalism. 1999–2003: 78 students gained a degree in the field of public relations. 1993–2006: 54 Master theses and 8 doctoral dissertations have been defended.

In 2005 the Council of the University of Tartu decided to establish an interdisciplinary *Centre for Cultural and Communication Studies*. The aim of creating the Centre was to provide an integration of research in humanities and social sciences due to societal development. The Centre was initiated by the department of journalism and communication, and the department of semiotics, and the centre will be under the faculty of social sciences. The goal of the Centre is to develop basic research in culture and communication, to organize relevant doctoral studies and to initiate discussions involving public participation.

The Baltic Film and Media School (BFM) was founded by Tallinn University in 2005 as an independent educational and academic institution. BFM started its academic activity in 2006 when Tallinn University's Film and Video Department (launched in 1992) and the Media School of Audentes University (launched in 1997) were merged. There are two chairs in the media department: a chair in television and audiovisual media and chair of communication management. There are over hundred students on the BA level (media), and around twenty on the MA level (communication management).

The department of estonian language in the faculty of philology launched a MA programme in communication under the Chair of General and Applied Linguistics (CGAL) in 2002. Its foundation was motivated by the need to broaden career opportunities for graduates from philological BA specialities as well as to strengthen media education for students preparing for careers in pedagogy. CGAL has a strong interdisciplinary emphasis on integrating communication studies with mother tongue didactics (media literacy) as well as with sociolinguistics studies of language contact in Estonia.

The department of slavonic languages in the faculty of philology offers a BA programme in journalism (russian media) since 1996. The number of students currently enrolled is 80.

The department of informatics in the faculty of mathematics and natural sciences has offered a MSc programme in interactive media and Knowledge Environments (IMKE) since 2006. There are currently 5 students in the programme. The special focus of the IMKE curriculum is on knowledge environments, that is, digital interactive environments that host and facilitate individual and shared knowledge construction, in contexts such as educational environments, e-service environments, eparticipation environments and game environments.

The department of advertising and media in the faculty of social sciences has been offering a curriculum in publicity and imagology since 1995. There are both Estonian and Russian groups and the number of students is currently around 200.

Finland

University-level, practically oriented instruction in *Zeitungswissenschaft* or journalism started in Finland in 1925, a first in the Nordic countries. A chair in 'newspaper science' was established in 1947. At the beginning of the 1960s the tradition of newspaper science was overshadowed by American mass communication research, imported via representatives of sociology and political science trained in the USA with the help of Fullbright scholarships. The second professorial chair in the field, focusing on broadcasting, was established in 1969. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the emerging field gained important support from the Finnish Broadcasting Company. In recent decades the growth has been impressive.[1] Today, the university network for

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1. On the history of Finnish communication research the first choice for reading would probably be Pietilä, Nordenstreng and Malmberg 1990 (or Kunelius, Nordenstreng and Pietilä 1997). A more comprehensive list would include Hemanus 1985, Hujanen 2004, Himanen 1985, Nordenstreng and Uusitupa 1985, Pietilä 2000, Rantanen 1997, Ruoho 2004, Salmelin 1985, Salokangas 2003, Särmä 1992 and Teikari 1985.

communication sciences, a national organisation for cooperation of university departments, includes 22 member units in the field of communication, media and information studies in ten Finnish universities. The network is multidisciplinary in nature: it encompasses a wide area, ranging from information studies to journalism, speech communication, organisational communication, media studies, visual communication and graphic design. Research on journalism has become an increasingly strong tradition in Finland. Since the 1980s new professorships focusing on journalism research have been established both in the universities of Tampere and Jyväskylä. In the following chart, based on data (keyword abstracts) gathered by NORDICOM, we can compare the popularity of journalism as a research topic in Nordic countries during 1975–1999. After a belated start, Finland became the largest producer of research on this topic:

Figure 13; Research on journalism in the Nordic countries 1975-1999

	1975-79	1980-84	1985-89	1990-94	1995-99	Total
Norway	59	86	97	232	209	683
Sweden	81	127	181	183	207	779
Finland	53	112	154	233	321	873
Denmark	70	140	151	138	103	602
Total	**263** **(6 %)**	**465** **(8 %)**	**583** **(8 %)**	**786** **(13 %)**	**840** **(13 %)**	**2937**
Keywords	4142	5983	7239	6118	6521	30003

(Poteri 2004, 6)

Feminist perspectives found their way into Finnish communication and media studies effectively first in the 1980s, somewhat later than in other Nordic countries. The first feminist issue of *Tiedotustutkimus*, the research journal of the field, was published in 1986. In the 1990s this perspective established its position.

Figure 14; Feminist media research in the Nordic countries 1975-1999

	1975-79	1980-84	1985-89	1990-94	1995-99	Total
Norway	36	52	54	108	122	372
Sweden	32	51	59	100	97	339
Finland	2	12	101	102	164	381
Denmark	13	76	90	70	71	320
Total	**83**	**191**	**304**	**380**	**454**	**1412**
	(2 %)	(3 %)	(4 %)	(6 %)	(7 %)	
Keywords	4142	5983	7239	6118	6521	30003

(Poteri 2004, 8)

As can be seen in the Nordic comparative statistics, the overwhelming majority of academic research in communication and media research in Finland has been empirical, with only a very small proportion of the total number of publications concentrating on a purely theoretical approach.
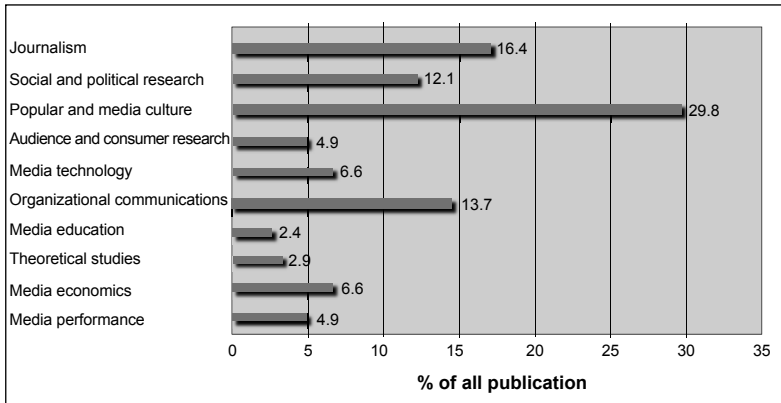
Figure 15; Theoretical communication research in the Nordic countries 1975-1999

	1975-79	1980-84	1985-89	1990-94	1995-99	Total
Norway	21	14	47	73	76	231
Sweden	22	80	53	41	57	253
Finland	34	71	99	55	82	341
Denmark	89	71	65	74	103	402
Total	**166**	**235**	**264**	**245**	**318**	**1229**
	(4 %)		(4 %)		(5 %)	
Keywords	4142	5983	7239	6118	6521	30003

(Poteri 2004, 7)

According to Herkman and Vähämaa (2007), the most common topic in contemporary Finnish communication research is the study of media culture and popular culture. Contrary to their hypothesis, journalism was not the largest subfield of research, but the second. However, a closer look reveals that journalism is still the most popular field of research in the biggest departments (in Helsinki, Jyväskylä and above all Tampere). Third is the study of organizational communication, while social and political media research is fourth.

Figure 16; Most common topics of communications research in Finland in the years 2000-2007 (N= 2289)

A closer look at the table reveals the multiplicity of Finnish communication research; media economics, theoretical studies and media education also have their share in this research. Even media performance, the study of human performing behaviour in media, counts for almost five percent of all publications.

Herkman and Vähämaa's data also confirms Poteri's data. Although Finnish communication research has often been criticised for its theoretical emphasis, the majority of the academic research in fact turns out to be empirical. The myth of a theoretical bias in academic research is in fact a myth.

Figure 17; Division between theoretical and empirical research orientations in Finland in the period 2000-2007. (N=2069)
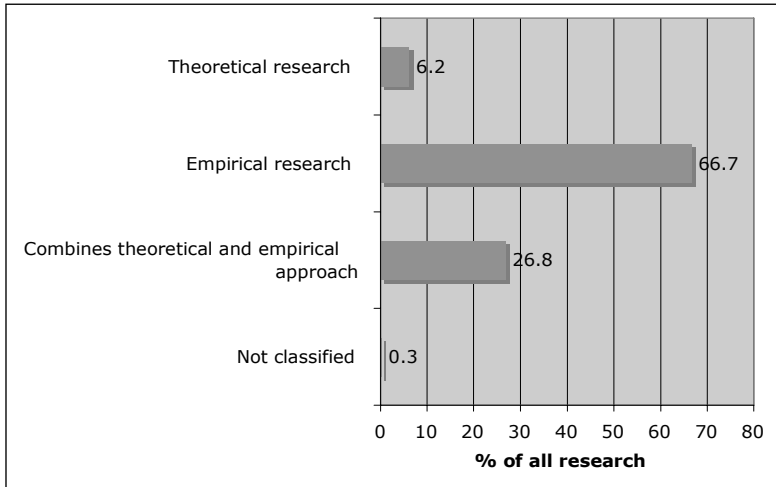
Journalism research was further classified into three major categories: 1) journalistic working procedures; 2) media products; and 3) visual journalism. 'Journalistic working procedures' denotes the study of reporting conventions, procedures that reporters employ in their daily work and the ways news organizations are run. 'Media products' is a category that denotes the study of journalistic texts and discourses (presented in both print and electronic forms). 'Visual journalism' denotes those studies that take photography and other journalistic images, such as representation on television programs, as their primary focus. Data shows that there are surprisingly many academic theses that provide information on journalistic working procedures. However, there seems to be a substantial lack of studies with a focus on visual journalism. Given the fact that the average Finn spends almost three hours every day watching television, it is surprising how little research focus there is on the visual elements of journalism. On the contrary, Finns spend daily only about an hour and a half with newspapers and other printed media. Nevertheless, on the whole, Finnish journalism research has a significant textual focus.

Figure 18; Focuses of journalism research in Finland (N=370)
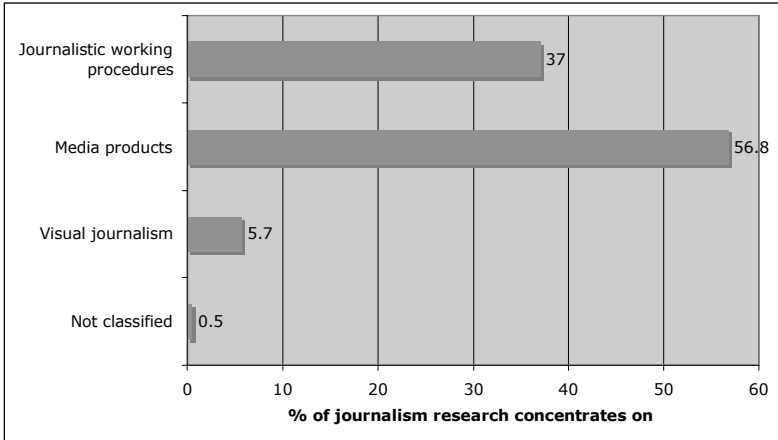
The Finnish scholars interviewed in the country specific report expressed concerns regarding the national characteristics of communications research. Many were worried about the lack of national line(s) of research that would unify the field. It seemed that many were in two minds about the lack of a clear national profile in the communication and media research field. On the one hand, it was considered good that research is pluralistic. The interplay of different theoretical positions and methodologies was seen as contributing to lively academic discourse. On the other hand, the lack of national unity in research was seen as a threat to the development of academic traditions in communication research. Many criticized the current situation in the field for its lack of historical orientation. The whole field of communication research was thus considered too sporadic to produce a sense of a historical accumulation of knowledge for the discipline. Many also criticized communication research for being too provincial in its array of research topics and themes, forgetting the linkages to global developments. It was suggested that research was more international in its orientation in the 1970s and the beginning of 1980s. There were thus hopes for increasing international research cooperation and for a greater focus on global problems and issues related to the media.

University Departments and Professorships. There are three large and three average-sized communication faculties in the universities in Finland. The larger ones are located at the University of Jyväskylä, the University of Helsinki and the University of Tampere, while the average-sized faculties are at the University of Vaasa, the University of Turku and the University of Lapland at Rovaniemi.

Figure 19; Most important university units of communication research in Finland

University	Subject of study, department, or unit	Description
University of Helsinki	Department of Communication	Focus on changing public sphere and media landscape, journalism, and organizational communication
	Communication Research Centre	Research unit of the Department of Communication specialised in acquiring outside funding
	Department of Speech Sciences	Speech communication
	Institute for Arts Research	Film and television studies
Swedish School of Social Science (University of Helsinki)	Journalism	Focus on learning practical skills
University of Tampere	▪Department of Journalism and Mass Communication ▪Subject of Media Culture ▪Journalism Research and Development Centre ▪Department of Speech Communication and Voice Research ▪Department of Information Studies	▪Journalism, photojournalism and media research (media culture, media education, communication policy) ▪Popular forms of media culture and intermediality ▪Research unit of the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication specialised in acquiring outside funding ▪The Department has two major subjects: Speech Communication and Voice Research, and Logopedics ▪Information acquisition, search and management

University of Jyväskylä	▪Journalism ▪Organizational Communication and PR ▪Speech Communication ▪Intercultural Communication	▪Focus on media ▪Communication in and between organizations ▪Focus on personal interaction ▪Focus on intercultural communication
University of Turku	▪Media studies	▪Situated at the School of Art Studies. Focus on media cultures and technologies
Åbo Akademi (Turku)	▪Political Science with Mass Communication ▪Information Studies	▪Located in Vaasa, focuses also on media and politics ▪Information management, including library and information services in the private and public sectors
University of Vaasa	▪Department of Communication Studies	▪Applied linguistics (specialised languages, technical communication), media studies, multimedia
University of Oulu	▪Department of Information Processing Science ▪Information Studies	▪Includes studies on digital media and mobile services ▪Focus on the production, circulation, acquisition, and management of information
University of Joensuu	▪Media culture and communication	▪Separate MA programme in Cultural Studies established in 2006. Also BA teaching
University of Lapland	▪Audiovisual Media Culture ▪Graphic Design ▪Media Education	▪At the crossroads of art, science and technology ▪Different areas of graphic design and visual communication ▪Study subject in the Faculty of Education
University of Art and Design	▪School of Visual Culture ▪Media Lab ▪School of Motion Picture, Television and Production Design	▪Art, environmental art in particular, graphic design, and photography ▪Teaching and study of new media in content provision, 'information design', interactive narrative, virtual environments and media solutions of the future ▪Institute for training the makers of Finnish feature-length films
Helsinki University of Technology	▪Department of Media Technology	▪Research on new media technology
Helsinki School of Economics	▪Department of Languages and Communication	▪Research in languages and business communication

Britain

According to the Higher Education Funding Councils of England, Wales and Scotland and Northern Ireland's Department of Employment and Learning, there were 106 universities and a total of 168 higher education institutions in the whole of the United Kingdom as of August 2007 (Universities UK 2008a). This list excludes foreign universities operating in the UK; additionally, the universities of London (including the London School of Economics and Political Science, University College London, King's College, etc) and Wales are counted as one. The number of students studying in higher education institutions in the academic year 2004/2005 stood at almost 2.5 million (Higher Education Statistics Agency 2008b).

The division of British universities according to their age is important for the reason that a university's reputation and prestige are often defined by its historical status, and the quality of its teaching and research is often seen as correlating with its age and traditions. This has serious implications in the discipline of communication and media studies, since these subjects have not often been favoured in the traditional universities in the past. Recent developments, however, such as the establishment of media research institutes at such prestigious universities as the London School of Economics and Oxford University in the past five years, suggest that this tendency may be changing, as communication and media and studies moves from the institutional 'periphery' to the 'centre'.

Despite being an academic latecomer (Meech – Zhao 1997, 150-152), there are total of 96 British universities offering 983 media related undergraduate courses in 2008/2009, according to the Universities and Colleges Admission Service (UCAS 2008). In addition, according to Graduate Prospects (Graduate Prospects 2008b) there are 619 taught postgraduate courses in media studies and publishing. These normally lead to a MA degree or a diploma. In addition, there are 133 research programmes that normally lead to either a MA degree or to a PhD.

Communication and media studies can be divided into three different sub-fields: namely, communication and media studies, and journalism. Communication and media studies are more common since, according to Graduate Prospects, out of 607 communication and media courses offered in 2008, only 125 are concentrated on journalism. Of the almost 2.5 million students in higher and further education in the UK, approximately 2 percent study mass communication and documentation subjects (Higher Education and Research Opportunities 2005).

Key institutions: The following selection of highly ranked and new departments within the field of communication and media research provides an overview of significant tendencies and research paradigms. The institutions we have selected are: Cardiff University, Goldsmiths College, London School of Economics, the Oxford Internet Institute, the University of East Anglia, the University of Warwick and the University of Westminster.

Cardiff University is renowned for its studies in journalism and journalist training, which have existed since the 1970s. The school of journalism, media and cultural studies (JOMEC) has received over 40 awards over the years. JOMEC is best known for its research on journalism and news. Other research areas include media coverage of health, risk and science, race, representation and cultural identity, children and media, media audiences, media and cultural policy and media, conflict and war.

Goldsmiths College is situated in London, and is one of the best-known departments in communication and media studies. The University has a new Centre for the Study of Global Media and Democracy, which is a highly interdisciplinary undertaking as it brings together researchers from three departments: communication and media studies, sociology, and politics (Goldsmiths College 2008a). In addition it plans to develop inter-disciplinary research bids, and it accepts students from any discipline. The research topics for the first two years (the Centre was founded in September 2007) include 'national media and the construction of 'the citizen' and 'the human', 'neoliberal discourse and the public realm', and 'global governance, the state and cultural politics', to name but a few.

The London School of Economics and Political Science formed a department of media and communications officially in 2003. Before that there had been an interdisciplinary programme in the school spread between sociology and social psychology, as well as joint programmes including the study of law, gender and information systems. The research conducted in the department is now highly interdisciplinary in that it focuses on wider problems such as globalisation, inequality, and changing identities, and incorporates media research in to those questions. In addition, it addresses industrial, political and economic issues. The research is organised according to five themes: 1) Innovation, Governance and Policy; 2) Democracy, Politics and Journalism Ethics; 3) Globalisation and Comparative Studies; 4) Media and the New Media Literacies; and 5) Communication and Difference (London School of Economics 2008). The Innovation, Governance and Policy theme encompasses such research areas as international governance of the new media, intellectual property rights, public service regulation and financial market regulation. Democracy, politics and journalism ethics is based on research conducted on participation in global social movements, and the mediation of suffering and journalism ethics, for example. Global trends in media representation as well as the television and film industries in India and China are just some examples studied under the theme globalisation and comparative studies, whereas media and the new media literacies focuses on such research areas as adult and youthful responses to mediated risks and opportunities. The research projects under the theme communication and difference examine culture and everyday life, the politics of otherness, and the production of exclusion as explored post-colonial and innovation studies. The variety of research areas and the interdisciplinary approach are reflected in the fact that the research methods applied in the department are varied, and there is no single methodological approach which would necessary be favoured over others.

The department has also established *Polis* in 1996, a joint initiative with the London College of Communication. Polis is intended primarily to provide journalists and the wider public with a place for

public discussion and policy intervention on key issues of journalism. In addition its aim is to produce outstanding research in the field, especially on the impact of mediation and journalism in different societies. (Polis 2008a).

The Oxford Internet Institute was founded in 2001 in response to the demand by parliament for Oxford to conduct research in areas concerning the dot-com phenomenon and the internet in general. Funding for the Institute comes from both government and private industry. Unlike many other departments of internet studies, the *Oxford Internet Institute* decided not to focus on technology hardware, software, application development or business development. Instead, it is studying the social implications of the internet, what it means for people, businesses and governments. The best known research project carried out by the Institute is the 'Oxford Internet Survey', which has thus far been conducted three times every two years. It is carried out by door-to-door interviewing of approximately two thousand people about their internet usage. It tries to give researchers a picture of how, why, when and how much people actually use the internet. The survey is part of a research area called 'Everyday Life', one of the four main research areas in the Institute. Current projects in Everyday Life include 'Me, My Spouse and the Internet: Meeting, Dating and Marriage in the Digital Age', 'Digital Choices and the Reconfiguring of Access', and 'Cybertrust: The Tension between Privacy and Security in an e-Society'. The first of these is supported by an online matchmaking company, e-Harmony, and tries to look at how the internet has affected intimate relationships in the modern world (Oxford University Internet Institute 2008c). The other three research areas are 'Governance and Democracy', 'Science and Learning', and 'Shaping the Internet' The Governance and Democracy research area is concerned mainly with the relationship between governments and the internet. It examines both how governments use the internet and how the public uses government-provided internet services. For example, a project called 'Government on the Web' aims to improve understanding of e-government and the impact web technologies have on governments (Government on the Web 2008). The 'Science and Learning' area, on the

other hand, is concerned with how the internet can be used in learning and research. It examines the possibilities of e-learning and e-research. Finally, subjects as varied as internet governance and stopping the expansion of so called badware (i.e., spyware, malware, and deceptive adware) are covered in the third research area, 'Shaping the Internet'.

The University of East Anglia is located near Norwich, in Eastern England. Its school of film and television studies, which includes the East Anglian Film Archive, is one of the longest-established film and television studies programmes in the UK. The school is known for its research into, for example, British and American film history and gender and representation studies. Current research projects include, for example, 'The Post-Apocalyptic TV Drama in the UK and US', which analyses dramas within a wider socio-cultural and historical context; 'Experiencing Anime: Anime Culture in Contemporary Japan'; and 'Entertaining Television: British TV, the BBC and Popular Programme Culture in the 1950s' (University of East Anglia 2008).

The department of film and television studies of the *University of Warwick* is renowned for being the first free-standing department of film and television studies in the UK (University of Warwick 2008a). The university is located in Coventry, about 40 kilometres from Birmingham. Its current research areas include television genres, everyday television, the history and future of the study of television and representation of gender.

The University of Westminster as one of the leading universities for communication and media research. The university specialises in media policy and economics. The other research areas include BBC history, media policy and regulation, media audiences and global media. The school of media, arts and design's research centre contains two major research groups: the Communication and Media Research Institute (CAMRI), and the Centre for Research and Education in Art and Media (CREAM). CAMRI has research interests for example in global and transnational media as well as in Indian and African media. Members of the Institute edit six scholarly journals, and are the founding editors of *Media, Culture and Society*. In addition, the Institute includes the China

Media Centre and the Arab Media Centre. CREAM, on the other hand, concentrates on research into ceramics, visual arts, photography, film, digital media and fashion.

Australia

Communication and media studies are represented in 37 Australian universities. In fact, only two Australian universities do not have this area in their curricula. According to staff information on the universities' webpages, there are roughly 400 communication and media academics working in Australian universities. It is difficult to determine the exact number, because many scholars work in areas that belong partly to media and communication and partly to some other discipline, such as literary studies, creative writing, media arts, and cultural studies. The universities with the largest programmes, RMIT and the University of Queensland, have 40–50 academics working in the area of communication and media studies, although most universities have 10–20.

One characteristic feature of Australian communication and media research is the divide between journalism studies and media studies. The conflict between the two was highlighted in the 1990s, at a time of rapid expansion of journalism education in Australian universities. In November 1998 at Queensland University of Technology there was a seminar called *Media Wars: Media Studies and Journalism Education*. One of the speakers was journalist Keith Windschuttle, who had criticised media and cultural studies. According to Windschuttle, there was a need to return to the 'Holy Trinity' of journalism education: an empirical method and 'realist' worldview; an ethical orientation to audiences and the public interest; and a commitment to clear writing. The debate revolved largely around the question of whether media and cultural studies have something to offer journalism education and vice versa (Flew & Sternberg 1999, 9). These tensions continue to be important factors in the development of communication and media research today.

The following list shows all Australian universities in which communication and media research is represented, with the universities with the five largest journalism programmes mentioned first, while the rest are not in any specific order. The sheer range and diversity of the field in Australia can be noted in particular through a comparative analysis of the institutional location and specific areas of study in the different universities.

Figure 20; Australian universities with media and communication research /education

Australian universities with media and communication research/education

Name of the university	Home city and state	Where media and communication research is located	Areas of media and communication research/education
The University of Queensland	Brisbane, Queensland	School of Journalism and Communication, Centre for Critical & Cultural Studies, School of English, Media Studies and Art History, School of Business	Journalism, communication, cultural studies, media studies, film and television, public relations
RMIT University	Melbourne, Victoria	School of Applied Communication	Journalism, media, public relations, editing and publishing, professional communication, communication design, communication
Deakin University	Melbourne, Victoria	School of Communication & Creative Arts	Journalism, media and communication, film and video, animation and digital media, photography, interactive media, public relations, creative and professional writing
Queensland University of Technology	Brisbane, Queensland	Creative Industries Faculty	Journalism, media and communication, film and TV
University of Technology Sydney	Sydney, New South Wales	Faculty of Humanities & Social Sciences, Faculty of Creative Industries	Journalism, media arts & production, public communication
Bond University (private)	Gold Coast, Queensland	School of Communication and Media, Centre for New Media Research and Education	Journalism, multimedia design, public relations, film, television and creative arts
Murdoch University	Perth, Western Australia	School of Media Communication & Culture	Media and multimedia theory and production, journalism, cultural studies, interactive TV research, media arts

Name of the university	Home city and state	Where media and communication research is located	Areas of media and communication research/education
Griffith University	Brisbane and Gold Coast, Queensland	School of Arts, Centre for Public Culture and Ideas	Journalism, film and television studies, popular culture
University of Wollongong	Wollongong, New South Wales	School of Social Sciences, Media & Communication, School of Journalism and Creative Writing	Journalism, Media and cultural studies, creative writing
University of Western Australia	Crawley, Western Australia	School of Social and Cultural Studies	Communication studies
University of the Sunshine Coast	Maroochydore, Queensland	School of Communication	Journalism, communication, public relations
University of South Australia	Adelaide, South Australia	School of Communication	Journalism, communication, public relations, Media Arts
University of Tasmania	Hobart, Tasmania	School of English, Journalism and European Languages	Journalism, media and communications
University of New England	Armidale, New South Wales	School of English, Communication & Theatre	Film and TV, radio and print media, new media
Victoria University	Melbourne, Victoria	School of Communication, Culture and Languages	Communication and Media Studies, Public Relations, Multimedia
Charles Darwin University	Darwin, Northern Territory	School of Creative Arts & Humanities	Communication and cultural studies
James Cook University	Townsville and Cairns, Queensland	School of Humanities, School of Creative Arts	Journalism, new media arts, creative industries
The University of Melbourne	Melbourne, Victoria	School of Culture and Communication	Journalism, media and communication, public relations, film and TV
Monash University	Churchill, Victoria	School of Humanities, Communications and Social Sciences	Journalism, communication
La Trobe University	Melbourne, Victoria	School of Communication, Arts and Critical Enquiry	Media studies, film and TV
The University of Southern Queensland	Springfield, Queensland	Faculty of Arts	Journalism, communication and media studies, editing and publishing, media production, multimedia, public relations
Edith Cowan University	Perth, Western Australia	School of Communications and Contemporary Arts	Journalism, media and cultural studies, public relations, advertising, film and video, interactive media

Name of the university	Home city and state/territory	Where media and communication research is located	Areas of media and communication research/education
Curtin University of Technology	Perth, Western Australia	Faculty of Media, Society & Culture	Journalism, film and television, internet studies, media studies
Charles Sturt University	Bathurst, New South Wales	School of Communication	Journalism, public relations and organisational communication
Australian National University	Canberra, Australian Capital Territory	College of Arts and Social Sciences	Film studies, new media arts
Australian Catholic University	Melbourne, Ballarat, Victoria	School of Arts & Sciences	Media
Central Queensland University	Rockhampton, Queensland	School of Arts & Creative Enterprise	Journalism, film and television studies, multimedia, publishing, public relations
Swinburne University of Technology	Melbourne, Victoria	Faculty of Life & Social Sciences	Media and communications
The University of Adelaide	Adelaide, South Australia	School of Humanities	Journalism, media studies
Southern Cross University	Lismore, Coffs Harbour, New South Wales	School of Arts & Social Sciences	Journalism, multimedia arts, screen
The University of Ballarat	Ballarat, Victoria	School of Behavioural and Social Sciences and Humanities	Film and media studies
The University of Canberra	Canberra, Australian Capital Territory	School of Creative Communication, School of Professional Communication	Media and multimedia production, PR, journalism, advertising, creative writing
The University of New South Wales	Sydney, New South Wales	School of English, Media and Performing Arts	Media production, new media
The University of Newcastle	Newcastle, New South Wales	School of Humanities and Social Science, Cultural Institutions and Practices Research Centre	Media and popular culture, film and television studies,
The University of Notre Dame Australia (private)	Fremantle, Western Australia	School of Arts & Sciences	Journalism
The University of Sydney	Sydney, New South Wales	School of Letters, Art & Media	Journalism, digital media production, public relations
The University of Western Sydney	Penrith, New South Wales	School of Communication Arts	Journalism, communication

Sources: Australian Education Network, Internet pages of the universities, interviews and e-mail questionnaires with scholars, Adams & Duffield 2006, Putnis et al. 2002

USA

The fundamental issue dominating communication and media research and study in the United States is the same as that which dominates the higher education sector in general – the commodification of university study. The vast majority of students (up to 70%) lack the financial resources to pay tuition and must rely on student loans and scholarships from their university, the federal government or a private lender. All but a few charity institutions charge all students tuition, although scholarships (both merit-based and need-based) are widely available. Generally, private universities charge much higher tuition than their public counterparts, which rely on state funds to make up the cost difference. Because each state supports its own university system with state taxes, most public universities charge much higher rates for out-of-state students. Annual undergraduate tuition varies widely from state to state, and many additional fees apply. A typical year's tuition at a public university (for residents of the state) is $5,000. Tuition for public university students from outside the state is generally comparable to private university prices, although students can generally get state residency after their first year. Private university are typically moore expensive, although prices vary widely. Depending upon the type of university and programme, annual graduate programme tuition can vary from $15,000 to as high as $40,000. Note that these prices do not include living expenses or additional fees that schools add on such as 'activities fees' or health insurance. These fees, especially room and board, can range from $6,000 to $12,000 per academic year.

Communication is one of the most popular areas of study for students in the U.S. According to the U.S. Department of Education's Center on Educational Statistics, in 2002–03 there were approximately 69,792 communication majors pursuing four year undergraduate degrees and 6,893 seeking graduate degrees in communication (2006). Using the profiles of more than 1,400 schools listed in America's Best Colleges 2005 (published by U.S. News & World Report), the NCA identified over 300 colleges where communication was among the five

most frequently selected undergraduate majors for the class of 2004. At 25 of these colleges, communication was the single most popular major. In all, the NCA lists about 400 U.S. colleges or universities with a communication major for undergraduates.

The U.S. communication education landscape is characterised by two main branches: schools of communication that examine the various aspects of communication from a research perspective and journalism/ mass communication schools that aim at preparing students for professional careers in the industry. In most cases, the two branches operate separately, even when located in the same university. The divide can be traced back to the origins of the discipline. However, as Delia pointed out, after the initial consolidation of the field, "no process has been more important to the development of the field than its integration into journalism schools and speech departments" (1987, 73).

Traditionally, communication has not enjoyed the same prestige as some of the more established areas of study (e.g., natural sciences). This is apparent when examining some of the most prestigious research universities, including such Ivy League schools as Harvard, Yale, and Princeton (Columbia and Cornell are exceptions) that do not offer degrees in communication. Yet recently, even the elite are realising the importance of communication, especially journalism, and are integrating scholarship into their curricula. However, as one of the interviewees in the country-specific report for the USA noted, instead of founding a separate department or school for journalism, "they are coming in the side doors. Elite institutes are realizing that journalism is quite an important thing in society, we need to get involved in that". For example, Harvard is actively involved in some state-of-the-art communication projects, such as the Carnegie Knight Initiative on the Future of Journalism Education, in which the Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy is one of the major players together with four major university graduate schools of journalism. Accordingly, an examination of PhD programmes suggested that "organisationally, most of the programmes reside in a college or school within their university, suggesting relative prominence for the programme within the academic community" (Shaver et al. 2006, 24).

Content. A recent examination of course offerings in four-year colleges and universities in the U.S. (Wardrope 1999) revealed that interpersonal communication is the most commonly offered course within U.S. communication departments (NCA Directory 1997). More than a half the departments examined also offered a course in group discussion, communication theory, organisational communication, public speaking, persuasion, argumentation and debate, and multicultural communication. Communication and new technology was the most commonly identified special topic course followed by conflict management, communication and gender, and health communication. family communication was indicated as the course most desired by the department heads, followed by courses in political communication, health communication and research methods.

Sub-disciplines or areas of interest within communication scholarship are more explicitly represented by the divisions of the major communication associations. For instance, the *International Communication Association* includes 18 divisions: information systems, interpersonal communication, mass communication, organisational communication, intercultural/development communication, political communication, instructional/developmental communication, health communication, philosophy of communication, communication and technology, popular communication, public relations, feminist scholarship, communication law and policy, language and social interaction, visual studies, journalism studies, and four interest groups.

The *National Communication Association* has even more distinctively defined thematic divisions (44 in total), including (in addition to divisions that basically correspond to those of the ICA), african-american communication and culture division, asian/pacific american communication studies division, communication and aging division, communication and the future division, communication assessment division, elementary and secondary education section, environmental communication division, family communication division, freedom of expression division, gay/lesbian/bisexual/transgender communication studies division, Latino/Latina communication studies division,

nonverbal communication division, peace and conflict communication division, spiritual communication division, and theatre division.

Overall, *mass communication* still dominates the field. A recent analysis of books on communication (Chung et al. 2005) found that most volumes published in the U.S. between 2002 and 2004 were mainly related to the area of mass communication, followed by internet/communication technology, advertising/public relations, intercultural communication, journalism, interpersonal communication and organisational communication.

Figure 21; Communication books published in the U.S. by area, 2002 to 2004
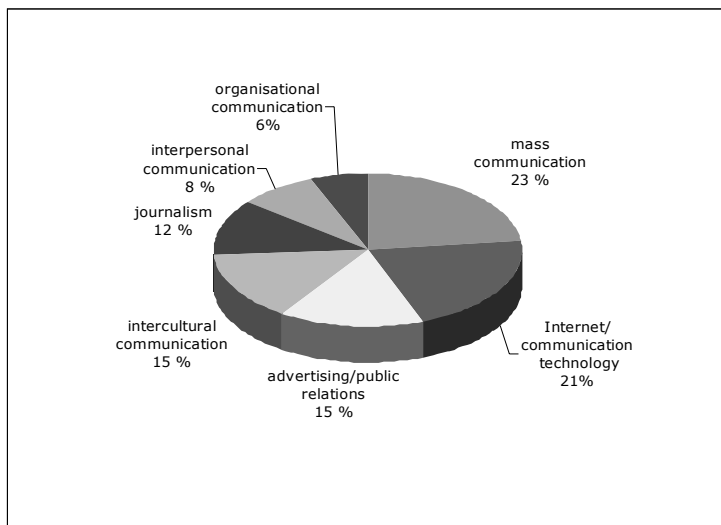
(Chung et al. 2005)

Further, an analysis of the major mass communication journals over the past 20 years indicated that a vast majority of the articles (42%) dealt with broadcasting, followed by print (29%) (Kamhawi & Weaver 2003).

Currently, the field is so fragmented and the theoretical bases so distant from each other that the field itself is not benefiting from the

growing body of research. In fact, an analysis of the major mass communication journals over the past 20 years indicated that only 39% of the articles referred to a theory. Information processing theory was the most frequently employed framework (16%), followed by uses and gratifications (12%), media construction of social reality (10%), and hegemony theory (10%) (Kamhawi & Weaver 2003). Bryant and Miron analysed over 1800 articles published in *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *Journal of Communication*, and *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* from 1956 to 2000. According to their results, less than 32 % of the articles "included some theory" (2004, 664). However, almost half (48 %) of the citations of theories, paradigms and schools of thought utilised in these articles were mere references; more than a quarter (26 %) simply provided a theoretical framework. Figures were quite low for comparison of two or more theories (8 %); critique of a theory or theories (4 %); proposing a theory (3 %); testing a new theory (3 %); integrating theory (2 %); or expanding theory (2%) (ibid., 666).

Reviews of the contents of journals over a few decades reveal that quantitative studies dominated, especially within mass communication. An analysis of the major mass communication journals over the past 20 years indicated that over 70% of the articles used quantitative methodology, whereas only a quarter could be classified as qualitative (Kamhawi & Weaver 2003).

An Analysis of the ICA and NCA Journals. Katy Pearce and Ronald E. Rice conducted a case study in order to map current research foci and approaches and to illustrate the kinds of research efforts recently conducted. An analysis of 13 key, U.S.-based journals, published by the International Communication Association (ICA) and the National Communication Association (NCA) was conducted. The journals, in accordance with the mission and divisions of the associations, address different fields of communication research, from cultural and media studies to education and speech communication. The journals thus provide one perspective on the kind of work fostered by these associations.

Figure 22; ICA and NCA Journals

International Communication Association Journals	National Communication Association Journals
Communication Theory	*Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*
Human Communication Research	*Communication Education*
Journal of Communication	*Communication Monographs*
	Communication Teacher
	Critical Studies in Media Communication
	Journal of Applied Communication Research
	The Quarterly Journal of Speech
	The Review of Communication
	Text and Performance Quarterly

The latest full year of the journals was chosen for the illustrative perspective on kinds of research efforts currently conducted. Accordingly, 135 abstracts from those 13 journals in 2006 were first content-analysed quantitatively for their primary orientation towards mass media or interpersonal communication; their emphasis on content, effects or use; theoretical orientation; methodology; and geographic scope.

The main finding is that the majority, some 70% of the studies, address communication as mass media communication exclusively. Furthermore, practically all studies include mass communication as an orientation. Combinations of mass media and health communication, and of mass media and interpersonal communication, account for over 10% of the orientation in the articles. Combinations of mass media with political communication, organisational communication and group communication remain relatively small.

Topics in the ICA and NCA journal articles of 2006 varied widely. The most popular topic was television, studied in some 10% of the articles; news, film and advertising with almost 7% of articles each; and video games with some 4%. Current media-related research deals with new technologies, often associated with the internet.

The theoretical orientation of the studies from 2006 is primarily derived from the social sciences (57%), followed by critical studies (31%) and cultural studies (12%) Similarly, the methodologies used

in the 2006 articles varied widely. Reflecting the prominence of effect studies, one third of the studies utilised an experiment, while others used content analysis (21.2%), and still, others, surveys (16.2%). 20% of the articles advanced or developed theory. A small number used ethnography (7.5%) as well.

Examples of significant research centres.
Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania is among the most well known communication departments in the U.S. Founded in 1959, it draws upon both the social sciences and humanities in theoretical and methodological terms. The school lists as its special emphasis the following areas: children and media; culture, society and communication; global communication; health communication; media institutions; new media and information technologies; political communication; visual communication. It hosts numerous centres and projects. The faculty includes over 20 professors and assistant professors, several "secondary faculty" members, 'researchers' and 'visiting scholars' from abroad. The school also includes numerous adjunct professors and faculty associates on its staff. The basic funding for the school comes from from the private Annenberg funds (Foundation), originally designated to establish the school by the late diplomat Walter Annenberg.

The Norman Lear Center, based at the University of Southern California, is a multidisciplinary research and public policy centre that was founded in 2000. Its mission is to explore the "implications of the convergence of entertainment, commerce, and society". The Lear Center is located at the USC Annenberg School for Communication and "builds bridges between eleven schools whose faculty study aspects of entertainment, media, and culture. Beyond campus, it bridges the gap between the entertainment industry and academia, and between them and the public". According to the current Chair of the Normal Lear Center, Martin Kaplan, the Lear Center considers itself as a somewhat non-conventional academic institution, which utilises various means in addition to the traditional academic publication such as popular print

media, film and video, roadshows and artworks. Currently, the centre is involved in 13 different projects such as the Grand Avenue Intervention, a public engagement campaign with the Los Angeles Times; Hollywood Health & Society, funded by the Centers for Disease Control & Prevention; and Reliable Resources, which administers the Walter Cronkite Award for Excellence in Broadcast Political Coverage.

The Social Science Research Council, based in New York City, is an independent research organisation founded in 1923. Being non-profit, its mission is to mobilise "researchers, policymakers, professionals, activists and other experts from the private and public sectors to develop innovative approaches to issues of critical social importance". The core idea is that social science can be done for the "public good" and contribute to the "necessary knowledge" that citizens and policymakers need in order to participate in to a democratic society. The organisation's basic commitments include "fostering innovation"; investing in the future (e.g., supporting young scholars by different means); working internationally (currently, approximately 60% of SSRC's activities are outside the U.S.) and democratically; combining urgency and patience (a combination of urgent issues and long-term goals); and "keeping standards high" (i.e., engaging in important public questions with high standards of scholarly work and critical analyses). The media is only one part of the SSRC's activities. The broad programme areas are 'global security and cooperation', 'migration', 'knowledge institutions', and 'the public sphere'. 'The necessary knowledge for a democratic public sphere' sub-programme supported by the Ford Foundation concentrates on media regulation and ownership issues. "[We] will seek ways to have the thinking of those developing theoretical and research agendas directly informed by the kinds of concerns driving practical action and arguments before courts and regulatory bodies. The point is not to determine the results in advance of scientific work, but to make sure there is a constituency for the results of scientific work" (Calhoun 16). A key role of the SSRC in these specific media-related questions is to act as an intermediary by fostering research, data access and links among academics, advocates and activists, media practitioners and

decision-makers in regulatory bodies and corporations. The SSRC has been and is funded by numerous private and public sources, such as the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations, several foreign ministries and agencies of the United Nations. It disseminates research not only through exchange programmes, conferences and the like, but also by means of active publication activities (books, online forums and essays and a quarterly that is also available online).

The Project for Excellence in Journalism (PEJ) was originally an initiative affiliated with the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism, with a double mission to evaluate the press and to help journalists clarify their principles. The latter task was the responsibility of a group of professionals, the Committee for Concerned Journalists. Since 2006, the organisation has belonged to an independent, non-profit 'Fact Tank' called the PEW Research Center (funded by the PEW Charitable Trust). While the PEW Center hosts a number of projects, some of which have great relevance to communication and the media (e.g., PEW Research Center for People and the Press; the PEW Internet and American Life project), the PEJ is now more data-driven rather than producing commentary on the press. The flagship of the PEJ, the State of the News Media report, is one of the main activities of the project. In addition, the PEJ conducts 'conjunctural' studies on current issues (e.g., elections, or gender and sourcing), and publishes on its website a daily briefing on news issues. The scope of research activities is expanding to include more analyses on industry trends and content studies of the news agenda. Currently, the organisation employs over 10 staff members, including researchers and methodologists, plus numerous coders for content analyses.

Japan

Zeitungswissenschaft was the beginning of media studies in Japan, as it was in other countries such as Finland and Germany. Focusing not only on the newspaper but also on journalism, Professor Hideo Ono

established the research field in Japan at the turn of the 1920s and 1930s. At the time, studies in the social sciences were modelled mostly according to influences in Germany in the fields of philosophy, politics, economics and sociology (Tamura 2004).

A small research group was established at Tokyo University in 1929 and similar ones at Sophia University and Meiji University in 1932. Professor Ono was instrumental in establishing all three. After the Second World War, journalism education was established at Waseda University, Doshisa University, Nihon University and Tohoku Gakuin University. In these four institutions, the focus was on the undergraduate programs rather than on research. The whole education system of Japan was reformed during the US occupation after the Second World War. Education of journalism was no exception. Theoretical approaches, methodology, teaching methods and curricula were modelled on the American empirical science and positivism. In studies of communication, this led to a shift from journalism to mass communication and from studies of the newspaper to studies of mass media. New theories of "the mass", "public opinion" and "effectiveness function" were introduced to Japan (Tamura 2004). Ishikawa (1998, 60) states that scientific mass communication research in Japan began in 1951 with the establishment of 'the Japanese Society for the Study of Journalism and Mass Communication'. Survey, content analysis methods, as well as effect research were introduced into Japanese mass communication research in 1950s. The Japanese public broadcasting company Nippon Hoso Kyokai established the Broadcasting Culture Research Institute in 1946. Technological innovations and changes in communication technologies began to bring new challenges for research and education in the 1980s. Transitions in the market economy, innovations in the newspaper technologies, development of radio and television and the appearance of telecommunication called for new perspectives and methods. Most of Japanese education and research institutions were thus reorganised and the focus shifted by the 1990s from newspapers to the information and communication industries (Tamura 2004).

Communication and media research as an academic discipline in universities is still nevertheless mostly to be established in Japan. Considering the vastness of the media industry in Japan, or even the amount of research done in private organizations, the volume of academic research remains quite modest, as is the number of doctoral degrees in the field. There are only a few departments of journalism, media studies or communication in universities in the entire country, and they are mainly in private universities. Academic research on media is conducted in various 'research rooms' (*kenkyushitsu*), institutes and graduate schools. In many cases, faculty members interested in the media work in departments of sociology, political studies, economics, psychology, informatics, anthropology, literature or philosophy, rather than belonging to a department focusing exclusively on communication and media. Because of the scattered nature of academic communication and media research, research associations play a particularly important role. The largest one is the Japan Society for Studies in Journalism and Mass Communication (*Nihon Masukomi Gakkai*) with about 1400 members. There are at least twelve relevant associations in Japan, with various foci, membership profiles and functions. Through these associations, scholars doing research in the fields of media, communication, information society and so forth meet and form various study groups. The journals of the associations are important publishing channels for research in the field. Research in media and communication outside the academic community is abundant and rich. Most television companies, newspapers and advertising agencies have their own research units or subsidiaries, usually focused on audience and/or marketing research aimed at developing the business of the companies. In addition to these research institutions, there are some public and private independent research institutes or think tanks focusing on media, and often on media policy issues or issues concerning technological development.

Despite the fact that there are only a few departments in the field of communication and media studies in the universities, there are about 230 universities providing education in the field. The undergraduate courses provide instruction in different media-related professions, while

the quality of education varies greatly, as well as the taught courses. Among the 53 universities with graduate programs in communication and media, 39 have both master level and doctoral level education. Of these universities, 15 belong to the best Japanese universities, six national and nine private (Sogo Janarizumu Kenkyujo 2004). Only a few have high research profiles in communication and media research or actually focus on research. Of the national universities, the University of Tokyo has developed institutionalized conditions for research in communication and media studies. Of the private universities, the strongest profiles in this field are at Keio University and Sophia University. Waseda University has undergraduate teaching but has shifted into more technological orientations in research. Waseda is also known for being the alma mater of many journalists and, because of this, has the image of being a school of journalism. Hokkaido University has a new graduate program at the Research Faculty of Media and Communication.

Examples of significant research centres.
University of Tokyo. Interdisciplinarity is the underlying trend of the whole history of communication and media research at the University of Tokyo. Tokyo Imperial University established a small 'research room for newspaper study' (*shimbungaku kenkyushitsu*) in 1929. The research room was located in the department of literature. It was an interdisciplinary academic group consisting of three professors, one each from the departments of law, literature and economics. The group was privately funded by the newspaper industry and financial circles. The initiative for establishing the research field came from the industry. Initially, the university was reluctant to establish a research unit in this field, as it was not considered an academic subject. This is the reason why the beginning was with a "research room" *orkenkyushitsu*-structure, rather than an independent department or institute. After the Second World War, the US occupation General Headquarters (GHQ) suggested that the University of Tokyo should establish a school of journalism, following the example of American universities. However, once again the univer-

sity navigated external influences and instead established in 1949 *The Institute of Journalism and Communication Studies*. The founding father of the discipline in Japan, Professor Hideo Ono, was still working with the university, and tried to maintain some of the *Zeitungswissenschaft* tradition, even with the American influences. The Institute of Journalism and Communication Studies gradually broadened its focus from newspaper and journalism. In 1957, it was organized internally into five research divisions focusing respectively on mass communication theory, mass communication history, communication processes, mass communication media and public opinion. In the years that followed, divisions of broadcasting (1963), information society (1974) and socio-information systems (1980) were added. The institute established a reputation as a leading centre for research on mass communication and the social aspects of information. It was the only one within Japan's national universities focusing specifically in this field of investigation. The next big reorganization took place in 1992, when the department was reorganized into three internal divisions: information and media, information and behaviour, and information and society. The new institution was called the *Institute of Socio-information and communication studies.* It studied, among other things, the information society, including a three-year project supported by the Japanese governmental program for 'Key Research Areas' entitled 'Information Society and Human Beings'. In 2004, the Institute of Socio-Information and Communication Studies merged with the *Interfaculty Initiative of Informatics* (III) or *Joho Gakkan*, combining the earlier social science and humanistic approaches with natural sciences. The Interfaculty Initiative of Informatics maintains the Graduate School of Interdisciplinary Information Studies, which has about 200 MA degree students and 100 students studying for doctoral degrees. The intake of doctoral students has been decreasing since academic employment opportunities have declined.

The University of Tokyo has been the most influential research institute in this field. The number of faculty members active in research is also high compared with other universities. The Japan Society for Studies in Journalism and Mass Communication used to have its

permanent office at the University of Tokyo. Nowadays, however, the universities rotate turns in maintaining the office. The University of Tokyo has also often been the place where international trends of research have first appeared in Japan. For instance the current dean of III, Professor Shunya Yoshimi has been among the active researchers who have brought cultural studies to Japan in the mid-1990s, despite the fact that he has remained critical towards "the global, fashionable" research tradition (Yoshimi 1998). With the current structure that combines humanistic and social scientific traditions with natural science, the Interfaculty Initiative of Informatics aims at maintaining and developing the influential status of the University of Tokyo in this field.

The Interfaculty Initiative of Informatics publishes three journals. *Johogaku kenkyu* publishes faculty papers and refereed papers by graduate students and faculty members, mostly in Japanese, but sometimes also in English, Chinese or Korean. *Chosa kenkyu kiyo* is a refereed journal. It publishes "research survey reports" based on doctoral dissertations and other research projects. All articles should be based on empirical work. The journal is published in Japanese. *Review of Media, Information and Society* is published in English and includes writings by faculty members or commissioned work by scholars outside of Interfaculty Initiative of Informatics. It does not publish work by doctoral candidates.

Keio University. The Institute of Media and Communication Research (MediaCom) was established in 1946, under the name of 'research room for newspaper study' (*shimbungaku kenkyushitsu*). Keio University is one of the most prestigious private universities in Japan. It is famous for independent research institutes rather than undergraduate education, which is the focus of most universities in Japan. Many of the research institutes in different fields of research at Keio are utilised by the ministries and decision makers for expertise and research for policymaking. This is the case also with MediaCom, which not only has governmentally funded projects, but also has active professors who participate with different ministries in policymaking processes and act as consultants for the decision makers. Currently MediaCom is involved in projects that study, e.g., journalism and political power,

formation of civic participation and 'electric networks', information systems and safe society, convergence and digitalization, and change in the media environment. MediaCom participates in the MEXT-funded Center of Excellence (COE) at Keio University, focusing on media content analysis. It has published a journal in English for 25 years. *Keio Communication Review* has been available on the Internet since 1999. MediaCom also publishes an annual journal in Japanese, called *Media Communication*.

Sophia University is one of the oldest private universities in Japan, founded by the Jesuits in 1913. It has one of the oldest departments of journalism, founded in 1932, as a part of a special section in the university that focused on organising courses in the evenings. In 1948, the university was reorganised according to the American model, and the department of journalism was integrated into the faculty of humanities. Graduate programs were established in the 1970s: a Master's program in 1970 and a PhD program in 1974. By 2003, about 200 master level graduates and 11 PhDs had graduated Sophia University's department of journalism. The department has eight faculty members. The main focus in research is on journalism, while research of media policy, digital media, public service broadcasting and media theory also is conducted. A considerable amount of the research focuses on phenomena outside Japan, mainly in Asia, but often also on the United States and European countries, since many of the doctoral candidates come from abroad. *The Institute for Communications Research* within the department of journalism at Sophia has published the annual journal *Communications Research* (in Japanese) since 1971. The journal also acts as an annual report, since it contains information of the past year's theses and dissertations, as well as seminar reports and speeches.

Waseda University is one of the highest-ranking private universities in Japan. A 'research room' for newspaper studies was established at Waseda in 1932 by Professor Ono. Undergraduate courses continue at the school of culture, media & society, founded under this name in April 2007. However, Waseda does not have any research units focusing exclusively on communication and media research, and nor does it

have a graduate school for the field. Waseda University is still famous as the alma mater of journalists, who have graduated from various degree programmes at Waseda, such as law, economics or international relations. There are also institutes and graduate schools that conduct research related to media and communication. For instance, the *Information Technology Research Organization* (ITRO) includes projects such as network society, content applications and digital archives and social aspects of internet usage. However, the main focus for the ITRO is on technology and natural scientific projects such as communication between people and humanoids and basic computing technologies. Additionally, Waseda has a system of changing project institutes, which also include themes of media and communication.

Global Information and Telecommunication Institute (GITI) promotes interdisciplinary research and administers joint research projects with academia, enterprises, the government and different research institutions in Japan and overseas. The institute aims at a leading position in information and communication research in Asia. It has wide international cooperation and welcomes researchers, educators and students from abroad. GITI mostly focuses on technological research of the information and communication system (wireless, satellite communication modes, digital broadcasting, networking architecture, information and communication network and multimedia). However, there is also research on topics of media art, including expression in cyber space, expression of multimedia, image processing and media design. GITI provides an institutional home to the *Graduate School of Information and Telecommunication Studies* (GITS), founded in 2000. GITS focuses on Computer Systems and Network Engineering, Multimedia Science and Arts and Info-Telecom Socio-Economics, Network Business and Policy. The journal of the institution is *GITI /GITS Research Bulletin*.

Hokkaido University founded the *Research Faculty of Media and Communication* (FRMC) and the *Graduate School of International Media and Communication* in 2000. The university does not have an undergraduate programme. The doctoral course started in 2002.

The School was reorganized into thGraduate School of International Media, Communication and Tourism studies in April 2007. Hokkaido University appears to be the only national university that has recently established a faculty for research of media and communication. Since 2003, FRMC has published an Internet-journal called *International Media and Communication Journal*. The small unit is slowly strengthening its reputation as a research facility.

South Korea

There are over a hundred universities in South Korea. Twenty-one are national universities funded by the government and two are city universities (Seoul and Incheon) with municipal funding. The rest and the majority are private universities. The distinct top three universities of Korea are the so-called SKY universities, Seoul National University (SNU), Korea University (KU) and Yonsei University (YU), all located in Seoul. Until the turn of the millennium, the leading position of Seoul National University remained unchallenged, whereas today the other SKY universities have proved to be equal to SNU in various fields of research and teaching. Moreover, Ewha Women's University, the biggest women's university in the world, also located in Seoul, has a large and strong communication department.

Most universities in Korea teach communication or its subdisciplines at least at the BA level. Mass communication is the most popular area of study and is often accompanied by journalism, public relations and advertising. In almost all universities, communication is taught within the social sciences. Only a few universities classify it in the humanities or liberal arts. Post-graduate programmes are significantly less common and special communication studies doctoral programmes have been arranged only in a few universities. Virtually all professors of Korean major universities received their PhD abroad, mainly in American universities. Although doctoral degrees can be achieved in many Korean universities, the prestige of a degree received in the U.S.

is very high, undermining the value of Korean PhDs. Many Korean researchers today call for more self-sufficient knowledge production in their academic system and, thus, wish for greater interest and infrastructural development of doctoral programs in Korea.

There are several significant communication research institutes in different universities. Most of the institutes focus on communication in general or mass communication, although some of them have other interesting compositions like the Research Center for Media and Cultural Contents Strategy of Hongik University and the Public Opinion and Relations Research Institute of Kyungpook University. Two of the most prestigious institutes are the *Mass Communication Research Institute* of Korea University and *Institute of Communication Research* of Seoul National University. *The Korean Broadcasting Institute* is one of the major Korean institutes organising and financing communication research outside universities. The institute publishes an annual report on the Korean broadcasting industry, with an emphasis on the market, policies and strategies of the industry. The institute also supports field research of relevant policy implementations of broadcasting companies, programme contents research and operational models in different countries. *Korea Research Foundation* and *Korea Foundation* fund and support various disciplines and Korean and foreign scholars with a focus on Korea, including communication research. *Korean Press Foundation* funds and promotes the training of journalists, but also arranges research and survey projects on contemporary Korean media. *LG Sangam Press Foundation* functions in a similar fashion.

Although diversification is bound to increase in the future, it seems that measures, statistics and quantity will remain the core of Korean communication research for the foreseeable future, defining and reinforcing its characteristics as a pragmatic, empirical and problem-based field of study. The field remains subordinate to other academic disciplines, upon which it depends for its basic intellectual infrastructure and resources.

3.2 Doctoral Studies

This sub-chapter provides an overview of the different forms of organisation of doctoral education and research. Once again, we observe that there is much less unity in communication and media studies internationally than is often thought to be the case. On the contrary, doctoral studies are more determined by specific national academic traditions than they are by any sense of disciplinary regulation. As a consequence, doctoral studies in communication and media research in each individual country display more significant similarities with doctoral programmes in other disciplines and fields in their own national contexts than they do with each other internationally. We therefore dedicate attention to these more general constraints in some of the country-focused sections in order to indicate the main structures shaping contemporary doctoral work in communication and media studies.

Nevertheless, recent transformations of university study and research internationally has introduced greater uniformity among the different countries at the general level of academic standards and accreditation. Communication and media research is therefore undergoing an international 'institutional' rather than 'disciplinary' standardisation. The main issues to be noted in this sub-chapter involve the impact of various university reforms and the consequences of a growing academic professionalism in the field. It is an era of transformation for doctoral studies, in communication and media studies just as much as in other areas of academic activity. This transformation is experienced in both positive and negative forms. Among the most significant elements that we note are the ongoing impact of older hierarchical structures, the role of doctoral education in labour market supply and the 'commodification' of the PhD, difficulties gaining funding for doctoral research, the threat to academic autonomy posed by integration with government and industry programmes (often on the basis of financial constraints), and the role of the 'foreign' PhD in communication and media research internationally. The future evolution of doctoral studies in this area of academic activity will to a large part depend on the

ways in which current and future students negotiate older national and newer international pressures.

Germany

The most significant factor impacting upon doctoral studies in communication and media research is the formal nature of the German academic hierarchy. The formal selection process in the education system starts early at the level of choosing the lower secondary school (more vocationally or generally oriented) at the age of around 10 and, later, the upper secondary school (a vocational school - *Berufschule* or a general school - *Gymnasium*). The prerequisite for starting a course of study at the university or at an equivalent institution is the university entrance qualification (*Allgemeine Hochschulreife* or the *Fachgebundene Hochschulreife* – depending on the kind of secondary school courses attended). Its holders have the right to enter any university and any course of their choice without any special admission procedures. There has been little room left for a university to choose its own students. For the majority of courses of study, there does not exist any nation-wide restrictions on the number of applicants admitted.

However, in some highly demanded courses (for example medicine, veterinary medicine, dentistry, architecture, business management and psychology, media and communication studies – this may vary from semester to semester), there are nation-wide quotas (*Numerus clausus*) due to the large numbers of applicants and the insufficient number of equivalent places available (Majcher 2002, 9-10).

A key feature of the German university is its hierarchical structure in which the position of professor gives much power over persons who in other academic cultures might perhaps already have gained a more independent or equal standing. The roots of this phenomena lie in history and in the two stages, dissertation and *Habilitation*, of the postgraduate qualification process. The idea of university as "a guild-style community of masters and journeymen – with the *Habilitation*

as the individual's 'masterwork'" (Bultmann 1996, 339) has been prevalent in Germany.

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

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

A new twist in this history came in 2004 as the *Bundesverfassungsgericht* decided that "through the introduction of the junior professor position, the Bund has overstepped its competence as a legislating body. […] Politically, the judgement, reached with a 5:3 majority, yields three consequences: first, it has stopped the reform of the personnel structure of the *Hochschulen*, initiated after decades of debate, before it really came into effect; second, it has extremely de-legitimised the claims of

the *Bund* to shape *Hochschule* politics; and third, it has given grist to the mill of those who have been insisting for years on the introduction of student fees" (Keller 2004, 1038).

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

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

After service as a *Privatdozent*, one may be admitted to the faculty as a professor, a position equivalent to a 'full professor' in the USA. The professors are usually life-long civil servants appointed by a ministry responsible for science and universities in the respective *Bundesland*.

The minister is then given a list with three candidates selected by the university boards or commissions, from which one is selected. The ministry can even reject the entire list, but has to give its reason for this decision. In this case, the call for a new search has to be announced. As can be seen, political administration has a *de facto* veto right concerning appointments to professorships – which in turn may reinforce certain conformist tendencies in the universities.

A *Habilitation* thesis can be either cumulative (based on previous research, be it articles or monographs) or monographical, i.e., a specific, unpublished thesis, which has the tendency to be very long indeed. While cumulative *Habilitationen* are predominant in some fields (e.g., medicine, natural sciences), they are almost unheard of in others. Usually only those candidates who receive the highest or second-highest grade for their PhD thesis are encouraged to proceed to the *Habilitation*.

Since 2006 there are new legal restrictions in some federal states of Germany that allow only people with excellent PhD evaluations to undertake the *Habilitation* process.

France

France displays a similar traditional academic structure for doctoral studies to that observed in Germany. Before applying for doctoral posts (*maître de conferences*, *professeur des universités*) in the universities or research centres, French doctoral candidates have to pass a qualification examination set by the national council of universities, *Le Conseil National des Universités* (CNU). The CNU members are designated by the Ministry of Higher Education. The task of this council is to define the existing academic disciplines and to accept the teacher-researchers into each field of science. The CNU has 77 sections representing all the academic disciplines, out of which *Sciences de l'Information et de la Communication* is the 71st. The council of the 71st section is responsible for defining the field of Infocom and selecting the teacher-researchers

on the basis of their applications. The CNU then gives a certification or proficiency rating to each applicant, so that they can apply for posts as *maîtres de conferences* or professors (CP-CNU 2006, 4). This means that researches cannot apply for academic posts in France without a certification rating from the CNU. The certification is valid for four years; if the applicant does not find a post in this period, then she/he has to reapply for the certification.

In 2006, there were 230 applications for the certification of *maîtres de conferences* and 60 were accepted. The same year there were 41 applicants for the proficiency rating for professorships and 13 were accepted (ibid, 10). This shows that the selection is strict and creates competition among the applicants. To be qualified, the applicants must pass two 'filters': first, the certification for the discipline; second, the evaluation of the applicant's research qualifications.

At the undergraduate level, French university teaching in the fields of the social sciences and humanities is based mainly on mass lectures and courses. There is a lack of resources in undergraduate level teaching, while the numbers of students are large. The university's focus is on fostering and developing doctoral education. PhD students pursue their dissertation work under the supervision of professors; thus *maîtres de conferences* do not have the right to supervise doctoral students (this situation is different from other countries). There are particular workshops and symposia organised for doctoral students. In some departments, the doctoral students may receive financial help to attend national or international doctoral summer schools or conferences. There are only a few academic posts for doctoral students (e.g., the post of *monitorat*, equivalent to a research associate), and the doctoral students employed by the university do a lot of teaching alongside their work for the PhD Scholarships are rare, but some private firms give grants or employ doctoral students in company projects. The departments and research laboratories may also apply for projects in national or international calls for bids and hire doctoral students. In general, it is difficult to find financing for doctoral dissertation work, and the financial circumstances of PhD students are often unstable

and insecure. Nevertheless, the number of doctoral and post-doctoral students in Infocom has increased in recent years. The writing of the dissertation is expected to take three years. For many, however, four to six years are required, thus increasing the difficulty of securing sufficient funding.

Belgium

Doctoral education in Belgium is similar to that in Germany and France. Traditionally, doctoral education in communication and media studies has not enjoyed a high profile. However, three of the biggest universities in the Wallonian region, Université Catholique de Louvain (UCL), Université Libre de Bruxelles (ULB) and Université de Liège (ULg), have recently launched a joint doctoral school research in the field of media and communication with a number of other smaller universities. A significant share – two thirds – of the doctorates of francophone Belgium graduate from UCL. Between 2000 and 2005, there were 39 doctorates (an annual rate of 8; UCL – 24; Liege – 7; ULB - 7). During the same time there were 68 doctoral students working on dissertations. Careers in communication research and obtaining a PhD do not attract as many students in francophone Belgium as in the Flemish parts of the country. Belgium provides a good case study of a system of doctoral study in evolution, determined by past traditions (particularly in terms of the country's cultural and linguistic divide) but increasingly coming under pressure from internationalising imperatives.

Netherlands

An impressive element of doctoral education in the Netherlands is its firm institutional basis. There are a number of established centres. NESCoR (The Netherlands School of Communications Research) is the

national communication science research school and PhD programme in communication science, which was launched in 1999. NESCoR unites the Dutch Universities offering teaching programmes in communication science that share the orientation of social and behavioural traditions. The research school includes the VU University Amsterdam (VU), the University of Amsterdam (UvA), the Radboud University Nijmegen (RU) and the University of Twente (UT).

NESCoR has an important role in gaining funding for doctoral work. In the year 2007, 16 NESCoR doctoral students defended their theses. The PhD students are trained as researchers, and they are encouraged to start publishing journal articles already while working on their dissertation. The recommended time span for the doctoral dissertation work is 4 years, but the median is around 4,5 years. Doctoral education is well structured and there is a more solid basis for funding doctoral work in the Netherlands compared to other European countries.

ASCoR (The Amsterdam School of Communications Research) offers an English-language PhD programme that hosts more than 20 PhD students (in 2007, 28 students). ASCoR offers a four-year international PhD programme in communication science. The University of Twente is another small university with a department of communication science. Research is organised in the Twente Institute for Communication Research (TWICoR), which has recently witnessed rapid growth, with a doubling of the number of tenured staff and a trebling of the number of PhD candidates between 2001-2007. NISCO (Nijmegen Institute for Social and Cultural Research) is a research institute in the faculty of social sciences of the Radboud University Nijmegen (RU), one of the oldest and most important universities in the Netherlands. In 2000, the communication programme of RU was ranked second in the national research evaluation. Communication researchers increasingly cooperate with other NISCO members who represent other disciplines of social sciences, and all recently started PhD projects are supervised by at least one NISCO staff member outside the communication programme.

The main sources of funding are the universities' grants and NWO grants for projects that often include PhD work. The doctoral students are fairly well paid: the salary in 2008 was around 1700–2500 Euros per month. Moreover, a grant is also given for publishing the dissertation and for promotional purposes. The PhD students in the graduate schools are required to reserve 15% of the working time for teaching in the department. The PhD students are also funded for participating in national and international conferences.

Estonia

Doctoral education in communication and media research has only recently begun to expand in Estonia. The only PhD programme in communication and media studies is at the University of Tartu, faculty of social sciences, department of journalism and communication. There have been two parallel curricula at the doctoral level: media and Communication and journalism. However, from the start of 2006/2007 academic year it has been possible to enter only one curriculum – media and communication. The graduates obtain the PhD degree in media and communication. The duration of the doctoral studies is four years and the programme consists of obligatory and optional courses and a doctoral dissertation that is publicly defended. The coming years will be decisive in terms of forming Estonian communication research's doctoral system. It is expected that international imperatives will play a large role in this process, as in Estonian higher education more generally.

Finland

In recent years more and more people have gained doctorates in communication and media studies in Finland. The yearly average is now clearly above 10 doctorates per year. Doctoral students are largely dependent on outside funding in the form of grants – or they try to live

by gaining some short term teaching or research jobs. A more stable form of funding is provided by doctoral schools, a system established in Finland in the 1990s. These provide, at best, four years of moderate funding for doctoral students. However, the overwhelming majority of doctoral students must gain their funding from somewhere else.

The Doctoral School of Communication Studies CORE is a national, multidisciplinary doctoral school including the whole field of communication, media and information studies. CORE is coordinated by the department of speech communication and voice research of the University of Tampere. CORE concentrates on three themes based on changing communication: changes in communication; changes in information and communication practices; communication and changing values. The nine members and ten associate members were selected by the Executive Board of the Doctoral School of Communication Studies.

UK

Perhaps the most significant element of doctoral education in the UK is the predominance of 'foreign' students. In 2006/2007, only about a half of the nearly 500 PhD students in the fields of media studies and journalism were UK residents before entering PhD programmes. British doctoral programmes in media studies and journalism were especially popular with students from United States, China, Germany, South Korea, Greece, India and Canada (Higher Education Statistics Agency 2008a). This has had an impact upon the nature of doctoral education. In many departments, one of the reasons for including training in methodology and theory is the increasing number of international PhD students, and the assumption that many of these have not received an adequate exposure to the scientific literature throughout their undergraduate degrees.

According to some critical voices, the growing proportion of foreign PhD students reflects the lack of funding for doctorates for British students. It has been suggested that the scrapping of the grant

system and the introduction of tuition fees has made British students less likely to continue their studies after graduating with a Bachelor's degree, as further education would require additional debts. Some of the same conditions can also be observed in doctoral education in the other anglophone countries surveyed in this report. While the status of foreign students may vary, a common factor in these countries is the increasing 'commodification' of the PhD. Given the international dominance of these academic environments, this is bound to have a major impact upon the development of communication and media studies in other countries.

USA

In the past several years, there has been an increase in the number of doctoral programmes in communication and media studies in the USA. According to NCA's web page, there are 74 schools with 132 doctoral programs in Communication. In general, the PhD programmes in communication are small in size. Most of them are "niche" or "boutique" programmes that concentrate on a limited number of areas of communication. For example, in Texas A&M University, the communication department is located within the college of liberal arts and specializes in four major areas: rhetoric & public affairs, organisational communication, telecommunication & media studies, and health communication. However, there are about a dozen schools that offer a wide variety of concentration areas. For example, the University of Texas at Austin has a separate college of communication that offers majors in more or less all the areas of communication (i.e., advertising, communication sciences and disorders, communication studies, public relations, radio-television-film, and a school of journalism). The general magnitude of the programmes can be illustrated by looking at mass communication PhD programmes that had on average 30 PhD students and 22 graduate faculty members (of a total of 33 faculty members) in 2004. There were no major differences between regions:

Figure 23; Regional differences among U.S. Ph.D. programmes, 2004

	Midwest	West	Northeast	South
Programme Age	47	27	17	21
Students	33	26	31	29
Total Faculty	37	26	26	41
Grad Faculty	22	19	17	29
Faculty/Student Ratio	.67	.73	.55	1.0

(Shaver et al., 2005)

Within mass communication, most of the PhD programmes can be characterised as generalised. 85% of the programmes offer more than four potential areas of specialisation. The most widely offered area of specialisation is communications effects/theory, followed closely by political communication, cultural studies and communication technology/new media (ibid.). Health/science/environmental communication, media studies and visual communication are the least frequently offered specialisations within mass communication programmes. Communications technology/new media, international communications and public relations were expected to attract increased student interest in the next five years, while interest levels in most other disciplines were expected to remain relatively stable.

According to some scholars, PhD level communication education in the U.S. is flourishing. Scholars agree that PhD programmes generally give students broad knowledge and solid skills in theory and methodology. One of the interviewees called the PhD education system a "well-oiled machine" that efficiently produces scholars that fit the system and prepares students for successful careers. One indicator of such 'efficiency' is the fact that doctoral students are publishing more than before.

Yet there were also opposing views. According to a scholar interviewed in the USA report for this project, the field of communication is not on the same level as some other social sciences: "The standards of research are still not as high as they are in other areas of academia.

A lot of the work that would be considered acceptable [in communication and media studies] would be thought of as pretty superficial in other social sciences". In addition, some scholars expressed their concern about the narrowness of focus in PhD programmes. That is, the academic system tends to encourage specialisation and training in a particular theoretical perspective or methodology. As another interviewee noted, "You could have two students who got a PhD in communication and they never took a course in common. I cannot think of another discipline that is this way". Some scholars attributed the problem to the design of the whole system. The system is largely based on and measured by counting the number of journal article publications, which, in many cases, leads to repetition of quantitative studies that do not contribute to the field as a whole. One of the interviewees attributed this to a need to demonstrate "academic machismo", that is, a focus on quantity to raise the status of an otherwise small and young discipline. As one of the interviewees put it, "It is a system like our factories that reward us as economic individuals, not as members of the intellectual community".

Assessment of Communication PhD Programmes:
The 2004 NCA Doctoral Reputational Study assessed the reputation of U.S. doctoral programmes in communication. The study was received with mixed emotions across the field and was criticised from many angles. In general, because the study was conducted by the NCA (that is, by an association that is relatively "humanistically" oriented), some commentators noted that "people rooted in a more social science perspective tended not to think that the study had a bearing on who they were and what they were doing". Another commentator suggested that reputation is a rough equivalent to the social network of the faculty rather than a fair measure of the quality of the programme. In addition, according to Bunz (2005), departmental reputations "are often formed based on their graduates' or employees' success and visibility in the discipline , and this success and visibility are often measured by the number of publications in a limited set of journals, as is the case

in NCA's evaluation of doctoral programmes' reputations" (Edwards & Barker 1983, 706). In sum, the study should not be considered as the ultimate measure of the quality of the programmes; however, it works well as a starting point from which to examine the programmes more thoroughly.

There is also a recent study on ranking of U.S. Communication programs that offer a doctoral degree (Neuendorf et al. 2007). It is a survey study among faculty members from U.S. universities and chairs of communication departments in the U.S.:

Figure 24; Rankings
Communication programmes that offer aPhD in the U.S.

Communication program	Faculty score (rank)	Chair score (rank)
1. University of Wisconsin, Madison	126 (1)	9 (8, tie)
2. University of Texas at Austin	93 (2)	25 (1)
3. University of Pennsylvania	77 (3)	16 (2)
4. Michigan State University	70 (4)	13 (4)
5. University of Iowa	69 (5)	12 (5)
6. Stanford University	65 (6)	9 (8, tie)
7. Northwestern University	60 (7)	10 (7)
8. University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill	56 (8, tie)	14 (3)
9. University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign	56 (8, tie)	11 (6)
10. Purdue University	53 (10)	NS (−)
11. University of Southern California	48 (11)	1 (20, tie)
12. Penn State University	32 (12)	1 (20, tie)
13. University of California, Santa Barbara	26 (13)	3 (16)
14. University of Arizona	20 (14, tie)	NS (−)
14. University of Minnesota	20 (14, tie)	5 (13, tie)
16. University of Missouri	17 (16, tie)	6 (12)
16. Ohio University	17 (16, tie)	2 (17, tie)
18. University of Florida	16 (18)	9 (8, tie)
19. University of Utah	14 (19)	1 (20, tie)
20. University of Kansas	11 (20, tie)	2 (17, tie)
20. Texas A & M University	11 (20, tie)	5 (13, tie)
22. Arizona State University	10 (22, tie)	8 (11)
22. Indiana University	10 (22, tie)	NS (−)
22. University of Maryland	10 (22, tie)	NS (−)
25. University of Massachusetts	8 (25)	NS (−)
26. Regent University	7 (26)	NS (−)
27. University of Georgia	6 (27, tie)	4 (15)
27. Ohio State University	6 (27, tie)	2 (17, tie)

Note. Rankings were determined by using a weighted points system. Each time a program was ranked as number one, it received three points. Second place rankings translated into two points each, while each third place ranking counted for one point. The total scores for each program at each level (first, second and third) were summed; the final figures are represented by the points shown in the tables. For example, the University of Wisconsin-Madison was called the top doctoral program in communication by 20 faculty respondents, the second best program by 25 faculty respondents, and the third best by 16 faculty respondents. Thus, Wisconsin-Madison received 60 first place points (20 × 3), 50 second place points (25 × 2), and 16 third place points. Wisconsin's total score for the faculty sample, therefore, was 126 points (60 + 50 + 16), the figure shown in the table.

The numbers in parentheses represent rankings of the programs among members of the faculty and chair samples, respectively.

"NS" indicates that the program received zero points and thus no score.

Programs that received fewer than six total points in the faculty rating are not shown.

A separate ranking for institutions not granting the PhD is available from the first author.

(Neuendorf 2007, 36)

It should be noted that the results of this study show a high degree of correspondence between faculty and administrator evaluations on curricular factors, and lower levels of agreement on program rankings and evaluation criteria for doctoral program quality (Neuendorf et al. 2007, 35).

Japan

Communication and media research as an academic discipline in universities is still mostly to be established in Japan. Considering the vastness of the media industry in Japan, or even the amount of research done in private organizations, the volume of academic research is quite modest, as is the number of doctoral degrees in the field. In general, a doctoral degree in humanistic and some social scientific areas has been rare in Japanese universities until recently, as it was previously not required even for professorships. Depending on the criteria selected for evaluation, there are only about 70–100 doctoral dissertations that were recently accepted at different universities in Japan. Communication and media related research is also conducted in abundance within the industry, thus making it possible to create careers within media and communication research without academic degrees.

Among the 53 universities with graduate programs in communication and media, 39 have both master level and doctoral level education. Of these universities, 15 belong to the best Japanese universities, six national and nine private (Sogo Janarizumu Kenkyujo 2004). Only a few have high research profiles in media and communication research or actually focus on research.

Japanese doctoral students in communication and media studies have a difficult time funding their research. Foundations or funding organizations for independent dissertation work within Japan are practically non-existent. Professors can apply for money for research projects and groups and then assign graduate students to these projects. In stark contrast, funding for graduate studies abroad or for foreign graduate

students studying in Japan is abundant. For this reason, a significant proportion of doctoral dissertations finished in Japan are by Asian doctoral candidates and about subjects involving Asian media and societies. In the social sciences and humanistic fields, many Japanese have written their dissertations outside of Japan, mostly in the US.

South Korea

"Although I fear to say it, it seems most social science […] research in South Korea can be classified within the imposition model. Master's theses and doctoral dissertations in particular often seem to borrow problematics directly from the West" (Kang 2004, 259).

Doctoral education in South Korea displays many of the characteristics already observed in Japan, particularly in terms of the dominance of western models and 'foreign' PhDs. Most professors of leading South Korean universities have received their doctorate in a university in the United States, as American university degrees are highly valued. Some have graduated from Japanese, European or Australian universities. In 2004, the top five destination countries for tertiary level Korean students studying abroad (total 95 885) were the U.S. (52 484), Japan (23 280), Germany (5 488), UK (3 482) and Australia (3 915) (*Global Education Digest* 2006, 133). This reliance on foreign doctoral education has impeded the development of doctoral programmes in the South Korean Universities, though there are increasingly calls for establishing stronger offerings in the domestic context.

3.3 Gender Relations

The position of women in any field of academic endeavour, above and beyond its obvious social importance, is a useful indicator of the extent of reforms to traditional university structures and the capacity of a discipline or field to respond to social pressures and movements. It has been difficult to gain a precise sense of the relative position of women in communication and media studies in the different countries because, revealingly, this topic has not figured prominently in many of the available country specific reports and international surveys, including the reports upon which this synthetic study has been based. In this regard, the lack of adequate material on the position of women in the anglophone countries constitutes a noticeable absence, particularly as we could expect the USA, the UK and Australia to demonstrate both greater labour market parity than their Continental European or East Asian counterparts, on the one hand, while also giving further evidence of the depth and resilience of gendered institutional spaces, discourses and structures, on the other. Nevertheless, the available material suggests that international communication and media studies and research, like many fields of academic endeavour, still has some way to go in terms of guaranteeing equal access and in its everyday practices. In short, gender representation and differential social and institutional power remain problems that the institution as a whole, on both national and international levels, must urgently address.

Many of the difficulties with the relative position of women in communication and media research arise from broader institutional problems, primarily in terms of academic hierarchies, access to adequate funding, and recognition of different career paths and expectations. Additionally, there are problems that are specific to communication and media research to a lesser or greater extent, particularly the identification of communication and related concepts with a more or less 'gendered' public sphere that remains, despite the advances of the last 40 years, predominantly 'masculine' if not entirely male in its key determinants.

In our view, the relative lack of participation and representation of women in communication and media research, particularly at higher institutional levels, can only be adequately confronted in a larger theoretical perspective that poses the difficult question of the institution's own involvement in a broader network of disempowering social relations. The material presented in this sub-chapter provides some sense of the difficulties that currently exist in individual countries, as well as the necessity for further research into the real causes and effects of gender imbalances in communication and media studies as a whole.

Germany

The main problem regarding the position of women in communication and media research in Germany is related to a more general problem in the German university system. The German university was for a long time a male domain. Women were granted the right to study in the universities first in 1900 and the right to undertake the *Habilitation* in 1918. The first female professor was nominated in 1923. Germany has had one of the lowest levels of female participation in higher education and in the academic labour market in Europe. Nowadays, women constitute 48% of German graduate students, 38% of the new doctor's degree awardees and 22% of the new *Habilitation* awardees. Merely 9% of the C4 professors and 13% of C3 professors – the top rank positions in German academia – are women (Prommer et al. 2006, 68). Women also rarely reach the top management positions. For example, in 1998 only 11 out of 222 rectors were female (5.0%); similarly, only 4 out of 75 presidents (5.3%) and 30 out of 277 chancellors (10.8%) were female (Majcher 2002, 6-7). According to Majcher, "women's position in academia could best be described in terms of subordination, marginalisation and segregation" (ibid., 15).

In Germany, combining work and family life is a problem, which hinders women's entry into academia. West Germany, unlike many other West European countries, developed a welfare regime based on a model

of the male-breadwinner, strongly supported by traditional value systems and gender relations. As a result, German welfare regulations used to offer few incentives for an egalitarian family model. Promotion of women on the labour market and childcare facilities were hardly a social policy priority. Summarising several comparative studies, Majcher (2002, 20-21) writes that concerning German professors in the late 1980s, 60.9% of the women did not have any children (while this was valid only for 18.6% of the men) or had them later in life (after doctorate or even *Habilitation*). Additionally, many more women professors than their male colleagues are single or divorced. Such a wide discrepancy is not found, for example, in the case of American academics, but it is valid also for German women in high positions in private business. Interestingly, the topic of *Habilitation* also turns up frequently in the discussion of women's position in academia: the "drawn-out procedure and the extreme dependency upon the '*Habilitations-Vater*' and the faculty in which the *Habilitation* is conducted leads to an infantilisation of grown ups and contains furthermore the danger that precisely the research projects keen upon innovation will be excluded" (ZE-Frauen 1995, 11).

    Habilitation is "considered a structural barrier for women who often complete their *Habilitation* at an even later point in their careers than men, if ever" (Majcher 2002, 11). Furthermore, "the candidate is totally dependent on her/his mentor and normally starts an academic career as his/her assistant, if invited to do so. There is no systematic documentation of a student's performance, the mentor may or may not, will be able or unable to introduce his/her protégé into informal networks, which seem to be a precondition for a successful career. Women may encounter more problems in getting into the system, and as 'newcomers' in science, negative experiences may discourage them more easily" (ibid., 19). Relying on her interview material, Andresen (2001, 100) sums up the situation of the women undergoing *Habilitation* as follows: "Consistently, the support of somebody with kudos, power and influence in the discipline in general and the specific subject area in particular is seen as a decisive precondition for attaining one's qualification and professional goals. […] Even though the problematic of personal dependence and the fixing of

the discipline's content is also noted, there is an enormous expenditure of energy to establish such an hierarchical 'paternal' relationship, because similarly effective realistic alternatives don't exist for the interviewees".

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

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

Women presented 41% of the new dissertations in communication studies. However, the *Bundesamt für Statistik* does not provide further data regarding how many *Habilitationen* there were by women or how many professorships were occupied by them in this discipline. Instead, on this level data is provided on groups of disciplines; in this case, communications studies have been coupled with library science. In 2004, there were altogether 14 *Habilitationen* in these disciplines and

four of them were by female researchers, which constitutes 29% of the total. In these disciplines, 42% of the researcher and teacher staff below professorial level was female. In Fröhlich and Holtz-Bacha's data from 1991, their share was 32% (1993, 528), so there was some increase. 13% of current professors are female. However, there was no exact data on how their professorships are distributed into various subcategories (C2, C3 and C4) with their different prestige and wage. Yet some idea can be gained by looking at the class 'languages and sciences of culture' (which includes besides communications and media studies and library science also philosophy, theology, languages, history, psychology and pedagogy): the result is that even here there are still fewer women at the top (Prommer et al. 2006, 70). These results and a comparison with other university branches are provided in the following chart:

Figure 25; Share of women at the universities in Germany

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

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

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

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

Figure 26: Gender of the authors in 'Publizistik' and 'Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft'

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

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

Figure 27; Gender of authors and editors whose books have been reviewed in 'Publizistik'

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

(Based on Eberwein - Pöttker 2006, 56)

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

In most cases, the children of the young male researcher are cared for during the day by their partners (71%). Female researchers, on the other hand, have mostly (69%) had to find other solutions: day-care, grandparents or a babysitter (ibid., 74). It is thus not surprising that there is a considerable difference in how male and female doctoral students view the obstacles to having a university career leading to a professorship:

Figure 28; Reasons blocking the path to a professorship in Germany

Nowadays four out of five doctoral students are supervised by a male

	Women	Men
Too few chances to finally get a professorship	66%	46%
Too rigid hierarchy at the universities	64%	46%
Too protracted career	54%	39%
Does not agree with a wish for a family or children	45%	24%
Demands sacrificing private life	43%	24%
Overload of work at the universities	36%	17%

(Based on Prommer et al. 2006, 84)

Doktorvater (the equivalent of a dissertation supervisor in the anglophone academy, though with stronger paternalistic cultural associations). The relationship between the doctoral students and their supervisors shows several gendered aspects. Female doctoral students feel that they do not receive supervision by male professors of the same

level as the male students. Female doctoral students who have a female professor supervising them felt instead considerably better: 55% of them are content with their supervision by female professors, whereas only 38% of them are content with the supervision they receive from their male professors. As many as 42% of female doctoral students are explicitly dissatisfied with their male supervisors. The dimensions most felt to be lacking are support in "networking" and planning of the career. There is not the same kind of difference among male students: around half of them are content with their supervisors, be they male or female professors. Yet there is not a simple line of confrontation: 38% of female students were content with their male professors and 29% of the female students were dissatisfied with their female professors (ibid., 80-82).

France

The French situation once again demonstrates similarities with its German counterpart. As to gender in the academic posts of Infocom, 52% of teacher-researchers were male and 73% professors were male in 2005. Thus, female professors are in the minority (27%). Yet, this is still closer to equality than the median in French universities for all disciplines.

The question of gender is not evident in the field of Infocom in France to the same extent that it is, for example, in the field of cultural studies in anglophone academia. However, reviewing the Infocom journals during the past few years, an emerging gender studies approach seems to be discernable. (However, the question of gender is already a field of research within the other French social studies, such as sociology and anthropology). Future advances will undoubtedly be dependent upon broader academic institutional reform.

Finland

Women seem to produce more research publications in Finnish communication and media studies than in some other countries. However, the following calculation also includes masters theses in a student population where the majority are women:
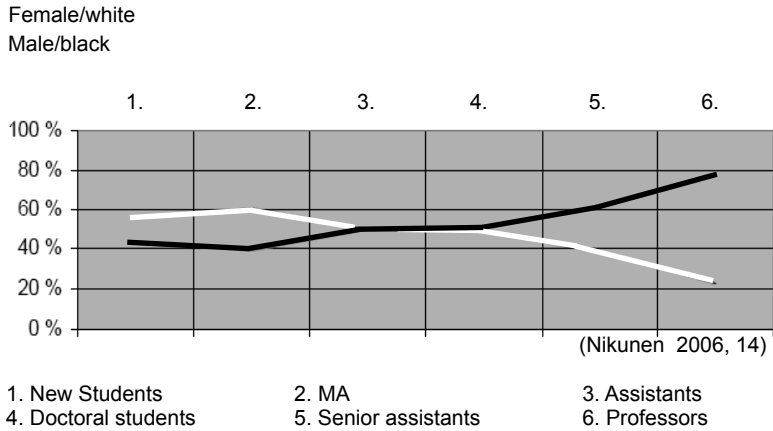
Figure 29: Author's gender in Finnish communication and media studies

Male	408	44 %
Female	510	56 %
Total	918	100 %

(Poteri 2004, 3)

The statistics on the yearly intake of students reveal that a female majority will prevail also in the foreseeable future. It remains an open question, however, this will be reflected in the other categories of publications. Studies on gender equality at the universities have revealed a phenomenon called 'gender scissors'. What this means can be studied in the following chart depicting the respective share of female and men on the academic ladder in Finland in 2005:

Figure 30; 'Gender scissors' in Finland (all universities 2005)

Female/white
Male/black

(Nikunen 2006, 14)

1. New Students   2. MA   3. Assistants
4. Doctoral students   5. Senior assistants   6. Professors

The diminishing share of women and growing share of men on the academic ladder is usually a surprisingly constant phenomenon, no matter what academic institution is under scrutiny. At the department of journalism and mass communication at the University of Tampere, the only Finnish communication department to have produced a study focusing on these matters (Nikunen 2006), the phenomenon look like this:

Figure 31; University career and gender in Finland

(Nikunen 2006, 15)

1. Students   2. Doctoral students   3. Assistants
4. Lecturers   5. Senior lecturers   6. Professors
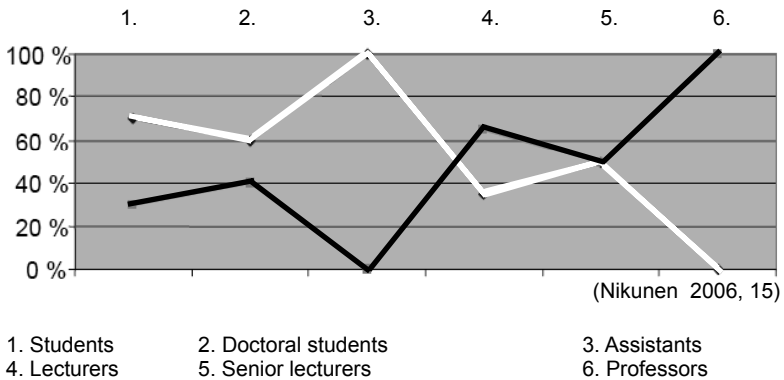
There are currently several female professors in communication and media departments in Finland. The situation in Tampere, however, where there is a strong focus on journalism research, seemed until quite recently to display a curious affinity with the culture prevailing in newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* (27.7.2006) reports that "of 33 newspapers, none has a female editor-in-chief". One of Nikunen's interviewees commented on this issue by stating that "critical research seems to become more marginal the further it distances itself from the applied journalism research" (Nikunen 2006, 72). Clearly, the Finnish situation regarding the position of women in communication and media research is very similar to the general picture in many other countries – some progress, but much that remains to be done.

Japan

The gender question has had very little impact on Japanese communication and media research, just as it has remained marginal until recently in other areas of the Japanese academy. The Gender in Communications Network (GCN) was very active in both research and action programs during the 1990s, but has been less so recently. Currently the network is planning new activities. GCN has focused exclusively on women, and its members are predominantly female. Recently, especially within cultural studies, research of men and masculinities in media has received some attention, but is still mostly a small area of research. Gender relations remain an issue that does not receive sufficient attention in Japanese academic life in general.

South Korea

Women and gender in general have become increasingly popular subjects of research in Korean communication studies. However, female journalists are still a rare phenomenon in Korea, just as women remain

under-represented in communication and media research. For example, Kim Kyung-Hee has studied women in journalism and, although there is slight increase, the proportion of high-ranking women in news organizations is still very small, less than ten percent even in the most gender equal organizations. Kim sees the situation as due to the patriarchal system – perhaps with some links to Confucian traditions – and, interestingly, to capitalism. Kim laments the fact that the number of female journalists has not increased "even though the demand for soft news (i.e., more casual content, such as culture, well-being or family issues, compared to 'hard' news stories related to politics, national issues or economics), which is generally considered as being appropriate for female journalists to write about, has increased" (Kim 2006, 123-125).

Mass media and patriarchal knowledge/power production in South Korea have been analyzed from Gramscian and Foucauldian perspectives. Gender-representations (female body, sex roles, autonomy, sexuality etc.) in the media have been studied with various methods, including psychoanalysis, postcolonial theories and, obviously, feminist studies. The results have revealed that Korean popular culture still reverts to patriarchal views of the role of women in the society and denies women more masculine roles. Women are symbolically subdued by men, objects of male desire. Images of their guarded pureness can even be harnessed to support nationalism. Women in the role of men are portrayed either as comical or immoral. For example, according to a study on women represented in magazine, even female politicians are portrayed more as women, not politicians. In a male politician's life two worlds, the private and public, are integrated, whereas in that of a female politician, the worlds are in conflict (Yang 2006). However, there are also studies that see women's position in Korean society in a more positive light. These studies are often affiliated with the use of the new media technology by women. Although women and gender in the Confucian/patriarchal context have been studied in Korean communication, sexuality – not to speak of sexual minorities – has not been studied very much, although some interesting studies do exist (see, e.g., Kim,

Y.-Y. - Kim 2004; Ha 2003; Joo 2003 and Kim, G.-H. 2002). One might predict that in the course of globalization and the strengthening of women's movement and the abating of dominant patriarchal value-structures, research concentrating on gender will proliferate, perhaps even dramatically. Nevertheless, it is clear that much work still remains to be done to address traditional structures and systemic problems, both academic and social.

3.4 Research Funding

Funding for research – or rather, the difficulty of gaining funding for research – constitutes a common problem for communication and media research internationally, to a lesser or greater extent in different countries. There has indeed been an increasing amount of money invested in 'communication research', broadly conceived, in some countries in recent years (notably, primarily by the private sector, rather than national governments or other political institutions). However, much of this money, with some notable exceptions, has gone not to universities but to private research companies. In terms of public funding, communication and media research projects are confronted by fierce competition for a share of an increasingly smaller pie. While there have been some success stories, the overall picture gained from this overview of very different national and academic environments is that there is a lack of funds for professionally conducted research projects. Reasons suggested for this situation vary: one reason may be that communication and media research is not yet seen as a serious force in academic institutional politics; another, related to the first, is that, as a relatively new 'discipline', it is expected to 'wait' its turn; yet another, perhaps operative in both of the former, may be that the lack of 'disciplinary coherence' of the field impacts upon its relative prestige in the competition for increasingly limited funds for research across the university systems as a whole.

Whatever the reasons may be in individual countries or internationally, the conclusion is clear: academic research in communication and media studies is not adequately funded. There is a systematic and structural underfunding of the basic research infrastructure. We have already observed a clear instance of this with the case of the funds available for doctoral studies in most countries. Another element can be observed in the fact that research is often done in 'spare time', after university academics have fulfilled an already demanding teaching and administrative burden, with obvious negative impacts upon the quality of the research. Insofar as the academic research units are usually the sites of education even – and especially – of future researchers for private enterprises, this lack of funding impacts not only upon the academic environment but also upon the quality of work done across the whole spectrum. While there are no easy resolutions to this problem, the international and general nature of these difficulties suggests that communication and media researchers would be well advised to look collectively for structural solutions on both a national and international level, thus leaving behind current strategies of short-term adjustments and compromises.

Germany

The most important and prestigious source of external funding for communication research in Germany is the *Deutsche Forschunsgemein-schaft* (DFG) with some 1.3 billion Euros per year. It has been said that the number of proposals from communication researchers is "quite modest" and that the approval rates are "low, though the chances are not so bad" (Jarren 2002, 3). In 2004, DFG changed its operation by leaving behind the committees based on single disciplines and moved to bigger committees that cover several disciplines. The review and approval processes of the applications were also separated in the sense that the multidisciplinary committee approves or rejects the proposals on the basis of statements written by external reviewers. DFG has

in recent years received annually approximately 20 research proposals from communication researchers. Between one third (33%) and half of them (53%) have been accepted each year for financing (Pfetsch – Krotz 2006, 5). The relatively small number of applications – especially considering the size of Germany – reveals that it is question of large projects. However, communication researchers seem to write fewer proposals than researchers in other social sciences, indicating that they have other important sources of external financing. Alongside various foundations, one such source in particular is the *Landesmedienanstalten.* The *Landesmedienanstalten* are public organisations, financed by around 2% share of the broadcasting fees. They survey the private media business in their respective *Länder*. This is similar to public broadcasting in Germany, which is also organised in this kind of decentred way.

Since 1987, *Landesmedienanstalten* have financed over 400 research projects. However, not all financing has been for academic projects: for example, studies on viewer figures are also conducted by private research companies. Yet "a large part of this unjustified money goes to institutes and professorships in our discipline. Quick proposals, short research time, quick processing – and at least, seemingly, without any further costs, the publication. […] It is good that there is this money. But who is actually served by these projects? What research structures could be built up with them? In all cases, many are occupied with these projects and all are thus strongly linked to deadlines" (Jarren 2002, 3). Such research projects have usually been relatively short-term. Only one in ten has lasted more than two years. A serious problem has also been that the research questions have been defined by very practical, instrumental and short-term needs (Weiss 2006, 7-9; see Jarren 2005, 4-5).

The landscape of German foundations has been described as a jungle (Waldherr 2006, 9). At the very least, it is certainly lacking in "transparency and a clear overview [*Übersichtlichkeit*]", in the words of Seifert and Emmer's useful list of possible financial sources (2006, 3). These descriptions are perhaps not without some justification: in 2005, the *Bundesverband deutscher Stiftungen* had a membership of 11 000 foundations. Only 13,6% of them financed scientific research, but that

still represents over one and a half thousand foundations. Interestingly, foundations that have some background in media-related industries do not necessarily concentrate on communication and media research: the *Zeit-Stiftung* finances 16 million Euro and the much bigger *Bertelsmann Stiftung,* the "most influential foundation in the country" (*Handelsblatt*) or "the largest and most influential *Politikberater* in the country" (Wernicke 2007a, see Wernicke – Bultmann 2007 and Wernicke 2007b), provides annually 42 million Euro of research funds.

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

> Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (SDP)
> Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung (FDP)
> Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung (CSU)
> Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (CDU)
> Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung (Die Grünen)
> Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung (Die Linke)

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

France

French university teacher-researchers are required to work in five areas of academic activity: research, teaching, popularisation of science, service to public institutions and collaboration with the economic domain. All of these aspects should be taken into consideration in the work of

academic institutions and a certain balance found with each of them. The financing of academic research in information and communication sciences mainly comes from three sources: the state, calls for bids, and research contracts with public or private organisations.

The Ministry of Higher Education makes the decisions about annual budgets for university departments, polytechnics, research groups and CNRS laboratories on the basis of the ratings given by an evaluation committee composed of academic and political members. The CNRS laboratories are in a privileged situation with a permanent budget, and the academic research groups labelled *équipe d'accueil* also receive financing from the Ministry. However, the size and constitution of the research group is defined in a way that favours uniting several teams under the same administrative umbrella. Often an *équipe d'accueil* combines researchers from several universities and institutions within the field. Governmental policy seems to be geared to cutting down the multiplicity and heterogeneity of the diverse research groups.

A common complaint of French scholars in Infocom is that there is not enough research financing– this is a common problem in every discipline. The poor financing of research is visible especially the fields of social sciences and humanities. One of the researchers interviewed says that there is a silently accepted culture of poverty – "*La culture de pauvrété*" – among university researchers in France, which means that scholars in the humanities and social sciences accept the underfinancing of the university sector.

The development of the financing system is tending towards diminishing state funding and encouraging research institutions to seek external funding through national and international calls for bids. Two years ago the French government started the ANR– [*l'Agence national de la recherché*], a new institution of public administration for financing research projects. ANR was officially launched in January 2007. The ANR works under the supervision of the Ministry of Research. Its objective is to increase the number of research projects in all domains of academic research. The purpose of ANR is to promote the development of basic academic research as well as applied research, innovation

and application of technologies and to foster partnership cooperation between the public and private sectors.

The institution annually organises thematic calls for projects, and projects are evaluated and selected on the basis of applications. ANR grants funding for both public research institutions and companies, with a double mission to produce new knowledge and promote the interaction between public and private research laboratories. In 2007 ANR allocated 825 million euros for research projects whose maximum duration is four years. ANR launches approximately 40 projects every year, and its thematic calls for research projects are divided into seven scientific fields. The research on communication can mostly be found in the section of humanist and social sciences.

French university scholars see many opportunities for working in European research projects with EU funding. There are, however, disincentives: working in international projects is not required for establishing a reputation in the field, since publications in languages other than French do not increase the merits of scholars seeking to apply for academic posts in France from the CNU. This policy does not encourage French scholars to focus on international projects

However, the application procedures for such projects are very long and that schemes for the bids are often quite narrow, or very pragmatic – with expectations of direct results, or without any epistemological approach. "The problem is that the costs are narrowed to meet the first objective of the bid. The system does not take advantage of the richness and multiplicity of the research in European universities and research groups". Finally, French scholars believe that EU funding has not significantly improved the situation of academic financing in their country. As the amount of state funding of universities diminishes, research financing will become less and less automatic and based more on projects channelled through institutions such as ANR and CNRS.

The third portion of financing for research institutions comes from research contracts, an issue not without problems in the world of French intellectuals, most of whom would prefer that the French university financing system remain public. The idea of the independ-

ent academic intellectual is strong in France, and the notion that the public financing of academic research secures a researcher's freedom to be an objective critic of society is deeply rooted. There is thus some reluctance to undertake research in co-operation with external partners and especially with the business world.

However, the academic culture is changing, and the number of contract research projects has been growing, especially during the last ten years. It has become more or less routine in all the laboratories to develop a policy on contract research. This is partly due to the criteria established by the evaluations of the Ministry of Education (conducted every four years), which recommend co-operation between public and private sectors. Contract research has proven to be necessary in order to obtain funding for doctoral research. It enables the young researchers to professionalise their research and gives them better chances to find jobs. However, companies often prefer more technical or practical dissertations, and they also need to be convinced that it is necessary to undertake theoretical analyses of the process of communication. Although there is a general consensus that practical research needs to be strongly anchored in theoretical knowledge in order to prevent it from losing intellectual rigour and accountability, the current tendency in research funding seems to be undermining such basic research.

Belgium

The core functions of teaching communication and media in institutions of higher learning in Belgium are all publicly funded. There are three categories of financing for academic research: the universities' own research funds, public research foundations and contract research with public or private institutions. There is some research cooperation among broadcasting media, public institutions and private companies, but the substantial financing comes from the first and second categories of research funding. The second category of public funding institutions is separate for Wallonia and Flanders regions. Among the

few institutions that finance research in both language groups are the Brussels city government, the federal government's funding organisation Belgian Science Policy and the King Baudoin Foundation. The federal funding institutions endeavour to bring together the Flemish and Walloon researchers and create a sense of unity within the Belgian federation. Yet their policy follows the rule of respecting the linguistic and cultural differences from community to community. The main funding institution for media and communication research in Flanders is *Fonds Wetenschapplijk Onderzoek* (FWO). There are also a few new organisations for financing specialised research on information and communication technologies (the third category). The public funding institution in the Wallonia region is *Fonds de la Recherche Scientifique* (FNRS).

The main sources of research funding in the Flanders region are universities and public funding institutions. The universities receive their annual budget from the state. The majority of this funding goes to salaries for the teaching staff, and a small portion is reserved for the universities' own research funds. A professor's contract usually specifies 40% teaching and 60% research. Professors are paid for full-time work, but the salaries of the research team and money for conducting such things as surveys have to be found outside the university budget. External funding has increased over the past ten years, and in some fields of research, external sources provide the majority of the funding.

The Bologna reform in the curricula (from a four year track to a five year track) has caused restrictions within the universities. The Flemish universities are under pressure to seek external funding for new projects, and this has stiffened the criteria for employing researchers.

*Fonds Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek – Vlaanderen (*FWO) is the most important public research funding institution in the Flemish academic community. FWO was founded in 1928 on the initiative of King Albert I, and its goal is to promote the cultural value of the Flemish community. Funding for FWO is given by the Flemish Community, the federal authorities and various private patrons. The Foundation finances basic research in all disciplines in the Flemish universities and in affiliated research institutes. FWO supports individual researchers

(for example, giving grants for doctoral theses or postdoctoral research) and research teams. Research project teams and individuals can apply for funding for a period of two to four years. Moreover, the FWO supports national and international scientific mobility, for instance, by establishing scientific research networks to promote coordination and national and international contacts and by providing grants for researchers' participation in international conferences and for study and training periods abroad. FWO is managed by a Board of Trustees, which consists of representatives from the Flemish universities, the Flemish and national authorities and the Flemish socio-economic world.

FWO has always been seen as an integrated component in the financial structure (the second category) of basic academic research funding. University budgets are mainly spent on teaching staff, although most departments are understaffed in relation to the numbers of students and the number of courses. There is no significant difference between university research funding and FWO, but there is more competition for FWO money. Usually, the universities require the researchers first to apply for FWO funding for research projects; if the funding is not granted and if the research fits the agenda of the local research council, the university will consider financing the project from its own research budget. Now that the universities are encouraged to undertake more applied research, FWO is viewed as protecting basic research. It is said to be stable and reasonably well structured following its restructuring and regionalisation around eight years ago.

There are fewer research funding organisations in the Wallonian region than in Flanders. The major funding source for media and communication research is the regional public organisation called *Fonds de la Recherche Scientifique* (FNRS). It provides three types of funding contracts for researchers:

1. PhD scholarship, 4 years, 'aspirant' (requirement: 80% of grades to be above the average).
2. Post-doctoral contracts, 'chargé de recherche'.
3. Research associate, 'Chercheur qualifié', full-time and permanent researcher contracts.

Moreover, FNRS provides financial support for organising scientific meetings and to increase international mobility. The decision-making for the distribution of grants within FNRS is made by the Commission of Rectors of Universities. Personal applications are introduced by the individual university and a department in which the researcher is expected to work. In some cases FNRS finances a post for a certain period of time; thereafter, the university is expected to continue paying the researcher's salary. A FNRS research associate works at the department and teaches two courses (the main responsibility is research).

The city of Brussels has a funding programme for capital region development that is significant for local universities. The Walloon and Brussels region also grants some research funds in the area of information technologies. Applied research is funded much less frequently in Wallonia than in the communication departments of Flemish universities; nevertheless, the public funding is not increasing and the departments are under pressure to seek external support. European Union funding (COST, 6th and 4th programmes) is also considered an important source of research support. The most important grant for the Francophone doctoral students in Belgium is FNRS, and there is stiff competition for the grants. There are not many opportunities for a scholarship for doctoral work, though there do exist a few assistant posts at universities and in research projects. Assistants are hired for both basic and applied research projects; they usually have a contract for three to six years, and sometimes their work includes half project research or pedagogical work and the other half PhD research.

There are no private funding organisations in Belgium, but the universities' research centres and groups carry out applied research projects with the commercial sector. The researchers and research groups often have small collaborative projects with public and private companies and also with some associations or NGOs, but these are mostly individual projects based on personal networks and not on permanent contracts. Public funding remains the most common form of support for research, particularly for doctoral programmes.

Netherlands

Dutch media and communication research is relatively well financed by the universities and foundations, when compared to other countries. Directly 'applied' or 'business orientated' research is not dominant in the academic communication research in the Netherlands, but it is typical for researchers to have strong ties to media and communication practices outside the academy. Scholars sometimes co-operate with media companies or public organisations.

The research funding of the Dutch communication and media research is divided into three categories: the first category is university funding; the second, research project funding and individual grants (for example, for PhD students) from public foundations; the third category includes contract research with private or public institutions or companies. The universities' operation costs and research in the Netherlands are mainly funded with public money from the first and second category. The third category is not very common in the field of communication and media but it is increasing in particular at the independent research institutes.

The substantial funding source for research in the field of media and communication is the *Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research* (NWO). NWO is a general funding organisation for all academic disciplines of research. Researchers can apply for subsidies within research programmes as defined by NWO or as a part of a free competition (the research object is put forward by the researcher). Personal grants are intended to support researchers at different stages of their career. The most prominent and highly esteemed is the Innovation Research Incentives Scheme, consisting of Veni grants for researchers who have recently gained their PhD, Vidi grants for researchers who want to develop their own innovative line of research and appoint one or more researchers, and Vici grants for senior researchers to build their own research group.

The science foundation money is increasing and the universities' budgets are decreasing. The graduate schools increasingly need to seek

money from foundations or elsewhere. The major research centre at the University of Amsterdam, ASCoR, has received much funding for its projects from the NWO; therefore, partnerships with industry are less important in this context. They are in a situation where they can choose the applied projects that are interesting and also beneficial for their interests in basic research. In ASCoR, half of PhD students (about 15 of circa 30) are funded by the university (first category), about 10 receive funding from the science foundation or, for example, EU research council projects, and the last part of the projects (5 PhD students) are sponsored by media corporations, which are chosen according to their relevance in terms of the focal research areas of AS-CoR. Some projects are also funded by the Royal Science Academy, European framework programmes, EU research council and networks of excellence like COST. Many of the research schools like NESCoR were founded in order to join the forces of a number of universities for applying for funding for PhD education. The second stream of funding has increased significantly during the past years, as communication studies has become an established field in the Netherlands. The polytechnics are receiving an extra budget from the government in order to increase research. The first category of funding is therefore most significant at present. For example, the Cross Media Content research group in Utrecht Polytechnics has two types of research. The first is independent academic research, which, however, has a practical orientation and empirical focus. The second type of research is contract research that is funded by industry (for example, a newspaper or media company, or governmental organisation). However, purely applied and business oriented research is quite rare in the Netherlands in the field of communication and media.

Estonia

Only a small portion of current research in Estonia is supported through the universities' basic funding. Research is often carried out as part-time

activity, alongside normal teaching and administration obligations. The social sciences and humanities are clearly underfinanced, which hinders the formation a larger research community with long-term perspectives.

Most academic research is funded by the state through two different types of funding instruments. Targeted funding is based on competition in which different project applications are screened and the most relevant, according to academic assessment criteria, are funded. Funding is also granted to individual scholars by the Estonian Science Foundation. This funding is often used to cover research expenses whilst the research itself is done as part of the daily work at the university.

Against international norms, Estonian investment in scientific research and development is still fairly modest. With Nordic countries aiming at 4 per cent of their respective GDPs, Estonia still has less than a single percentage share of GDP. According to academic experts, the state is both unable and unwilling to fund social sciences or humanities in the way that would support the growth of research units within universities. The Estonian funding system also favours natural sciences, with the monthly salary of a natural scientist being almost four times greater than that of a colleague from the social sciences and humanities. The trend of increasing investment in natural sciences and technology is notable in Estonia, with humanities and social sciences producing less than half the number doctoral graduates as technology, engineering and physical sciences.

Finland

Only a small part of Finnish communication research is funded by the academic faculties. Basic funding covers mostly teaching and basic facilities with very little left for actual research expenses. Most research funding comes from various foundations, corporations, the Finnish ministries and the EU. The Finnish government, however, allocates funding to research through the *Finnish Academy* and *Tekes* (Technology

oriented research fund). These funds also contribute to communication research. On top of these funding institutions, there are several private sources of support for communication research. A newcomer, but a substantial supporter of the field, is the Helsingin Sanomat Foundation. This foundation, established in 2006, annually allocates around 4 million euros towards communication research. With this sum, the Foundation is the largest single funder in the field. Other funding bodies annually allocate around 3 million euros to communication research. Researchers say that private funders and ministries prefer short-term research projects rather than more demanding studies and that the preferred topics are lacking in historical perspective. This mode of operation, according to which the rapidly changing topics of research are decided by outside financiers, does not effectively support long-time development of research skills and programmes required for genuine scientific advances. Although there have been improvements in recent years, communication and media research in Finland remains structurally underfunded.

UK

The main sources of funding for academic media research in Britain are public research councils, which distribute government money. There are seven councils arranged around different areas of science. Most media researchers apply for grants from either the *Arts and Humanities Research Council* (AHRC) or the *Economic and Social Research Council* (ESRC).

In matters of funding, the social sciences and humanities receive only a fraction of the money gained by the 'hard' sciences. For example, the *Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council* (EPSRC), which also funds communication and media research projects that involve ICT elements, has a budget of £500 million (about 630 million euros) to distribute each year (Engineering and Physical Research Council 2008). In comparison, the 2007/2008 budget for the *Economic and*

Social Research Council (ESRC) is £181 million (228 million euros) (Economic and Social Research Council 2008) and for the *Arts and Humanities Research Council* (AHRC) £75 million (94.5 million euros) (Arts and Humanities Research Council 2008).

Research Council funding is awarded by a peer review panel, which some claim leads to the exclusion of the most critical and morally charged proposals. Furthermore, some types of communication and media research have been regarded in the past as not really fitting clearly in either AHRC's or ESRC's area of expertise. The government has also indicated that it might in the future concentrate its funding on the larger research institutions.

Other sources of research funding include the *British Academy*, which grants government money for post-graduate level small-scale research; Foundations, e.g., the *Leverhulme Trust*, the *Joseph Rowntree Foundation*, the *European Science Foundation* (ESF); the media industry; NGOs; the *European Commission* (EC)/*European Research Council*; UN agencies, World Bank, OECD; Ofcom; UK and foreign government departments; local authorities (e.g., the Mayor of London, regional development agencies).

The fact that more and more UK research projects are international in nature is at least partly a result of the European Commission's policy, which has emphasised international collaboration. This has led to studies comparing media-related phenomena in different countries and joint projects involving scholars from two or more countries. One separate sector within media research is capacity-building projects. Capacity building refers to assistance that is directed towards improving society's competence, usually in the context of a developing country. The media research capacity building projects usually revolve around democracy issues such as citizen participation, journalist training and freedom of expression.

Areas in communication and media research that have done particularly well recently in terms of funding include those associated with ICT: the internet, interactivity, mobile phones, virtual reality, e-society and edemocracy. This applied to both research councils and the private

sector. ICT-related research is funded by, for example, Fujitsu, Sony, Nokia, Hewlett Packard and British Telecom. Some more practice-oriented media departments also received grants from both the private and public sectors for the digitalisation of different kinds of archives. Another area that has recently been doing well in terms of funding is health. Projects on health communication and 3D animation receive money from the medical industry.

A factor impacting upon research funding in the last years has been the 'Knowledge Transfer' initiative, a part of the government's so-called innovation strategy. For the academic community, the new policy has meant that the research councils now tend to fund projects with practical, generally economic, applications. Buzzwords are 'user engagement' and 'policy relevance'. It is predicted that this knowledge transfer policy will have its winners and losers. Amongst the winners will perhaps be numbered the ex-polytechnics, which have always been more engaged with industry and applied science. London-based institutions might also find it easier to build networks with the media industry, which is concentrated in the capital. The name of the university or of the department, which works as a kind of brand name, and is already regarded as a key element in gaining funding and networking, is likely to become increasingly important in the future.

There are several obstacles to the use of knowledge transfer in the field of communication and media studies. Even if the topics of interest to the media industry and the academic world are becoming more similar, the industry still operates according to a different logic and a different time-span than university departments. Industry perspectives tend to emphasise vocational training for future media professionals and information regarding media consumption and audiences. The traditional emphasis upon 'basic research' in the academic environment is being revised in the light of governmental funding priorities. Instrumentalisation of communication and media research for short-term and externally derived perspectives is a real and present danger.

Australia

The most important source of funding is the *Australian Research Council* (ARC). It is a statutory authority within the Australian Government's Education, Science and Training portfolio. The ARC supports both fundamental and applied research. The average grant amounts to almost 300,000 Australian dollars. The success rate is around 20 per cent.

There are many other grants currently available in the field that do not appear under the Discovery Grants – the biggest research scheme of the ARC – in the designated code called 'Journalism, Communication and Media'. However, the ARC does not have a policy to prioritise particular areas within communication and media research. Much of the audience research is sponsored by the Australian Broadcasting Control Board/Tribunal/Authority (nowadays Australian Communications and Media Authority)(McKee 2001, 312). Media companies, both print and electronic, spend a lot of money for their own audience research.

The media industry in Australia is not famous for its generous research funding. "We find it very hard to get research funding from media companies", says journalism Lecturer John Harrison from the University of Queensland. Harrison is not alone. "Media companies in Australia are notoriously suspicious of the tertiary sector", confirms Professor Mark Pearson, head of journalism at Bond University. Stuart Cunningham argues that "there is a long tradition in Australia that media companies don't fund academic research. Industry takes the graduates but puts very little back into the journalism academy". Stephen Lamble, Head of the School of Communication at University of the Sunshine Coast, confirms the general picture: "Most of my research I have done on my own time, on Fridays, weekends, five weeks leave from work. You really just have to grab your time from other duties". Finally, Bond University Professor Mark Pearson observes that in Australia a great deal of money goes to media *research*, but not so much to media *researchers*. Media is a very popular topic within other areas of research, and much of the funding allocated to media research goes to people who are not full-time media researchers.

USA

In general, universities in the U.S., being tuition-based to some extent, even in state universities, are relatively well-resourced. The trend, however, is towards privatisation.

> "[T]hroughout the country, public universities are absorbing a larger percentage of the cost of higher education, a trend that is escalating pressure on colleges, departments and individual faculty members to both increase revenue and reduce costs…in most research-intensive universities, faculty members are being 'encouraged' to seek external funding for their scholarly work" (Salmon *et al.* 2006, 4).

Universities' external funding comes from three sources:

1) Government agencies (the largest being the Department of Education, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the National Institutes of Health, and the National Science Foundation).
2) 'Philanthropist' foundations (such as the Ford Foundation which is geared towards development; the Pew Charitable Trust devoted to advancing policy solutions; the Knight Foundation; and the Carnegie Foundation).
3) The media industry, either through commissioned studies or sponsorship (e.g., MIT Media Lab sponsorship for intellectual property rights).

Compared to other social sciences, communication has traditionally received less funding. Kamhawi and Weaver (2003) noted that "overall funding for mass communication remains low; there has been a steady decline in proportions of funded research from the early 1980s to the late 1990s […]. While mass communication has been growing in terms of more and new media channels, a larger labour force, and more colleges offering mass communication education, there has been no corresponding increase in the proportion of funded research" (20). Similarly, only one-fourth of studies reported in *Journalism Quarterly*

and *Public Opinion Quarterly* from 1954 to 1978 acknowledged funding, while in psychology, sociology, and political science journals the average rate was more than half (Kamhawi & Weaver 2003). The same trend has been observed also in more recent reviews of mass communication literature (Zhu & Swiencicki 1995) Kamhawi and Weaver attribute the lack of funding in mass communication to the failure of government agencies to recognise mass communication as an academic discipline. According to various interviewees, the same trends apply to the communication discipline as a whole. In particular, as one interviewee noted, "there is almost no funding for humanities, critical and cultural scholarship".

In many cases, communication is just a piece of the larger research effort. Some interviewees stressed the importance of collaborating with other disciplines when designing research projects and applying for grants. Such collaboration seems to be in the interests of the sponsors. As a representative of a health funding organisation noted, "We see the application of communication and marketing as being a very multidisciplinary activity that is actually informed by many, many disciplines, including everything in communication from interpersonal to mass to visual, in marketing everything from branding to market research to campaigns, journalism, and PR, and psychology, social psychology, sociology, and economics, all of those things, we think, come together, to allow for effective applied health communication and marketing".

Of all the areas in communication, health communication seems to be one of the rare areas that are doing well in funding. Practically all interviewees mentioned health communication when asked about areas that receive research funding. According to sponsors, communication related research is still very marginal compared to the overall funds for health research, but the interest in the area has been growing and will continue to grow in the future: "Our organization believes strongly that we need to increase the science and evidence based health communication, marketing and media work. These fields are growing and expanding, there is much more attention and recognition that this work is very important, but we do not have as strong, organized, and

synthesized evidence base for the work we do". In addition to health communication, interviewees mentioned such areas as media, new technology, and virtual environments that are receiving above average funding from different groups. With a variety of funding sources, both private and public, however, it is difficult to gain an overview of research funding for communication and media research in its totality. The field remains fragmented, relying for research funding on externally determined interests rather than its own research programme.

Japan

Research funding in Japan is in many respects illustrative of the state of the field internationally. The fact that universities have to compete for public research funding and to find external sources for funding research has forced researchers to formulate their thinking into understandable and marketable projects. The general principle is that the closer the research approach comes to information communication technology and new media, the easier it is to find funding for a project. Japanese doctoral students in communication and media studies have a difficult time funding their research. Foundations or funding organizations for independent dissertation work within Japan are practically non-existent.

Together with changes in the university system, Japan has increased competitive research funding while decreasing the amount of direct research funds to universities. The main funding organization is *Japan Society for Promotion of Science* (JSPS, *Nihon Gakujutsu Shinkokai*), which is an independent administrative institution. Communication and media research in Japan has not yet established its own stable and institutionalised form of research funding, which has prompted some critical scholars to voice concern about future intellectual coherence and integrity.

South Korea

Communication studies are becoming increasingly popular among Korean students, leading to a slow increase in research funding. It is uncertain at this stage whether this is adequate for the future growth of the field.

Korean Broadcasting Institute is one of the major Korean institutes organising and financing communication research outside universities. The institute publishes an annual report on the Korean broadcasting industry, with an emphasis on the market, policies and strategies of the industry. The institute also supports field research of relevant policy implementations of broadcasting companies, program contents research and operational models in different countries. Moreover, some theoretical research on communication and broadcasting is also supported.

The *Korea Research Foundation* and *Korea Foundation fund* and support various disciplines and Korean and foreign scholars with a focus on Korea, including communication research. *Korean Press Foundation* funds and promotes more concrete aspects of communication, mainly the training of journalists, but also arranges research and survey projects on contemporary Korean media. *LG Sangam Press Foundation* functions in a similar fashion. The lack of dedicated funds and an institutional structure for 'basic' research, however, is a cause of some concern for the future of the field.

3.5 Internationalisation and the *Dispositifs* of Publishing

This sub-chapter deals with the phenomenon of the internationalisation of communication and media research. The principle vehicle by which this has occurred has been the organisation of the publication of scholarly research, which has been heavily dominated by anglophone and in particular US publishing practices and institutions. This has occurred in a period of increasing commodification of scholarly publishing in the US and the anglophone world more generally (on recent developments in anglophone scholarly publishing, see Miller 2007, 126-7).

According to Edmund Lauf (2005, 148), "the dominance of the U.S. in communication journals has been much greater than in journals of other disciplines". Most major communication journals are edited and published in the U.S. and – more importantly – all international communication journals are published in English. While scholars from non–English-speaking countries must publish articles both in English and in their mother tongue, scholars from the U.S. and the UK "have barely any publications in other than English language journals" (van Leeuwen, Moed, Tijssen, Visser, & van Raan 2001, 345). There is a valuable summarising figure by Lauf (2005, 144), based on his analysis of 43 communication journals, with the following columns of information:

1. Number of authored or co-authored articles
2. Share of authored or co-authored articles in %
3. Attendance of *International Communication Association* conferences
4. Size of population
5. Correlation of visibility

Figure 32; Characteristics of the top 20 publishing countries

	1	2	3	4	5
US	3,225	66.2	1	2	1
UK	642	13.2	2	5	3
Canada	167	3.4	3	10	8
Australia	154	3.2	4	12	6
The Netherlands	138	2.8	5	13	2
Germany	113	2.3	6	4	4
China and Hong Kong	82	1.7	7	1	7
Israel	61	1.3	8	17	5
Italy	42	.9	9	7	15
Korea, Rep. of	41	.9	10	8	9
Sweden	41	.8	11	15	11
Japan	39	.8	12	3	10
Finland	34	.7	13	19	16
Spain	31	.6	14	9	20
Belgium	30	.6	15	14	12
France	29	.6	16	6	17
New Zealand	29	.6	17	20	14
Switzerland	27	.5	18	16	19
Taiwan	24	.5	19	11	13
Denmark	21	.4	20	18	18
Total	4,875				

Note: Spearman's correlation of visibility with population is .51 and with conference atten-
dance .85.

(Lauf 2005, 144)

As Lauf's results show, researchers from the U.S. authored two out of
three articles, thereby clearly dominating communication journals. Fur-
thermore, "the percentage of authors from the U.S., the UK, Canada,
and Australia cumulated to 86. That these countries ranked on positions
1 to 4 in terms of author visibility strongly confirms the expectation that
authors from native English- speaking countries are most prominent".
Finally, "authors from the 20 most visible countries could be found in
96.4% of all articles. Authors from the remaining countries worked
in New Zealand as an additional native English-speaking country or

– with the exception of Israel and Switzerland – EU-member states or developing Asian countries" (2005, 145).

Lauf also studied the proportions of editors not from the U.S., the national diversity score, the percentage of authors from the U.S., and authors from English-speaking countries per journal. Diversity reflects here the probability that two randomly selected addresses came from different country clusters. "Six groups were distinguished: the U.S. (69.8%); the UK (11.3%); Australia, Canada, and New Zealand (6.5%); the EU (10.1%); Asia (China, Hong Kong, India, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan: 3.5%); and other countries (5.2%). 'Other countries' comprises a diverse group of non-EU Western European countries (Norway, Iceland, or Switzerland), other Asian countries, Eastern Europe, South and Central America, Africa and the Middle East".

According to Lauf's results (2005, 145), summarised in figure 33 on the next page, "at least five journals scored high on all indicators of internationality. They had a high percentage of non-U.S. editors (at least 75%), a diversity score above .90, less than 50% authors from the U.S., and less than 80% authors from English-speaking countries. Sixteen journals are somewhat international (diversity between .50 and .89). Most journals (*n* = 20), however, had a diversity score less than .50, with 80% or more U.S. editors and U.S. authors".

Clearly, then, anglophone and U.S. publishing practices have exerted an increasing hegemony over research in communication and media studies in other countries. While we will note some significant exceptions to this rule (e.g., to a certain extent, Germany and France, insulated by stronger national traditions), the general tendency, particularly for smaller countries, has not been towards internationalisation in a genuine sense. On the contrary, it has been towards an increasing 'provincialisation', as a hegemonic centre progressively transforms and reshapes its peripheries in its own image. Given the reliance of communication and media studies upon national traditions in other disciplines, fields and areas, this development raises troubling questions about the capacity of contemporary research projects to play an active role in their contemporary societies, above and beyond standards imposed by an artificial 'international' bench mark.

Figure 33; Internationalisation in articles published between 1998 and 2002 in communication journals

	N	% Non-- U.S. eds.	Diversity	% Authors from: U.S.	% Authors from: English-lang. countries
Discourse & Society	116	84	.96	23	67
Javnost—The Public	117	81	.95	21	55
Language & Communication	94	50	.92	37	74
Public Understanding of Science	93	75	.92	31	77
Media Culture & Society	155	86	.91	29	77
Telecommunications Policy	223	85	.91	41	63
Cyberpsychology & Behavior	199	25	.88	47	68
Research on Lang & Social Interaction	97	19	.81	56	81
European Journal of Communication	88	100	.80	10	50
Internatl Jrnl of Public Opinion Research	106	62	.80	58	67
Narrative Inquiry	71	33	.78	55	89
Publishing Research Quarterly	93	31	.76	55	66
Learned Publishing	120	83	.70	28	89
Journal of Media Economics	69	16	.66	72	81
Science Communication	99	14	.64	69	85
Internatl Jrnl of Lang & Comm Disorders	211	84	.63	9	92
Political Communication	124	60	.62	73	80
Journal of Advertising Research	157	11	.61	75	80
Harvard Internatl Journal of Press Politics	150	25	.60	73	85
International Journal of Conflict Mgt	70	—	.57	77	83
Jrnl of Social and Personal Relationships	195	15	.56	77	87
Public Culture	124	18	.53	77	85
Journal of Health Communication	108	15	.48	88	92
Media Psychology	41	12	.46	85	90
Jrnl of Broadcasting & Electronic Media	15	19	.42	85	91
Communication Research	120	4	.41	83	87
Journal of Advertising	131	2	.40	92	95
Journal of Communication	153	11	.39	87	93
Written Communication	70	20	.39	83	89
Public Relations Review	147	7	.36	87	94
Technical Communication	94	20	.35	86	94
Health Communication	106	0	.33	89	96
Jrnl of Applied Comm Research	72	2	.29	90	96
Public Opinion Quarterly	112	5	.27	91	96
Journalism & Mass Comm Quarterly	219	0	.22	95	96
Human Communication Research	110	4	.20	94	98
Jrnl of Business and Technical Comm	67	0	.20	91	97
Communication Theory	81	0	.19	96	99
Critical Studies in Media Communication	50	0	.18	94	98
Communication Education	78	0	.17	95	99
Communication Monographs	56	2	.12	98	98
Western Journal of Communication	91	0	.08	97	99
Quarterly Journal of Speech	46	0	.05	98	98

Germany

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

Eberwein and Pöttker's study on the books reviewed in *Publizistik* also contains interesting information about the origins of these books. According to their data, presented in the following chart, the level of internationalisation in German communication studies in rather low, including in terms of the books reviewed.

Figure 34; Country of publication of the books reviewed in 'Publizistik' (in %)

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

(based on Eberwin-Pöttker 2006, 57)

It is perhaps surprising that the share of books stemming from the USA is so low, although it is probably true that German communication research is more oriented towards the USA than towards any other country: "Our perspective is still very much focused on the American scene", writes Schulz (2006, 95). Furthermore, he laments that "many interesting and innovative developments in other countries not published in English never reach the attention of German-speaking scholars. […] Most of Europe – not only Scandinavia – is unknown territory to someone like me". Besides the very low share of French books, the total absence of the UK in Eberwein and Pöttker's results is particularly surprising. This apparent anomaly may be accounted

However, Eberwein and Pöttker write (2006, 57) that "only a fraction" of the books in this section are really published internationally, since "many publishing enterprises based in Germany give small foreign firm branches as the place of appearance on the title page, due to reasons of prestige". Whereas between 62% and 65% of all the articles in the *Publizistik* between the years 1956 and 1995 constantly dealt with the Federal Republic, between 1996 and 2003 this share rose suddenly up to 72.7%. Eberwein and Pöttker draw the conclusion "that the inability or the unwillingness of German communication studies to look beyond their own national horizons has even increased since the middle of the 1990s" (ibid., 57-58). According to their chart, even research literature from Austria and Switzerland receives relatively little attention, though language should not be such a barrier in these cases. Thus Eberwein and Pöttker write that "German-language communication studies is not only not taken seriously internationally; considering its own appreciation of foreign research literature, it evidently leads an island existence, which has been little changed by the growing together of Europe and the globalisation process" (Eberwein-Pöttker 2006, 57).

In a survey of the GGPuK members, conducted in July 2006, we can find interesting results concerning the journals that the members find most important for scientific discussion in the discipline as well as – crucially, also from the standpoint of furthering one's career – forums for publishing one's work. 95% of the respondents say that *Medien &*

Kommunikationswissenschaft as well as *Publizistik* are "quite" or "very important" for them in these two respects. For *Media Perspektiven*, the result was 81%, and for *Mediensychologie*, 73%. However, revealingly, the third and fourth highest ranked German journals were *Journal of Communication*, *European Journal of Communication* and *Communication Research* (Wolling 2006, 12).

France

Academic journals in the field of information and communication were rare in France before the 1990s, but since that time the number has expanded. The pioneering journals *Communications* was founded in 1962 by the famous semioticians Roland Barthes, Claude Brémond, and Edgar Morin. Today, the range of journals in the domain is broad and they are mainly focused on special research orientations, apparently due to the heterogeneity of the field. There are no equivalents to such well-known generalist international reference journals as the *Journal of Communication*, *Media, Culture and Society* or *Communication Research*. Much of the French research on communication is also published in the journals of several other disciplines (Meadel 1999, 17-18).

An interesting aspect of the French publishing scene are several journal projects that are often led by a professor and more or less centred around the person who functions as an editor-in-chief (cf., in German, '*Herausgeberzeitschriften*'). Among the most significant are the following projects.

The social sciences journal *Réseaux – Communication, Technologie et Société* was launched in 1983 by Paul Beaud from the University of Lausanne, Switzerland, and Patrice Flichy, head of the sociology lab at CNET France Télécom. The home base of the journal was the CNET until 2001, with Flichy being the editor-in-chief. *Réseaux* is focused on the broad field of communication and in particular on telecommunications and social practices related to technology. The journal covers topics in mass media (particularly television), informatics, new media theories, history of technology, interpersonal communication

and media strategy. There are both French and international members on the editorial board. Moreover, *Réseaux* trialed the production of an English language version called *The French Journal of Communication* between 1993-1998. It was published by Luton University Press and appeared twice a year with selected and translated articles from the original journal (Flichy 2007). *Réseaux* is one of the most well established French journals in the field of communication, even though its bias is sometimes considered more towards sociology than towards Infocom.

Quaderni is published by the *Département des Sciences Politiques,* at the University of the *Sorbonne-Pantheon Paris1*. It has been directed by Professor Lucien Sfez since 1987. The journal promotes the notion of the centrality of communication to contemporary society; therefore, the focus is on communication and its connections with technologies and power.

Hermès – Cognition, Communication, Politique started as a publication of the CNRS *Laboratoire Communication et Politique*. Dominique Wolton, who became the head of the new CNRS Institute for Communication Sciences in 2006, has been the editor since 1989. *Hermès* is an interdisciplinary publication with the following focal areas: the public sphere, theory of political communication, identity in communication, audience reception and intelligence, communication in political theory and the complex relationships between individuals and the masses, and the growing complexity of intercultural processes.

Les Enjeux de l'information et de la communication is an online journal published by GRESEC, a laboratory of the *University of Stendhal-Grenoble 3*. The journal publishes roughly ten articles a year, and there is open access to the full texts on its website. The themes of the articles are specialised in the field of information and communication, with an orientation towards the new communication media within their social contexts. The editor-in-chief is Bernard Miège.

However, the most significant journals are those that are essential to building a career. The 71st section of CNU has a list of journals that are acknowledged as journals of reference in information and

communication. Articles published in these journals are counted in the evaluation of candidates applying for qualification for *Maître de Conferences* and *Professeur des Universités*. The journals are in two categories: the first includes academic refereed journals, and the second contains professional journals that publish scientific articles.

The first group of scientific journals are the following; *Communications; Communication et langages; Communication et organisation; Culture et muse; Études de communication; Hermès; Les enjeux de l'information et de la communication; MEI; Mots, les langages du politique; Protée; Questions de communication; Recherches en communication; Réseaux; Revue canadienne de Sciences de l'information et de bibliothéconomie; Sciences de la société.* The second group of professional journals is mainly for the information and library sciences included in the field of Infocom: *Documentation et bibliothèques (comité de lecture; Documentaliste – Sciences de l'information (comité de lecture); Revue des revues (comité de lecture); Argus; BBF (Bulletin des Bibliothèques de France).*

The articles published in the acknowledged journals are used as criteria to ascertain whether a candidate possesses sufficient knowledge of the field of Infocom and has visibility within the French community of Infocom. In principle, publications in foreign journals are counted as meritorious as well. However, some French academics criticise the evaluation system based on the CNU list for discouraging scholars from publishing in other languages and for contributing to the insularity of the French scientific community.

There are some journals of other francophone countries included in the CNU list that may be considered international publications. The Belgian journal *Recherches en communication* is edited in the *Département de communication de l'Université catholique de Louvain*. There is the *Revue canadienne de Sciences de l'information et de bibliothéconomie*. Not included on the list but often found in university libraries in Infocom departments is the Canadian journal *Questions de Communications*. Journals of film studies, including such classics as *Les Cahiers de l'Audiovisuel* and *Cahiers du cinema*, belong to an area of their own, which, in France, is a separate field of research from Infocom.

Nevertheless, despite this strong national basis, the necessity of using English in order to gain access to the international community remains frustrating for some researchers. As one professor says: "We read the Anglo-American literature but they don't read us". In truth, translation seems to be a problem in both directions. Not many works of French scholars have been translated into English, and there is not much foreign literature being translated into French. French scholars admit that they are not visible in international journals, while French journals are not read by English-speaking researchers.

French university libraries usually contain relatively few books in English. The exceptions are the libraries of language departments, which have developed their international research co-operation much further than others. Communication and media are especially studied within English departments, as the language and cultural symbols are the basic components of the media culture. Additionally, there are a few exceptional scholars, such as Armand Mattelart and Bernard Miège, who have a higher international profile. Mattelart (who is originally Belgian) started his career in Chile. His works have spread to many countries and have been translated into many languages, including Spanish, English and even Finnish. Miège is definitely more widely known in the francophone world, but he too has participated in several international co-operative projects and quite a few of his works have been translated into other languages.

Nevertheless, these remain relatively exceptional cases. Among the most common reasons that are given for why the majority of French researchers resist writing, speaking or publishing in English or other foreign languages might be included the following:

First, it is claimed that there are the cultural differences; the language is connected to the culture and also structures ways of thinking and doing research. Differences in theoretical orientations are seen as obstacles to mutual understanding between the French and their foreign colleagues. It is sometimes claimed that Infocom in France is not comparable to other countries, and that the structure of the discipline and the theoretical basis are so different that it is difficult to have an intellectually rewarding dialogue.

Second, there are institutional-financial factors influencing the fact that French university researchers publish relatively little in foreign languages. In many French universities there is no policy or budget for translations. Moreover, publishing in a foreign language does not really bring the scholars any credit when they apply for posts within French academia. The evaluation criteria set by the CNU emphasise national research, and there have even been applicants who have been rebuked for having too many publications in English or in other countries (even if written in French) and not enough in France.

Third, institutional-structural factors play a role. It was only recently that research started developing in France, and scholars of Infocom have been busy building up the discipline inside French universities, with little time or energy left for international networking. Their priority has been to develop curricula, educate students, set up research projects and organise the scientific community. Therefore, a number of French scholars of Infocom have published a good deal in their own language, but they have not yet had the energy to bring their ideas to the international community.

Fourth, it is sometimes claimed that the francophone world and culture is already large enough and strong enough to stand on its own, with a large scientific community and great theoreticians. As one professor says:

> "The French are to a certain extent isolated from the Anglo-Saxon world because of the simple fact that their language area is big enough that they can live without speaking English. French researchers can go to Belgium, Quebec, Switzerland, and they are not obliged to speak English. It's a French micro-world".

However, there are signs that this situation is changing with the younger generation, more instinctively cosmopolitan in its tastes and habits. The attitude towards internationalisation is also changing at the institutional level. Nowadays, French scholars are expected to show publications in other languages and international exchanges for the purposes of ministe-

rial assessments. The new funding agency ANR has also called for some projects in English, while universities have even started setting language requirements for students: for example, the University of Avignon has recently imposed on its Master and Doctoral level students a requirement for a minimum of 30% of English references in their theses and dissertations.

Belgium

Internationalisation has produced curious effects in Belgian communication and media research. Although the cleavage between the French- and Flemish-speaking universities applies in most parts of the country, the capital of Brussels witnesses regular interaction between researchers from the different linguistic communities. There was a time when all the Flemish were fluent in French, but nowadays the second language for both groups is English. The Dutch are still supposed to have basic skills in French and can understand it, and many of the French are able to speak Flemish if necessary. However, usually the Flemish and French speaking Belgians speak English when interacting with each other, since English is the international *lingua franca* in academia.

French-speaking Belgian communication research is more open to influences from many different places, since it is a very small community. It is more open to Anglo-American influences than the French, and more apt to sense and to react rapidly to the development of these traditions. Today even in Francophone Belgium publishing in English-language journals is highly valued, because there are no French-language Belgian journals in the area of communication and media rated in the international journal indexes (although there are in other areas). The Walloon researchers' image of Flemish research is based on the Flemish scholars' articles in English-language journals and other publications in English. The Flemish also read articles by Walloon researchers only if the material is published in English. Nowadays French speaking researchers also attend international anglophone conferences, and this

is where the Walloons and Flemish based outside Brussels often meet. Very rarely are there joint Belgian conferences that unite both language groups to the exclusion of the outside world.

The Flemish community and especially the community of communication and media scholars, on the other hand, is very small in number, but they are well known for their international networking. Flemish communication scholars are active and visible in international English-language conferences. The communication scholars in Flemish universities have international contacts with Dutch, German, British and Scandinavian countries in particular. However, since the 1990s the cooperation with the Dutch has lessened, because Flemish and Dutch researchers are expected to publish in English and not in their own native language – as is the case in other small European countries. Nevertheless, some of the Flemish researchers participate in the annual Dutch-language conference ETMAAL in the Netherlands, even though the significance of this conference has diminished as international conferences have become more and more important. Many of the conference papers in ETMAAL are given in English so that they can be expanded into articles for international journals. The most visible national characteristic of Belgian communication and media research is thus its constitutive openness to international interaction, undoubtedly due to longer traditions of cross-cultural contacts within the country itself. In many respects, it constitutes a microcosm of the broader situation of (anglophone) internationalisation.

Netherlands

Dutch scholars are visible in the international research community. They are regular writers in prestigious international journals and members of editorial boards of major journals. They are often seen in international conferences presenting papers, giving talks, chairing panels and even organising big international conferences. Considering the small number of the population, the Dutch are still more numerous in

the international conferences than researchers from large population countries like France and Germany. The Dutch are active in international research associations such as ICA (International Communication Association), IAMCR (International Association for Media and Communication Research) and ECREA (European Communication Research and Education Association).

Typically, Dutch communication scholars publish the results of their research in English more than in Dutch. Between the years 1988 and 2006, the amount of publishing in international peer-reviewed journals increased circa two per cent per year (Van den Besselaar, 2007). Communication scholars publish more in ISI-journals than media scholars, who hold books in higher esteem than communication scholars. This is because in communication science the books or non-English language publications are not counted as 'outputs'. These differences in output criteria are also a clear indication of the fact that communication scholars and media scholars speak different theoretical and methodological 'languages'.

Dutch scholars read mainly research written in English, but also some in German. Earlier the Catholic University of Leuven published a Dutch-language journal, *Communicatie,* but it was discontinued a few years ago. A still-existing journal is *Tijdschrift voor Communicatie Wetenschap*, which serves communication and media scholars in both the Netherlands and Flanders. There is also a journal focused on media history, *Tijdschrift voor Mediageschiedenis*. In general, the Dutch market for communication journals is not big enough for many publishers, and the researchers publish a great deal in international, peer reviewed English language journals.

Many of the master courses are taught in English in order to attract international students and to prepare Dutch students for English speaking academic work. ASCoR at the University of Amsterdam ranks first in Europe in terms of number of English language ISI-ranked articles in the category of publications by a European research institute in communication over the past ten years. On the other hand, it is still considered important for the researchers to participate in national public

discussions, to give interviews to the national media, to hold public talks and so on. Generating new knowledge is the primary work of a researcher, but gaining publicity is considered important as well.

Most Dutch researchers do not have reservations about the English language dominance. They are proud that most of their publications are in English. But others ponder the negative effects of the English language dominance, arguing that it is made for the academic community but is not useful for the field of media institutions or the general Dutch public. Some emphasise that it would be important to serve also the national community and not only publish in English. Academics who only communicate with the international scientific arenas are often quite irrelevant for the professional communication and media practitioners. There is an exception with the practical oriented projects, in which the reports are written in Dutch, but the researchers use the same research data to publish articles in English-language refereed journals in order to gain scolarly credit. However, it is double work for the academic to publish in international journals in English and also publish in Dutch in order to maintain contact with the journalists, media institutions, citizens and other relevant groups.

Finland

Finnish researchers publish mostly in Finnish and 95% of the texts produced are published in Finland. However, the surprisingly low figure concerning publishing outside Finland is slightly affected by the fact that texts published in other Nordic countries are not included in the particular data from the year 2002 gathered by Nordicom and analysed by Poteri (2004). The share of English is 19% and that of Swedish 5%. Besides them the role of other languages is minimal. Interesting, an increasing number of publications produced inside Finland are now published in English.

Figure 35; Language of publication (Finnish media scholars)

Finnish	596	75 %
English	156	19 %
Swedish	43	5 %
Others	3	0.4 %
Total	**798**	**100 %**

Figure 36; Place of publishing (Finnish media scholars)

Finland	760	95 %
Outside Finland	38	5 %
Total	**798**	**100 %**

(Poteri 2004, 2)

The book has not lost is importance as a form of publication among Finnish communication scholars. Even if unpublished masters theses are left out, books are more popular than journal articles. The majority of the books are edited collections of articles.

Figure 37; Type of publication (Finnish media scholars)

Monographs	317	40 %
- MA thesis	180	23 %
- Other monographs	137	17 %
Article in an edited book	292	36 %
Article in a journal	128	16 %
Internet publication	61	8 %
Total	**798**	**100 %**

(Poteri 2004, 3)

The most important national journals for Finnish media and communication scholars are the *Media & viestintä* (formerly *Tiedotustutkimus*) and *Lähikuva*. The former journal has surpassed its thirtieth volume. Its perspective is more social scientific compared to Lähikuva's more humanistic perspective on popular and media culture.

USA, UK, Australia

As we have argued, the USA today represents the hegemonic centre of communication and media research in very concrete and institutional terms; in particular, communication and media research in the UK and Australia, despite possessing their own traditions, are increasingly drawn into the orbit of North American academia. Worldwide, communication and media research is a growing field with nearly 190 journals; the number is continually increasing. In addition, a major proportion of communication and communication related research is published in journals outside the field. The exact number of U.S.-based journals is difficult to determine; however, it is somewhat safe to say that the U.S. is the leading nation in the number of communication journals. "Though there are several prestigious journals that are either published by regional communication associations (e.g., *Communica-*

Figure 38; Ranking of the top 10 communication journals by citation impact, 1998-2002, 2004 and 2005

	Title	2005	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000	1999	1998	Mean
1.	Public Opinion Quarterly	1*	9**	2	1	5	5	3	4	3.8
2.	Comm Research	5	8	4	9	4	2	4	11	5.9
3.	J Comm	7	5	13	4	9	18	6	1	7.9
4.	Media Psychology	19	2	3	12	--	--	--	--	9.0
5.	Discourse Soc	18	18	21	11	1	1	1	2	9.1
6.	Human Comm Res	8	1*	1	5	26	10	7	16	10.4
7.	Cyberpsychol Behav	9	16	7	15	--	--	--	--	11.8
8.	Public Culture	6	7	19	3	8	28	10	18	12.4
9.	Polit Comm	4	22	11	7	12	8	9	27	12.5
10.	J Health Comm	17	21	6	2	6	24	15	--	13.0

Note: The citation impact factor is computed by adding up numbers of citations from all journals in the current year to those in articles published in the journal of interest over the two previous years and dividing that total by the number of "scholarly" items published by the journal of interest in the previous two years.

tion Quarterly, published by the Eastern Communication Association) or by publishing houses unaffiliated with academic associations (e.g., *Communication Research,* published by Sage), the 'top' and often perceived as most desirable publication outlets are the journals published by the International and National Communication associations" (Bunz 2005, 705).

Another way of evaluating journals is by comparing their impact factors. (Impact factor is a measure of the frequency with which the 'average article' in a journal has been cited in a particular year or period). At the top of the top ten list (by an eight-year mean; see table) is *Public Opinion Quarterly* (published on behalf of The American Association for Public Opinion Research), followed by *Communication Research* (Sage), and *Journal of Communication* (ICA). Another ICA journal, *Human Communication Research*, is also included in the top-ten citation impact list. In sum, it can be seen that the top communication journals cover a wide range of topics and disciplines.

An examination of ICA's three printed journals revealed that those journals (JoC and HCR, in particular) are embedded in a dense and diverse network of citing journals (Rice 2007). However, the citation network is mostly woven around "the core communication journals" (such as CR, JoC, HCR, and CM). The phenomenon was particularly apparent when examining those whom the journals site. For example, most of *Communication Theory*'s citations come from the NCA journal *Communication Monographs*. In sum, despite the fragmentation of the field and the large number of communication journals worldwide, the publication of communication and media research seems to revolve around a few central journals and associations based overwhelmingly in the USA.

Japan

Although Japanese research of communication and media has international roots, it has historically been fairly domestic. However, in recent

years research in the field has internationalised in two directions. Firstly, Japanese researchers have started to publish more in English and for the international audience. Secondly, the Japanese media has become an interesting topic for researchers outside Japan because of the popularity of Japanese contemporary culture and interesting future visions and strategies about the market, technology, products and contents by different Japanese actors related to the media industry. The increasing integration of Japanese communication and media research in the international field is to be expected in the future.

South Korea

Korea is still ethnically one of the most homogeneous societies in the world, which adds a distinct nuance to the cultural, societal, political and communicational elements revolving around the dual phenomena of Korean localization/globalization. The information society has met with the Confucian society and the Hermit Kingdom has turned into Dynamic Korea, producing a unique infra- and superstructure with a multitude of possible future scenarios for societal development and, further, for social science research. Obviously, much of the future research within the area of communication and media studies depends on the paradigmatic movement on the axis of indigenization and internationalization, which, fortunately, are not yet in a dichotomous or bipolar relationship and hence enable great variety. However, many scholars claim that the indigenization project has given way to something more like engineering-minded rationality as the dominant influence on Korean academics today.

One might predict that the trends of globalization will affect Korean academics in a way that leads the fields of research towards more eclecticism. Whether this happens more under duress or electively depends on various factors like the consensus and hegemony of the Korean scientific community, the import and export of Korean and

foreign scholars, university economics and even the general political atmosphere of Korea.

As general trends of globalization affect also Korea and its academics, there is increasing movement, especially among young scholars, towards publishing in international academic journals, although a considerably large proportion of Korean communication research is still published in domestic, Korean-language journals. As many Korean scholars study and make their career abroad, mostly in American universities, it is not surprising that various studies have been conducted about Korean Americans and are being published in international journals.

The impact of these developments is currently being intensely debated. For instance, the inaugural article of *Asian Communication Research* called for a critique of the Western origins of much communication theory:

> "[W]ith this seeming wholesale adoption of theories from the West comes tacit acceptance of the sorts of epistemological and metatheoretical intellectual infrastructure that has been derived from philosophers and theorists with Western mindsets. […] If you compare and contrast the essential philosophical and theological works, the arts and crafts, and the great literature of the East and the West, a substantial number of obtrusive differences routinely occur. This would seem to speak against wholesale adoption, without modification, of many communication theories" (Bryan & Yang 2004, 146).

It should be noted though that there are also opposite views that demand restructuring of communication studies towards a more Western-like system. Despite the attention that the former may receive in international gatherings, institutionally, it is the latter that perhaps represents the most expansive tendency.

4

Challenge of the New University Reforms

University reforms in recent years have constituted a challenge for almost all university systems around the world, redefining our sense of the established fields of human knowledge and their institutional articulations in their relationships with other social and political institutions. In their turn, these reforms have had a profound impact upon the humanities and social sciences in particular, albeit in different ways in different countries, depending upon the particular national traditions and their relationship to this globalised wave of neo-liberal academic reform. Communication and media study and research has not been preserved from the impact of this tsunami; indeed, in many respects, it has been one of the areas of academic practice most transformed in the current conjuncture.

In this chapter we first examine some of the general coordinates of the process of university reform, in both its country-specific dimensions and its overarching international logic. We then turn out attention to the impact of these transformations upon communication and media studies in select countries, arguing that the relative institutional insta-

bility and disciplinary 'incoherence' of the field position it on the front line of current struggles to define and redefine the role of knowledge production and scholarly research in our societies. These challenges have both negative and positive dimensions: on the one hand, the risk of an increasing instrumentalisation of academic communication and media research in the interest of short term market imperatives; on the other hand, a growing awareness of the responsibility of the field to adopt a critical perspective on its own material conditions of existence in the interests of long term acquisition and elaboration of knowledge.

The current phase of university reforms, increasing in intensity with each passing year particularly in Europe as a function of EU integration, has certain precedents, both in terms of governance strategies and the response of the scholarly community. Schlesinger argues that "the way social science has sold itself for the past couple of decades" has been the effort to "become part of the heroic effort to engage in global competition in the so-called knowledge society" (Schlesinger 2001, 179). After all, "another key purpose of doing research" is "securing funds" (ibid., 181). However, the relation has not been purely instrumental, because such ideas "embed themselves in every practice and also enter deeply into our self-conceptions" (ibid., 180). In other words, they become substantial, redefining the 'interior' of the research paradigm itself, rather than being merely exterior or temporary compromises with unpropitious circumstances. According to Schlesinger, "paying lip service has by way of repetition turned into uneasy worship" (ibid., 181).

This process is perhaps particularly noticeable in the UK. Schlesinger argues that academic research in this country today is dominated by rituals of verification and evaluation.

> "The drive to continually assess us means that research prowess, in one key respect, has suffered from a goal displacement and a revaluation: it's arguably less to do with the creation of knowledge and understanding than with demonstrating that you can meet criteria of high quality in order to generate income. […] The audit mentality of the past two

decades has had a profoundly damaging impact on ideas of academic autonomy and cycles of academic creativity" (ibid.).

The Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) "has made more academics produce more publications more efficiently" and "redefined for us what it is to be an academic and what constitutes valued intellectual practice". At the same time, it has "badly injured collegial behaviour, induced paranoia, insecurity, fear and anxiety" (ibid., 181-182).

Since the 1990s, 'economic efficiency' has became the key word of higher education politics also in Germany. The economic rationalisation of the higher education agenda was enforced by the trends summarised under the concept of 'New Public Management' (NPM), originating in the UK, New Zealand and Australia. The core of the neoliberal New Public Management approach is the introduction of management instruments from the private sector into public organisations.

> "Posed a bit cynically, the new question was thus: How can the public be reassured that the quality of German higher education is assured if public funding declines and the participation rates increase?" (Göztepe-Çelebi et al. 2002, 13).

Yet to consider all this just from the perspective of cost saving (and the opportunities it creates for conservative roll-backs) would be short sighted. As Torsten Bultmann has noted (1996, 346), a new articulation between individual behaviour in education, universities and their resources, as well as the neoliberally regulated markets, is currently being constructed. As a result,

> "students must, for example, calculate the future 'returns' of their student fees more exactly; they thus must necessarily think more seriously about the job market and established social career patterns. This mechanism is even further strengthened if, as can be assumed, the majority of them will be able to raise their student fees only by means of credit mechanisms of pre-financing, almost as an anticipation of future earnings" (ibid., 347).

These changes in the *dispositif* of universities can also paradoxically strengthen some established features. As Bultmann again notes,

> "To the extent that elements of political direction of *Hochschule* tasks, be it via parliaments or 'interest-pluralistic' groups, are relativised in their function of determining goals in favour of moments of economic self-regulation, this means above all a strengthening of groups that traditionally, at any rate, have authoritatively decided about scientific courses: consequently, what is released is merely mechanisms of strengthened self-identification of the 'scientific community' in their trusted paradigms" (ibid., 349).

Stated in more direct words, what we have here again is the "old boys network" (ibid., 35). Despite the rhetoric of liberalisation and new opportunities, the result of recent reforms has more often than not been the consolidation of existing power divisions within academic institutional structures.

A clear example of this process is provided by the conjuration of the notion of 'elite universities', particularly important in the German process of reforms but also noticeable in other continental countries such as Belgium and the Netherlands and, further a field, even in the Australian higher education system. Hectic competition between the universities over the status of 'elite university' and the money that comes with it began in Germany in Autumn 2005. Rapidly prepared and polished applications (incidentally, written once again in English) had to be handed in (see Finetti 2007b). According to some commentators, applications "from the humanities and social sciences hardly had a chance" in this competition (Nida-Rumelin 2006).

A tendency seems to have emerged that the state financing of the universities will be much more selective than before. The strong universities will become stronger and the weaker ones will be weakened. It is not only a question of the 1,6 billion Euro of the Excellence competition, but also of linking public financing more closely to 'performance criteria'; included among these are, paradoxically, success in the search

for external funding. Part of the picture is that the successful universities will be able to select their own students, while the 'losers' have to deal with the rest. It has been said that

> "practically, according to experiences from the elite higher education institutions in other countries, that means above all one thing: in the first place, the children of the bourgeoisie and other 'educationally oriented' social strata will study at the elite and research universities, due to their better achievements (thanks to essentially more favourable learning conditions) and due to selection criteria related to personality" (Hartmann 2006).

The German situation also provides a clear example of the impact of privatisation and the introduction of student fees, a movement that has been underway in other countries, particularly the UK and Australia, for some time now. *Studiengebühre* [student fees] were also introduced in Germany in Autumn 2006. The way for its political implementation was opened by a decision of the *Bundesverfassunsgericht* two years ago (see Bultmann 2005). In the Spring of 2007, already more than half (i.e., more than one million of the 1.9 million German higher education students) were paying for their studies. The effect was a reduced number of students: from 356 000 new students in autumn 2005, down to 295 000 in autumn 2006 – that is, 17 % less (Mängel 2007, 1416-1417; Finetti 2006a).

However, it has been claimed that the most important effect of the student fees is not so much that it will make entrance to higher education more difficult.

> "That will also be the case – the higher the student fees, the more difficult will it be [for people from lower socio-economic backgrounds] – but more important is another point, usually neglected: the differentiation of the fee amounts" (Hartmann 2006).

Hartmann here touches upon a crucial but often neglected issue. The universities that emerge as winners from the current competition for elite status will indeed be able to select the social background of their students not only through the academic selection procedure, but directly, according to the amount of the student fees. Students will be encouraged to regard their university studies as an 'investment in oneself' and the student should consider her- or himself as an 'Ich-AG' (see Bultmann 2005; Achelpöler 2005), which could be translated into English as *Me Inc.*[1] At the same time, the differentiation of fee amounts will create distinctions within and between disciplines, fields and research programmes in the university. A relative 'new comer' such as communication and media studies, despite its seemingly promising position of social prestige and 'cutting edge' technological status, may find itself once more relegated to a institutional corner by such market hierarchies internalised and transmuted into new forms of academic power and competition.

The third important recent development since 2006 in Germany has been the so-called *Föderalismusreform*, that is, the reform of federalism in higher education. In practice, this aims to dispense with the federal *Hochschulrahmengesetz* regulating higher education (see Finetti 2007c). In Germany the federal structure of the state characterises its systems of communication, especially when it comes to public broadcasting, as well as its higher education and research. Thus German communication and media research has been administratively less centrally linked when compared, for example, with France (see Schröder 1997, 32). The new reform would mean "leaving behind the principle of cooperative federalism operative until now". It is predicted to produce "dramatic consequences" (Viotto 2007). The goal of creating common formal and qualitative standards in higher education in Germany, or the goal of creating equal living standards in higher education, recedes into the background. As Bultmann argued, "the production of an unequal

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

environment among institutions of higher education is precisely the declared goal of direction by market imperatives" (1996, 349).

There also seems to be an interesting tension between these inner-German developments of neoliberal deregulation and the Bologna process of creating harmonised European higher education standards that promote mobility among university students and staff (see Enders 2002). The impact of this process can be observed also in Belgium. There, the Bologna reform in the curricula (from a four year track to a five year track) has caused restrictions within the universities. The Flemish universities are under pressure to seek external funding for new projects, and this has stiffened the criteria for employing researchers (international peer-review publications carry more weight than before; the number of PhD students and research projects is now included in staff evaluations, whereas earlier one could make a career on individual publications). For smaller countries, the drive to 'competitiveness' is in fact making it harder to compete.

Also in Finland the advance of neoliberalism in higher education policy was apparent already at the beginning of the 1990s; the title of Marja Alestalo's article in the journal *Science Studies* was aptly titled "The Rise of Neo-Liberalism in Finland: From the Politics of Equal Opportunity to the Search for Scientific Excellence" (1993). From the 1960s through until the end of the 1970s, there was a period of very rapid, geographically decentralised growth of Finnish higher education. Developing welfare and deepening democracy were important policy objectives at that time. In the 1980s, the focus was on technology policy and basic research supporting it. Since the end of the 1980s, however, the national innovation system (i.e., the state managed linking of science and technology for supporting the competitiveness of the Finnish companies on international markets) became the dominant goal. This policy has meant the tighter linking of Finnish universities to the national innovation system and increasing competition for state managed resources between universities, departments and individual scholars.

Lest it be thought that these developments are confined to the European Union integration process or the 'mature' neoliberal heartland

of the anglophone world, it is instructive to observe the situation in East Asia. The university system in Japan has also been undergoing a thorough reorganization. Beginning in the academic year 2004, two national universities were transformed into 'independent administrative institutions'. Previously, they had been directly under the control of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT). At the same time, universities under local governments were also given the option to make similar changes, while private schooling institutions, including private universities, also began restructuring their organizations. The university reform of 2004 provided the universities with more independence and the possibility to define allocation of funding themselves. Universities now issue 6-year plans to the ministry and are externally evaluated after the six-year period. Future funding is determined, in part, on the basis of external evaluation. Although the budget is still executed for one fiscal year, the universities have the option to shift funding to the next year, provided that the project in question continues. Should the universities have surplus funds due to increases in self-revenue or expenditure reductions, under special conditions it is possible for the universities to allocate the surplus funds to uses stated in advance in the 6-year plan (MEXT 2003). As the national university funding system is not tied to the numbers of graduating students, the number of master degree and doctoral students has recently been cut. The number of faculty positions is not increasing and job prospects for those with doctoral degrees are grim.

Compared to such disciplines as philosophy, latin, philology, etc., communication and media studies are perhaps not so much in danger because of its reproductive function for the labour force. "Communication and Media Studies, since the beginning of their expansion in the 1970s, has been appreciated primarily for its achievements in educating new recruits", writes Jarren (2002, 2). If it is true, on the one hand, that "the discipline is still legitimated above all by its competence in providing education and training for media professions", it is also true, on the other hand, that fewer and fewer professors nowadays have experience of working in the media, which may produce some "potential

for conflict" (Meyen 2004, 204). At the same time, according to Jarren, "there is a lack of fundamental research".

> "I think that the research achievement on public communication as a total achievement of the discipline is not very high, at least in regards to what you can call the fundamental or theory-relevant research. […] The discipline still has a way to go in the research field if it wants to have a noticeable voice in the concert of the (social) scientific disciplines and to claim university status" (2002, 2).

However, starting from the idea of the "unity of research and teaching", Jarren comes to the conclusion that "there is also a lack of political or business-oriented research and advisory institutions of any weight" (ibid.). He obviously means that such "advisory institutions of any weight" cannot be attained without investment in basic research. It remains to be seen what kind balance or imbalance the new developments in higher education will produce in this respect. However, the prospects for a broad and intensive development of basic research do not look very favourable. Indeed, nowadays also in communication and media studies there is a "struggle over securing resources that at the moment is occurring in almost all institutions" (Rössler 2004, 19). This situation will undoubtedly have an impact upon the capacity of communication and media studies to reproduce itself in generational terms.

The impact of the university reforms has been wide reaching, particularly in the humanities and social sciences, which find it harder to adopt to market imperatives than disciplines more directly linked to technical procedures of production and consumption of commodities. The result of this transformation of the institutions of knowledge and education, conducted under the aegis of freedom, autonomy and growth, has arguably been a contraction, greater degree of constraint upon intellectual research programmes and, institutionally, a reduction in autonomy. Many trained 'researchers' (i.e., holders of PhDs or *Habilitationen*) today rarely have the time to conduct any real independent research, in comparison to the growth of administrative tasks and

teaching loads that have accompanied the stream lining processes. It is always someone else who holds the keys (i.e., the money) that open the way to the time necessary for autonomous research projects. This often leads to increasing frustration for individuals and an anti-collegial competitiveness for scare resources collectively. While some voices in the field of communication and media research confidently assume that it will remain immune to the worst excesses of the new system, other perspectives remind us of the precarious position occupied by the still young enterprise. Communication and media research is caught in a difficult position between conflicting short-term demands and an ethics of responsibility to the longer-term perspective of its own growth and consolidation. As Carlsson argues,

> "An attunement of research to the agendas – and even the interests – of external financiers ('marketization'), and furthermore, new structures for higher education have thrust scientific enquiry into a period of change. Research tends to be more administrative, and short-term perspectives prevail – at the expense of the long-term accumulation of knowledge. The pressures at play in this overall trend may well have more far-reaching consequences for a relatively 'new' field of research like media and communication than in older and more established disciplines" (Carlsson 2005, 543).

5

Conclusion: Future Challenges and Opportunities

We began this study by noting the great institutional success of communication and media studies and research in recent years. We immediately noted, however, that despite this success – or rather, perhaps precisely due to it – this area of scholarly activity lacks any clear scientific identity. Neither 'discipline' nor even clearly demarcated 'field', communication and media research seems to have been placed under a permanent question mark, even by its most able practitioners. Nordenstreng provides a characteristically reflective note:

> "I have mixed feelings about this success story. My second thought – more and more even the first one – is that the field, with all the expansion and diversity, runs the risk of becoming professionally self-centred and scientifically shallow" (Nordenstreng 2007, 219).

For Ulla Carlsson, long active in NORDICOM and with a good overview of the situation in the Nordic countries, communication and media research

"is variegated in the extreme, and few syntheses embrace the field as a whole. The field is broad, specialities are many, with new ones appearing from time to time. Witness the proliferation of commercialized journals! Indeed, the field can give the impression of incoherence. Specialization, which is not always solidly founded in theory or methodology, may cause the field to disintegrate into small groups, each a discursive community unto itself. Members' credibility within the community increases, all the while their work is marginalized in relation to the research community at large" (Carlsson 2005, 545).

Must we therefore conclude that contemporary communications and media research is constituted, as Karl-Erik Rosengren has provocatively suggested, by "a number of isolated frog ponds with no friendly croaking between the ponds" (Rosengren 1993, 9)? Or can we not rather detect some similarity and unity between the developments of this 'discourse', 'institution', 'articulated field', or, as we argued in chapter 2, 'hegemonic apparatus', across the world?

Our review of the varying situations in the different countries would seem to confirm that communication and media research is only united in its distinction from itself. The field "does not possess any profile that is generally acknowledged from within" (McQuail 2007, xvi). It suffers from a fundamental lack of disciplinary coherence, and it is therefore difficult to gain any clear view of the whole at an international level – if indeed such a whole does exist. For both Väliverronen (2000) and Pietilä (2005), the rapid growth of media and communication studies has been characterised by it dispersion into co-existing – but not so much fiercely competing – strands of research. In Finland, according to Väliverronen (2000, 87), the older generation seem to be content to leave behind the paradigm struggles of the 1970s, while a younger generation of researchers concentrates on cultivating its own specialised fields of expertise. The university political pragmatism and the administrative identity that accompanies it have been strengthened considerably since the 1990s. The various departments of media and communication research have created a common network as well as

common PhD research programmes in many countries. Particularly in Finland, the field has grown steadily as there has been increasing demand for qualified work force in the media industries (ibid.). As we have observed in the preceding chapters, a similar story can be told, with nationally specific characteristics and variations, regarding many other countries.

'Disciplinary coherence', that is, has been created primarily by 'institutional' rather than intellectual or scholarly forms, with varying means depending upon the specific field of existing forces out of which communication and media studies emerges. In its turn, this institutional coherence has then been comprehended in an essentially speculative fashion, mistaking effects for causes. A self-image of the research programme is then reflected, or retrospectively constituted, back across the distinct practices and perspectives that can now be regarded as 'unified'. Pietilä captures something of the complex dialectical movement that at decisive historical moments has checked a tendency to 'infinite regress' and solidified communication and media studies into a manageable field of intellectual activity and institutional arrangements.

> "Academic institutes in different parts of the world have guaranteed the field's survival as a social institution, but at the same time it has become, cognitively, more dispersed than ever. This dispersal has occurred despite the fact that there have been periods when a given cognitive form has seized a hegemonic position, as with the spread of American behavioural mass communication research in the 1950s and 1960s. These centrifugal tendencies have, now and then, prompted the field's representatives to demand that the field be rendered more coherent or, in other words, institutionalized cognitively on a higher level" (Pietilä 2008, 218).

If we consider the international and national developments depicted in the previous chapter, what are the current prospects for communication and media research? It seems to us that the reduced autonomy of researchers will necessarily lead to further reduction in the very 'basic' or 'fundamental' research that could help to initiate another positive phase

of the dialectical movement described by Pietilä. Paradoxically, focusing on short-term and instrumental projects may have the effect of increasing, rather than diminishing, the lack of disciplinary coherence of the field. In the absence of an internally derived intellectual unity, motivated by the identification and valorisation of genuine intellectual problems held in common by researchers, the relative level of coherence necessary for the day to day functioning of academic departments and research programmes will once more be provided by 'external' institutional forces. As we have seen in this report, this is occurring both on the national level, through the different national traditions derived from the past, and at an international level, by means of the imposition of common neoliberal 'governance' programmes. Only a dedicated project of critical 'basic' research into the fundamental presuppositions of communication and media studies would be able to check this 'infinite regress'. However, this seems to be precisely the element that is lacking in the current political and institutional conjuncture (see critical remarks on this dimension in Wissenschaftsrat 2007, 75; Donsbach 2006, 447).

There are indeed other 'countertendencies' that might check this process and provide some – albeit tentative and temporary – unity to the disparate activities conducted under the name of communication and media research. One of this might be the relatively international unity progressively gained through the continuing 'Anglo-Americanisation' of publishing practices. Such a *lingua franca*, however, as we have seen, is no guarantee of the disciplinary coherence for which practitioners in the field are searching. Indeed, one of the most noticeable results of this analytical survey has been the very heterogeneity of the 'Anglosphere' itself; to a much greater extent than, for example, in France or Germany, communication and media research in the anglophone countries exists as an uneasy *modus vivendi* between very different approaches.

Another countertendency might be regarded as the unification of 'social scientific' and 'humanistic' perspectives on communication and media, thereby overcoming some of the most divisive methodological issues that characterise different research traditions, often in the same national formation. However, such a process has to a certain extent

already occurred, as Carlsson notes; rather than overcoming divisions, its result was to transfer them to another level, unresolved but dormant. Carlsson argues that

> "The 'cultural turn' represented a development that brought social scientists and their colleagues in the humanities closer. Scholars in the field increasingly trained their focus on the roles media play in cultural processes, on the media's potential to create meaning in a broader sense, and on the adaptation of media messages to modes of understanding commonly applied to cultural phenomena. Nowadays it is no longer always easy to tell the difference between work in the two traditions. The concept of text became central in almost every sense of the word. We may speak of a process of hybridization in some regions of the field. The 'cultural turn' has had a far stronger impact on media studies than on many other fields" (Carlsson 2005, 544).

However, she continues to argue that

> "The outcome … has not been greater unity of focus, but rather the opposite, and in retrospect we may ask: in an era when issues relating to the power and morality of media institutions were more urgently important than ever before, where were the social scientists – why were they so quiet? Was it because they were busy pursuing consensus in the field, or was it because of 'marketization'? For a young discipline in which most researchers nowadays have their background solely in media and communication research and where contacts with early media research and work in neighbouring disciplines are few, 'trends' can have an exceedingly strong impact and may lead to widespread conformism. Some critics have lamented the lack of historical perspectives in much of contemporary media and communication research. The wheel has been reinvented, time and again. Researchers tend to develop a nose for trends and for what is politically correct. In this way, it is entirely possible for a field of research to be characterized at once by conformism and multidisciplinarity or, perhaps more aptly, eclecticism" (Carlsson 2005, 544-545).

This topic of *conformism*, the 'other side of the coin' when it comes to self-reflection, has been noted also by other scholars who have characterized the Nordic scene as displaying a "tendency toward conformity which", quite remarkably, "fully equals the conformity we observe in the media" (Ekecrantz 1998, 13). Some even speak in disparaging terms of a "conformist mentality" (Kivikuru 1998, 7). According to Väliverronen, those features that have been regarded as weaknesses of the field (relatively unestablished and weak scientific identity, very strong and flexible relation to practice, division into several independent sub-fields, eclecticism and location on the no-man's-land between humanities and social sciences) may in fact have been beneficial for its growth and accommodation to the new research culture characterised by the stress on applied research (Väliverronen 2000, 89-91): a case of 'anything goes'.

In our opinion, the alternative to this 'lack of clarity' in the field is for contemporary communication and media scholars to accept the challenge – and the opportunity – of the need for basic, theoretical research, reflecting on the primary determinants of communication in the widest sense in its role as a constitutive element of modern society. The materials gathered in this study provide enough evidence that the short-term pressures and temptations to compromise in instrumentalist versions of scholarly inquiry are many. Equally, however, a closer analysis of the different constellations in which communications and media studies is conducted has indicated that they are not written in stone: they are the historical products of identifiable political and social processes. The critique of these processes, including the proposition of alternative forms of institutional organisation and paradigms of intellectual investigation, is a legitimate and necessary element of the overall field of forces that go to make up communication and media studies and research in its present form. Carlsson provides some valuable initial methodological guidelines for the commencement of such a project, necessary collective in form. She argues that

"what we need is a good dose of critical self-examination, where we consider the relevance of the questions we formulate, where we are more judicious in our choice of theoretical perspectives and more conscious of the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of the methods at hand, and that we evaluate the validity of our findings and the conclusions we draw from them. The overall objective must be to enable our research field to answer questions about the role of media with regard to the distribution of power and influence in our societies, in addition to questions relating to media content and the role of media in everyday life" (Carlsson 2005, 545-546).

These questions relating to the role of media and its contents in everyday life are not mere 'sociological' additions to the properly 'hard core research programme' of day-to-day work in the field. On the contrary, it is precisely in these everyday practices that the role of communication and media research with regard to the distribution of power and influence in our societies is realized. As a 'hegemonic apparatus', or a field of conflicting forces and organisational forms, communication and media studies performs an eminently practical role, as a mode of comprehension of some of the basic processes and fundamental institutions of modern social life. We hope to have made a case in this report for the necessity to transcend the stale division between (underfinanced and often devalorised) 'basic research' and (administratively oriented) 'applied research'. It may perhaps be through the rearticulation of the priorities of socalled 'theoretical' and 'empirical' approaches that we will be able to recommence the project of elaborating practically relevant communication and media studies, in the inspiring words of Gripsrud, as a genuine "theory of society worthy of the name" (Gripsrud 1998, 22) and adequate to our times.

List of Figures

List of Mapping Communication and Media Research reports

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